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The Victoria History of the Counties of England

EDITED BY WILLIAM PAGE, F.S.A.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE VOLUME II

The publisher regrets that a few pages of
this scarce copy are slightly soiled as it had to
be made up from old sheet stock.

The History of the
County of Essex
and the City of London

A HISTORY OF
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE
VOLUME II

THE
VICTORIA HISTORY
OF THE COUNTIES
OF ENGLAND
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE



LONDON
ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE
AND COMPANY LIMITED

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INSCRIBED
TO THE MEMORY OF
HER LATE MAJESTY
QUEEN VICTORIA
WHO GRACIOUSLY GAVE
THE TITLE TO AND
ACCEPTED THE
DEDICATION OF
THIS HISTORY



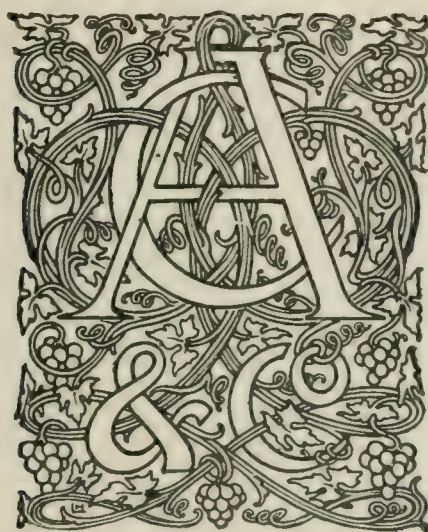
At the bridge, looking
down the river towards the
bridge.

THE
VICTORIA HISTORY
OF THE COUNTY OF
NORTHAMPTON

EDITED BY THE REV. R. M. SERJEANTSON, M.A.

AND W. RYLAND D. ADKINS, B.A., M.P.

VOLUME TWO



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EDITORIAL NOTE

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TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbrev. Plac. (Rec. Com.)	Abbreviatio Placitorum (Record Commission)	Chartul.	Chartulary
Acts of P.C.	Acts of Privy Council	Chas.	Charles
Add.	Additional	Ches.	Cheshire
Add. Chart.	Additional Charters	Chest.	Chester
Admir.	Admiralty	Ch. Gds. (Exch. K.R.)	Church Goods (Exchequer King's Remembrancer)
Agarde	Agarde's Indices	Chich.	Chichester
Anct. Corresp.	Ancient Correspondence	Chron.	Chronicle, Chronica, etc.
Anct. D. (P.R.O.) A 2420	Ancient Deeds (Public Record Office) A 2420	Close	Close Roll
Ann. Mon.	Annales Monastici	Co.	County
Antiq.	Antiquarian or Antiquaries	Colch.	Colchester
App.	Appendix	Coll.	Collections
Arch.	Archæologia or Archæological	Com.	Commission
Arch. Cant.	Archæologia Cantiana	Com. Pleas	Common Pleas
Archd. Rec.	Archdeacons' Records	Conf. R.	Confirmation Rolls
Archit.	Architectural	Co. Plac.	County Placita
Assize R.	Assize Rolls	Cornw.	Cornwall
Aud. Off.	Audit Office	Corp.	Corporation
Aug. Off.	Augmentation Office	Cott.	Cotton or Cottonian
Ayloffe	Ayloffe's Calendars	Ct. R.	Court Rolls
		Ct. of Wards	Court of Wards
		Cumb.	Cumberland
		Cur. Reg.	Curia Regis
Bed.	Bedford	D.	Deed or Deeds
Beds.	Bedfordshire	D. and C.	Dean and Chapter
Berks	Berkshire	De Banc. R.	De Banco Rolls
Bdle.	Bundle	Dec. and Ord	Decrees and Orders
B.M.	British Museum	Dep. Keeper's Rep.	Deputy Keeper's Reports
Bodl. Lib.	Bodley's Library	Derb.	Derbyshire or Derby
Boro.	Borough	Devon	Devonshire
Brev. Reg.	Brevia Regia	Dioc.	Diocese
Brit.	Britain, British, Britannia, etc.	Doc.	Documents
Buck.	Buckingham	Dods. MSS.	Dodsworth MSS.
Bucks	Buckinghamshire	Dom. Bk.	Domesday Book
		Dors.	Dorsetshire
Cal.	Calendar	Duchy of Lanc.	Duchy of Lancaster
Camb.	Cambridgeshire or Cambridge	Dur.	Durham
Cambr.	Cambria, Cambrian, Cambrensis, etc.		
Campb. Ch.	Campbell Charters	East.	Easter Term
Cant.	Canterbury	Eccl.	Ecclesiastical
Cap.	Chapter	Eccl. Com.	Ecclesiastical Commission
Carl.	Carlisle	Edw.	Edward
Cart. Antiq. R.	Cartæ Antiquæ Rolls	Eliz.	Elizabeth
C.C.C. Camb.	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge	Engl.	England or English
Certiorari Bdles. (Rolls Chap.)	Certiorari Bundles (Rolls Chapel)	Engl. Hist. Rev.	English Historical Review
Chan. Enr. Decree R.	Chancery Enrolled Decree Rolls	Enr.	Enrolled or Enrolment
Chan. Proc.	Chancery Proceedings	Epis. Reg.	Episcopal Registers
Chant. Cert.	Chantry Certificates (or Certificates of Colleges and Chantries)	Esch. Enr. Accts.	Escheators Enrolled Accounts
Chap. Ho.	Chapter House	Excerptæ e Rot. Fin. (Rec. Com.)	Excerpta e Rotulis Finium (Record Commission)
Charity Inq.	Charity Inquisitions	Exch. Dep.	Exchequer Depositions
Chart. R. 20 Hen. III. pt. i. No. 10	Charter Roll, 20 Henry III. part i. Number 10	Exch. K.B.	Exchequer King's Bench
		Exch. K.R.	Exchequer King's Remembrancer
		Exch. L.T.R.	Exchequer Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

Exch. of Pleas, Plea R.	Exchequer of Pleas, Plea Roll	Memo. R. . . .	Memoranda Rolls
Exch. of Receipt .	Exchequer of Receipt	Mich.	Michaelmas Term
Exch. Spec. Com. .	Exchequer Special Commissions	Midd.	Middlesex
		Mins. Accts. . .	Ministers' Accounts
		Misc. Bks. (Exch. K.R., Exch. T.R. or Aug. Off.)	Miscellaneous Books (Exchequer King's Remembrancer, Exchequer Treasury of Receipt or Augmentation Office)
Feet of F. . . .	Feet of Fines	Mon.	Monastery, Monasticon
Feod. Accts. (Ct. of Wards)	Feodaries Accounts (Court of Wards)	Monm.	Monmouth
Feod. Surv. (Ct. of Wards)	Feodaries Surveys (Court of Wards)	Mun.	Muniments or Munimenta
Feud. Aids . . .	Feudal Aids	Mus.	Museum
fol.	Folio		
Foreign R. . . .	Foreign Rolls		
Forest Proc. . .	Forest Proceedings	N. and Q. . . .	Notes and Queries
		Norf.	Norfolk
Gaz.	Gazette or Gazetteer	Northampt. . .	Northampton
Gen.	Genealogical, Genealogica, etc.	Northants . . .	Northamptonshire
Geo.	George	Northumb. . . .	Northumberland
Glouc.	Gloucestershire or Gloucester	Norw.	Norwich
Guild Certif.(Chan.)	Guild Certificates (Chancery)	Nott.	Nottinghamshire or Nottingham
Ric. II.	Richard II.	N.S.	New Style
Hants	Hampshire	Off.	Office
Harl.	Harley or Harleian	Orig. R.	Originalia Rolls
Hen.	Henry	O.S.	Ordnance Survey
Heref.	Herefordshire or Hereford	Oxf.	Oxfordshire or Oxford
Hertf.	Hertford		
Herts	Hertfordshire	p.	Page
Hil.	Hilary Term	Palmer's Ind. . .	Palmer's Indices
Hist.	History, Historical, Historian, Historia, etc.	Pal. of Chest. . .	Palatinate of Chester
Hist. MSS. Com. .	Historical MSS. Commission	Pal. of Dur. . . .	Palatinate of Durham
Hosp.	Hospital	Pal. of Lanc. . . .	Palatinate of Lancaster
Hund. R.	Hundred Rolls	Par.	Parish, parochial, etc.
Hunt.	Huntingdon	Parl.	Parliament or Parliamentary
Hunts	Huntingdonshire	Parl. R.	Parliament Rolls
		Parl. Surv.	Parliamentary Surveys
		Partic. for Gts. .	Particulars for Grants
Inq. a.q.d. . . .	Inquisitions ad quod damnum	Pat.	Patent Roll or Letters Patent
Inq. p.m.	Inquisitions post mortem	P.C.C.	Prerogative Court of Canterbury
Inst.	Institute or Institution		
Invent.	Inventory or Inventories	Pet.	Petition
Ips.	Ipswich	Peterb.	Peterborough
Itin.	Itinerary	Phil.	Philip
		Pipe R.	Pipe Roll
Jas.	James	Plea R.	Plea Rolls
Journ.	Journal	Pop. Ret.	Population Returns
		Pope Nich. Tax. (Rec. Com.)	Pope Nicholas' Taxation (Record Commission)
Lamb. Lib. . . .	Lambeth Library	P.R.O.	Public Record Office
Lanc.	Lancashire or Lancaster	Proc.	Proceedings
L. and P. Hen. VIII.	Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII.	Proc. Soc. Antiq. .	Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries
Lansd.	Lansdowne		
Ld. Rev. Rec. . .	Land Revenue Records	pt.	Part
Leic.	Leicestershire or Leicester	Pub.	Publications
Le Neve's Ind. .	Le Neve's Indices		
Lib.	Library	R.	Roll
Lich.	Lichfield	Rec.	Records
Linc.	Lincolnshire or Lincoln	Recov. R.	Recovery Rolls
Lond.	London	Rentals and Surv. .	Rentals and Surveys
		Rep.	Report
m.	Membrane	Rev.	Review
Mem.	Memorials	Ric.	Richard

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

Roff.	Rochester diocese	Topog.	Topography or Topographi- cal
Rot. Cur. Reg.	Rotuli Curiae Regis	Trans.	Transactions
Rut.	Rutland	Transl.	Translation
		Treas.	Treasury or Treasurer
		Trin.	Trinity Term
Sarum	Salisbury diocese		
Ser.	Series	Univ.	University
Sess. R.	Sessions Rolls		
Shrews.	Shrewsbury	Valor Eccl. (Rec. Com.)	Valor Ecclesiasticus (Record Commission)
Shrops	Shropshire	Vet. Mon.	Vetusta Monumenta
Soc.	Society	V.C.H.	Victoria County History
Soc. Antiq.	Society of Antiquaries	Vic.	Victoria
Somers.	Somerset	vol.	Volume
Somers. Ho.	Somerset House		
S.P. Dom.	State Papers Domestic	Warw.	Warwickshire or Warwick
Staff.	Staffordshire	Westm.	Westminster
Star Chamb. Proc.	Star Chamber Proceedings	Westmld.	Westmorland
Stat.	Statute	Will.	William
Steph.	Stephen	Wilts	Wiltshire
Subs. R.	Subsidy Rolls	Winton.	Winchester diocese
Suff.	Suffolk	Worc.	Worcestershire or Worcester
Surr.	Surrey		
Suss.	Sussex	Yorks	Yorkshire
Surv. of Ch. Liv- ings (Lamb.) or (Chan.)	Surveys of Church Livings (Lambeth) or (Chancery)		

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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY¹

THE very little that the historian can tell us with regard to the Romano-British church has no special connexion with the Midlands or Northamptonshire.² But when we come to the Saxon period there is firm historic evidence of the manner in which Christianity was propagated and organized in the districts out of which this county was to be formed. The story of the conversion of the several kingdoms of the Heptarchy, though still somewhat involved, has of late been cleared of a good deal of the mist and myth by which it was surrounded. The same year (597) that witnessed the landing of St. Augustine on the shores of Kent, also witnessed the death of St. Columba, who some thirty-four years previously had left the Isle of Saints for the south of Scotland, there founding the monastery of Iona. It was Aidan, a monk of Iona, and a band of Irish-Scottish monks who, about 635, founded the monastery of Lindisfarne on this side of the border; and it was from Lindisfarne that Christianity gradually spread through the north and centre of England. Toward the latter part of his reign, Penda, the ever-warring pagan king of Mercia, associated with himself as ruler his eldest son Peada.³ This prince gained the hand of Alflæda, daughter of Oswy, the Christian king of Northumbria, on condition that he and those he ruled should embrace her faith.⁴ Baptized together with his whole retinue by Finan, second bishop of Lindisfarne, Peada turned southwards in 653 with his Christian wife and four priests, Cedd, Adda, Betti (all Angles), and Diuma, to his sub-kingdom of the Middle Angles.⁵ The missionaries he brought extended their labours also into Mercia proper, without opposition from Penda.⁶ In 656, when Penda was dead, and his whole kingdom subject to Oswy, the aforesaid Diuma, a monk of Lindisfarne, and of Scottish race, was consecrated first bishop of Mercia, and the Middle Angles and Lindsey by Finan.⁷ This was the beginning of the great Mercian see of Lichfield, the mother of twelve or thirteen other sees. In 658 Diuma was succeeded by Ceollach, also a Scot, and consecrated by Finan; but in 659 Ceollach 'returned' to Iona and gave place to Trumhere, an Angle of monastic training and consecrated, again, in

¹ The authors of this article, while jointly responsible for the accuracy of its statements and its general composition, desire to say that the actual terminology up to the end of page 66 is that of Rev. R. M. Serjeantson, and from this point onwards that of Mr. Ryland D. Adkins.

² Until recently it was common enough in a variety of books of some repute, as well as in popular handbooks, to find reference made to Brixworth church as an example of a Roman basilica, transformed into a Christian church. Precise archaeology however has quite upset this theory, and shows that Brixworth is simply a remarkable example of the extensive use of Roman materials in a building of later date.

³ Bede, *Ecc. Hist.* lib. iii, cap. 21.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Hunt, *Hist. of the Engl. Church* A.D. 597-1066, 97.

⁷ Bede, loc. cit. Stubbs, *Reg. Sac. Angl.* 2; Browne, *Conversion of the Heptarchy*, 113.

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the Scottish church.¹ The fourth bishop, consecrated in 662, was Jaruman, likewise of Celtic consecration.²

Thus far the christianizing of Mercia, including what is now Northamptonshire, had been accomplished solely from the old Celtic sources; but with the death of Jaruman in 667 came a change. The conference of Whitby had been held, and the work of the Scottish church in England was finished. For two years there was no episcopal work in Wulfhere's kingdom, save what Wilfrid, with his roving commission, could effect.³ When Theodore came in 669, Wulfhere, the successor of Peada, the first to recognize Canterbury as the ecclesiastical centre of England, asked him for a bishop.⁴ Accordingly Theodore in that year appointed Chad,⁵ who had held the see of Northumbria. This bishop had been consecrated originally in the British church,⁶ and the archbishop 'consummated his ordination afresh on Catholic principles.'⁷ St. Chad definitely established the seat of the bishopric at Lichfield, and died there in 672.⁸ Theodore then 'ordained into his place' Winfrid, who had been a deacon under the late bishop.⁹ Winfrid was present at the council held by Archbishop Theodore in 673 at Hertford, when ten important articles for the better government of the Church were discussed, including a proposal to increase the episcopate.¹⁰ It was probably for resisting this proposal that Winfrid was deposed by the archbishop in 675, when Saxulf, first abbot of Medehamstede, was 'ordained to be bishop in his stead.'¹¹ Up to 678 Saxulf remained bishop of the whole Mercian kingdom, including the Middle Angles and Lindsey,¹² but now there were established separate dioceses of Lindsey (678),¹³ Worcester (about 680),¹⁴ Hereford (676-88),¹⁵ Leicester and the Middle Angles (680),¹⁶ and possibly Dorchester-on-Thames (about the same date.)¹⁷ The last, if it really existed at this time,¹⁸ was probably soon included in the diocese of Leicester.¹⁹ It is difficult to decide whether the present Northamptonshire (the greater part of which seems to have been then the county of the South Angles) was at this period in the diocese of Leicester,²⁰ or whether it remained under the parent see of Mercia or Lichfield,²¹ which still retained the shires of Stafford, Derby, Chester, and part of Shropshire.²² At a rather later period Northamptonshire seems certainly to have been in the diocese of Leicester,²³ over which the short-lived archbishopric of Lichfield (787-802)²⁴ exercised authority for a few years.²⁵ About 869 or 888 the seat of the bishopric of Leicester was moved to Dorchester-

¹ Bede, loc. cit. Stubbs, loc. cit.

² Bede, op. cit. lib. iii, cap. 24; Stubbs, loc. cit.

³ Will. of Malm. *Gesta Pontif.* (Rolls Ser.), 216; Stubbs, op. cit. 2-3.

⁴ Bede, op. cit. lib. iv, cap. 3.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid. lib. iii, cap. 28.

⁷ Ibid. lib. iv, cap. 2: cf. Will. of Malm. loc. cit. 'per omnes iterum gradus elevatum.' For the question involved see Hunt, op. cit. 133, and Browne, *Conversion of the Heptarchy*, 119-24.

⁸ Stubbs, op. cit. 3; Bede, op. cit. lib. iv, cap. 3.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid. cap. 5.

¹¹ Ibid. cap. 6; Stubbs, loc. cit.

¹² Bede, op. cit. lib. iv, cap. 12.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid. 21 (23).

¹⁵ Ibid. 12; *Florence of Worc.* (Engl. Hist. Soc.), i, 36, 41.

¹⁶ Ibid. 239-40, 242.

¹⁷ Ibid. 240; Bede, op. cit. lib. iv, cap. 21 (23).

¹⁸ Hill, *Engl. Dioceses*, 127-31.

¹⁹ Hunt, op. cit. 142.

²⁰ From 691, this diocese was administered for a short time by St. Wilfrid. Stubbs, op. cit. 162.

²¹ Hill, op. cit. 135.

²² Ibid. 136. It may have been in the diocese of Dorchester, if there really was a Mercian see of that name before 869, and if that see had not united with Leicester (Ibid. and J. R. Green, *The Making of Engl.* 343), or been created anew (Will. of Malm. *Gesta Pontif.* (Rolls Ser.), 307).

²³ Hill, op. cit. 137.

²⁴ Ibid. 171-9; Hunt, op. cit. 240, 245; Will. of Malm. *Gesta Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 85; 'John of Peterborough,' p. 9 in J. Sparke, *Hist. Angl. Script.* (but he gives a wrong date).

²⁵ Hill, op. cit. 156 (map).

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on-Thames, under the pressure of the Danes,¹ and probably nothing remained under the bishop's control except Oxfordshire, the greater part of Buckinghamshire, and the southern extremity of Northamptonshire.² The northern part of the diocese, with the town of Leicester, was recognized as a Danish possession by the treaty of Wedmore (879).³ The original proportions of the see must have been recovered, if only nominally, by the triumph of Edward the Elder over the Danes in 921,⁴ but for some time afterwards the position of the bishop in this part of his diocese was perhaps not assured, for it was a bishop of Winchester (Ethelwold) who, about 966, founded a monastery at Peterborough, the abbey of Peada and Saxulf having been destroyed by the Danes a century before.⁵

About this time the diocese of Dorchester was united with that of Lindsey, for Leofwin, bishop of Lindsey, moved southwards—doubtless because the Danes made it impossible for a Christian bishop to remain in the north—and became bishop of Dorchester.⁶ The seat of the bishopric, which now extended from the Thames to the Humber, seems to have remained at Dorchester⁷ till, in the latter half of the eleventh century, it was removed to Lincoln.⁸

After thus giving, in briefest outline, some account of the episcopal control of Northamptonshire up to the Norman Conquest, it will be well to return for a few moments to the story of the conversion of the inhabitants. Peada, the first member of the royal house of Mercia to embrace Christianity, is said to have been also the first to found a regular missionary settlement in this region, namely at Medehamstede (Peterborough) in the midst of a marshy tract at the extreme north-west of the county. This scheme is represented as having been begun by him with the aid of Oswy of Northumbria about 655, and subsequently enlarged by Peada's brothers, Wulfhere and Ethelred, and by his sisters, Kyneburgh and Kyneswith,⁹ and a prominent part in it is assigned to Saxulf, who was the first abbot,¹⁰ and who, as is related, succeeded Winfrid in 675 as bishop of Lichfield. Founded in some such manner as this, the great monastery of Peterborough began, even before Saxulf's elevation to the episcopate, to send out missionaries and religious colonies, of which one of the earliest was that established (a settlement of some importance) at Brixworth.¹¹

Guthlac, the hermit of the fens, settled at Crowland,¹² in Lincolnshire, close to the border of Northamptonshire, about 699, and doubtless his influence in the northern part of the latter county was considerable. About the same date St. Pega, his sister, established a Christian cell within the county at the place that, soon after her death, obtained the name of Peakirk.¹³

¹ Stubbs, *op. cit.* 11, 162; *Angl. Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 73; Hill, *op. cit.* 186–7, 210.

² *Ibid.* 212.

³ *Ibid.* 185.

⁴ *Ibid.* 212.

⁵ *Ibid.* 213; Will. of Malm. *Gesta Pontif.* (Rolls Ser.), 317. Malmesbury here places Peterborough in Huntingdonshire.

⁶ *Ibid.* 311–12; Stubbs, *op. cit.* 15. Stubbs, however, elsewhere places the union about 1003 (*Constit. Hist. of Engl.* i, 274 n.), and Hunt takes a similar view (*op. cit.* App. ii).

⁷ Hill, *op. cit.* 210–11; Will. of Malm. *loc. cit.* *Angl. Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 96, 104, 118, 129, 171.

⁸ Hill, *op. cit.* 261; Stubbs, *Reg. Sac. Angl.* App. ii.

⁹ *Angl. Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 25–9, 31–3.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*; Bede, *op. cit.* lib. iv, cap. 6.

¹¹ 'Hugo Candidus,' 6, 9, in J. Sparke, *Hist. Angl. Script.*

¹² Felix, *Vita S. Guthlaci* (Acta Sanct. 11 April).

¹³ It is mentioned as having been destroyed by the Danes in Dugdale, *Mon.* ii, 95.

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Another cell of somewhat similar date was founded at Weedon Beck by St. Werburgh¹ (daughter of Wulfhere), who had the general superintendence of the houses of the devout women throughout Mercia. St. Kyneburgh, sister of Wulfhere, was the first ruler, if not the founder, of a Christian settlement at Castor,² and with her were associated her sister, St. Kyneswith, and her kinswoman, St. Tibba.³ St. Wilfrid is said to have founded a monastery at Oundle, and there he was overtaken by sickness on one of his innumerable journeys and died in the seventy-fifth year of his age (A.D. 709).⁴

The abbey of Peterborough and the settlements of Brixworth, Peakirk, Castor, Oundle, and Weedon, together doubtless with other colonies, were for a time either blotted out or grievously maimed by the pagan Danes, who overran this part of Mercia in 870, when their object was no longer mere plunder, but settlement.⁵ For nearly a century the Christianity of the shire was under a heavy cloud, but with the restoration of the great monastery of Peterborough in 963, or 966, better days dawned. The county was again harried in the early part of the eleventh century, but by that time many of the Danes were Christians, and there was not the like deliberate destruction of all that pertained to the worship of God.⁶ The extent of pre-Norman Christianity throughout the shire can be better gauged under the head of Christian architecture.

Dorchester, as has been stated above, remained the seat of the bishopric that included Northamptonshire till after the death of Wulfwig, the last Saxon bishop, in 1067.⁷ In that year the Conqueror filled the see by the appointment of Remigius, an ecclesiastic from the monastery of Fécamp, who had been of material assistance in forwarding his victorious course,⁸ and this prelate moved the seat of the episcopal government to Lincoln.⁹ From that

¹ Tanner, *Notitia*, (ed. J. Nasmith), Northants, xxxvi, 36.

² Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1621.

³ The full dedication of the church of Castor was in the honour of the 'Holie Virgins Seynt Keneburgh, Kenyswythe, and Tybbe,' and is given in a will of 1532, though other wills only name St. Kyneburgh. The subsidiary church of Upton is also dedicated in honour of St. Kyneburgh. The Celtic saint, St. Columba, is commemorated in the dedication of Collingtree, the terminal of the place-name being also Celtic; St. Wilfrid, of the Roman obedience, at Guilsborough; St. Werburgh, at the chapel of Weedon Beck; St. Guthlac, at Passenham and at the chapels of Deeping Gate and Elmington; and St. Pega, at Peakirk. It may be as well to give here a complete summary of the dedications of the old churches of Northamptonshire, taken in each case from pre-Reformation wills. The dedications of this county are most inaccurately given in modern gazetteers and calendars. For instance, a group of churches is assigned to St. Luke, and in every one of these churches this dedication is a recent invention. These errors have unfortunately been perpetuated in a large work of three volumes (1899) on the dedications of English churches. The true dedication of each church will hereafter be given under each parish. This summary includes a certain number of old parochial chapels that had fabrics at a distance from the parish church, but omits the churches of merely religious foundations. St. Mary, 62; St. Peter, 25; St. Andrew, 20; St. Michael, 11; St. Leonard, 8; St. Lawrence, 7; St. James, 6; St. Botolph, 5; Holy Cross, 3; St. Catherine, 3; St. Edmund, 3; St. Margaret, 2; St. Giles, 2; St. Martin, 2; St. George, 2; All Saints, 43; St. John Baptist, 20; SS. Peter and Paul, 19; St. Nicholas, 11; Holy Trinity, 7; St. John Evangelist, 6; St. Mary Magdalen, 6; St. Helen, 5; St. Guthlac, 3; St. Mary and All Saints, 3; St. Denys, 3; St. Thomas of Canterbury, 2; St. Bartholomew, 2; St. Gregory, 2; The Assumption of Our Lady, 2; St. Kyneburgh, 2; St. Peter and St. Mary, 1; St. Leger, 1; St. Benedict, 1; St. Stephen, 1; St. David, 1; St. Werburgh, 1; St. Matthew, 1; St. Michael and All Saints, 1; St. Saviour, 1; St. Columba, 1; St. Pega, 1; St. Wilfrid, 1; St. Faith, 1; Decollation of St. John Baptist, 1; St. Sepulchre, 1.

⁴ Dugdale, loc. cit.; Bede, op. cit. lib. v, cap. 19.

⁵ 'John of Peterborough,' 16-21, and 'Hugo Candidus,' 14-16, both in J. Sparke, *Hist. Angl. Script.*

⁶ See subsequent account of Peterborough under 'Religious Houses.'

⁷ *Angl. Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 171.

⁸ Will. of Malm. *Gesta Pontif.* (Rolls Ser.), 312.

⁹ Ibid. At a council held in 1072, the bishops were ordered to fix their sees in centres instead of villages (Will. of Malm. *Gesta Reg.* (Engl. Hist. Soc.), ii, 479). The date of the transference by Remigius is variously given (Hill, *Engl. Dioceses*, 261 n.). Stubbs prefers to date the see of Lincoln from the episcopate of Remigius's successor (*Reg. Sac. Angl.* App. ii).

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city the churches of Northamptonshire were ruled for five centuries. Remigius placed seven archdeacons over seven provinces which he ruled. One Nigel he appointed archdeacon of Northampton.¹

Without again traversing the ground already covered in the article on the Northamptonshire Domesday Survey, it is necessary to touch upon the survey very briefly from the ecclesiastical point of view. The abbey of Peterborough, at the time of the Conquest, was the only old Northamptonshire ecclesiastical foundation that held land in the county. Its rights, as well as those of smaller ecclesiastical bodies not in Northamptonshire, but holding endowments within that county, seem to have been thoroughly respected by the Conqueror. Only four churches are mentioned in the survey, namely, those of Brackley and Pateshull (Pattishall), and two more, All Saints' and St. Peter's, the locality of which is not given, but which are possibly Stamford churches. Although only four churches are named, mention is made of fifty-three priests associated with as many manors. It has long been recognized that the absence of any mention of a church from a given passage of the survey does not in any way imply that a church did not exist. So far as Northamptonshire is concerned, archaeology abundantly proves the pre-Norman existence of a considerable series of churches unnamed in Domesday, and history supports that conclusion. For example, the Conqueror confirmed to the abbey of St. Ebrulf (Evroul) in 1081 the Northamptonshire churches of Byfield and Newton St. Lawrence,² neither of which finds a place in the survey.

As to priests, Sir Henry Ellis thought that their mention generally implied a church.³ Though probably this is so in the majority of instances, it is not necessarily so in all cases; for, as has been pointed out by later writers, the priest may sometimes be named in his personal and not in his official character.⁴

Under the Conqueror's successor, the see of Lincoln, like many others, was for a time kept vacant, doubtless because the revenues of vacant bishoprics went to the crown; and thus, as happened only too frequently in succeeding reigns also, Northamptonshire was left without episcopal supervision.

Bishop Remigius fled in 1092, and it was not till 1094 that Robert Bloet, the king's chancellor, was consecrated to fill his place.⁵ In the time of Rufus this county begins to figure very prominently in English ecclesiastical history, indeed it is not a little remarkable that so many important events connected with the policy and development of the church in the Middle Ages should have taken place within its limits. This probably arose from two causes, its central position, which made it generally convenient for the gathering of the council, and the fact that the castles of Northampton and Rockingham were favourite residences as hunting head quarters of the Norman and early Plantagenet kings. The Red King's dispute with Anselm, and that of Henry II with Thomas à Becket, were the two most important crises of the Church of England in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The central point

¹ *Hen. of Hunt.* (Rolls Ser.), 302. 'Province' here does not mean 'county,' for there are nine counties mentioned. Rutland is omitted.

² The charter is cited in Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1078.

³ Ellis, *General Introduction to Domesday*, i, 289.

⁴ *Domesday Studies*, ii, 339-446.

⁵ Will. of Malm. *Gesta Pontif.* (Rolls Ser.), 313; Stubbs, *op. cit.* 24.

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of each of these disputes was brought out at the respective councils of Rockingham and Northampton. In connexion, too, with the Crusades, the two most important councils, so far as the church was concerned, were held at Geddington and Pipewell.

At the time of Anselm's promotion to Canterbury the papal see was claimed by two rival popes, and Anselm, as abbot of Bec in Normandy, was supporting Urban, in whose favour that province had decided. Early in 1095 he asked the royal permission to go to Rome to receive from Urban the pall, but the king seized on this request as an act of treason, and as infringing a principle observed, so he declared, by the Conqueror, that no pope should be acknowledged in England without the consent of the crown.¹ At Anselm's suggestion the king summoned the council, which met at Rockingham Castle on 25 February, 1095.² The archbishop complained that, he was reduced to the dilemma of forfeiting his fealty to the king, or renouncing his obedience to the pope, and called upon the bishops to give him their counsel and support. They, however, played a timorous and unworthy part—including Bishop Bloet, of Lincoln, the chancellor and tool of the king—and attempted to induce their chief to yield. But their efforts were fruitless. The case was twice adjourned, and when the bishops, instigated by William and encouraged by his example 'refused faith and obedience' to the archbishop, the barons, knowing that the general feeling of the clergy and laity was on Anselm's side, emphatically declined to do likewise.³ Eventually the king was obliged to give way, and soon afterwards he recognized Urban as pope, and was formally reconciled to the archbishop.⁴ The struggle between the crown and the primate was renewed later on more general grounds,⁵ and was revived in the following reign on the question of lay investitures.⁶ The dispute was eventually ended by a compromise; the bishops were to do homage and take the oath of fealty to the king; but they were no longer to be invested by him in their bishoprics by the delivery of a pastoral staff or ring.

For half a century after the death of Anselm the ecclesiastical history of England was comparatively uneventful, although the church was making much quiet progress. The creation of the see of Ely in 1109,⁷ by taking from the diocese of Lincoln—still ruled, down to 1123, by Bishop Bloet⁸—the whole of Cambridgeshire, rendered episcopal ministration in the remainder of the parent diocese, including Northamptonshire, somewhat more thorough. But Lincoln still remained the largest diocese in England, comprising seven counties and a half,⁹ and it is all the more scandalous, therefore, that for the greater part of nineteen years, from the death of Bishop Robert de Chesney in 1167, to the appointment of Hugh of Grenoble (afterwards St. Hugh) in 1186, it was practically without episcopal supervision. In the latter half of this century the struggle between Church and State was renewed with an intensity even greater than in the days of Anselm, and again Northamptonshire was the centre of the fray. The actual points at issue between Becket and the king are apparently trivial; they were really fundamental. Becket's concep-

¹ *Eadmer* (Rolls Ser.), 52-3.

² *Ibid.* 53 and *note*; Stephens, *Hist. of the Engl. Church*, A.D. 1066-1272, 97 et seq.

³ *Eadmer* (Rolls Ser.), 54-64.

⁴ *Ibid.* 69, 71.

⁵ *Ibid.* 77 et seq.

⁶ *Ibid.* 131, 186.

⁷ Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 136.

⁸ Stubbs, *op. cit.* 24.

⁹ Hill, *op. cit.* 263-4; Stephens, *op. cit.* 192.

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tion of the status and privileges of the clergy seemed to Henry inconsistent with the due order and government of the realm. Henry's violence of method and personal want of character led Becket to see in him a deadly enemy of the Church and of religion.

The archbishop had not long been consecrated when he began to offend the king, first by objecting to the conversion of 'sheriff's aid' into a royal tax,¹ then by excommunicating a tenant-in-chief, without first consulting the king according to custom,² but chiefly by his championship of the immunity of the clergy from the jurisdiction of the secular courts. A case in point was that of Philip de Broi, a canon in the Lincoln diocese, who, having been acquitted in the bishop's court on a charge of murder, refused to plead in a secular court, and insulted the judge. The king insisted on the necessity of a secular trial of the accused, both for murder and for contempt, but Becket revoked the case to Canterbury, where, after the decision that the question as to murder could not be re-opened, the canon was duly punished for insulting the lay judge.³ Not satisfied, however, the king presently requested the assent of the bishops to the customs of Henry I, involving the delivery of criminous clerks to the secular court immediately after degradation by the court ecclesiastical. But the bishops would not assent without a reservation of the rights of their order.⁴ This reservation formed the principal subject of a curious conference between Becket and the king near Northampton. Henry, who was there first, would not let the archbishop enter the town, alleging that it would not contain the retinues of both, and rode out to meet him, when a conversation took place in the open air. In spite of Henry's angry reproaches, however, Becket firmly refused to retract the obnoxious stipulation.⁵ Among those wavering bishops whom the king now formed into a party against their chief, was Robert de Chesney, bishop of Lincoln.⁶ The breach between king and primate was further widened by the latter's attitude at the council of Clarendon in January 1164, when he promised to observe the customs of Henry I, yet objected to confirm that promise when the royal claim for the predominance of the secular power was defined by the reduction of the customs to writing.⁷ Further offence was caused by his apparent contempt of a summons to appear in the king's court, whither one John the Marshal, taking advantage of a recent royal order, had transferred a suit which he had instituted against the archbishop in the latter's own court.⁸ Shortly afterwards he was again summoned, not directly, but through the sheriff of Kent,⁹ to appear at a council at Northampton. He arrived there on Tuesday, 6 October, 1164 (after some annoyance from the king's retinue, who had occupied his lodgings), and was housed at the priory of St. Andrew.¹⁰ Next day the king refused the kiss of peace.¹¹ On Thursday Becket was condemned by the lay lords and the prelates sitting in the council together, to forfeiture of all his movable property for contempt of the first summons, and was required to answer for £300 due for the castles of Eye and Berkhamstead; and on Friday he was sentenced to repay to the king a loan of £500

¹ *Materials for Hist. of Thomas Becket* (Rolls Ser.), i, 12.

² *Ibid.* iii, 43.

³ *Ibid.* i, 12; ii, 374; iii, 45; iv, 24.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii, 376; iv, 202-5.

⁵ *Ibid.* iv, 27.

⁶ *Ibid.* 30; ii, 327.

⁷ *Ibid.* i, 15-23; ii, 311, 379-83; iii, 46-9, 278-89; iv, 33-7, 99-103, 189, 206-8.

⁸ *Ibid.* iv, 40, cf. i, 20, § vii.

⁹ *Ibid.* iii, 51.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 50; iv, 42.

¹¹ *Ibid.* iii, 50.

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or £1,000.¹ On Saturday the king demanded nothing less than an account of the revenues of all sees, abbacies, baronies and other honours, of which, while he was chancellor, Becket, had had charge during vacancies.² At the crisis of his misfortunes the archbishop was seized with sharp and sudden illness, but on Tuesday, 13 October, recovered, and after celebrating the mass of St. Stephen (with the introit 'Princes did sit and speak against me')³ he took with him the Host, as if he were going on his last journey and would need the 'Viaticum,'⁴ and rode down to the castle, the gates of which were barred as soon as he had entered.⁵ His archiepiscopal cross he bore himself⁶ in spite of his suffragans, and evidently prepared to resist to the uttermost the temporal power. The arguments of the archbishop of York were rejected with a 'Hence, Satan.'⁷ Presently the bishops and nobles were summoned to confer with the king, who sat in an inner apartment, and Becket was left almost alone with his faithful attendants, William FitzStephen and Herbert of Bosham.⁸

On being informed by the bishops that their chief intended to appeal against them to Rome, and that he had forbidden them to sit any more in judgment upon him, the king sent a final message by the lay lords to the archbishop, asserting that his attitude was contrary both to his general allegiance to the crown and to his specific promise at Clarendon, and that one of the constitutions⁹ allowed bishops to attend all trials in the king's court except when a death sentence was to be pronounced. The message concluded with the question whether he would stand by the judgment of that court upon his financial administration as chancellor. The archbishop, however, not only remained obdurate, but now formally appealed to the pope.¹⁰ When the nobles reported this answer, the bishops likewise appealed to the same authority against their chief.¹¹ Thereupon the king required the lay lords to pass judgment, the bishops being permitted to withdraw, but when Robert earl of Leicester came forth to announce the sentence of condemnation for perjury and treason, Becket refused to listen, insisting that he could not be judged by a lay court, and, amid the insults of bystanders, left the hall.¹² Taking Herbert of Bosham up behind him¹³ he rode back to St. Andrew's, where he was awaited by an admiring throng who eagerly besought his blessing.¹⁴ Being now deserted by a large portion of his retinue, which included over forty secular and regular clergy, besides knights and squires,¹⁵ he entertained a number of the poor at supper,¹⁶ during which the thought of flight was suggested.¹⁷ Becket ordered his bed to be laid in the priory chapel, but just before dawn he escaped by the north gate of the town and rode to Lincoln,¹⁸ whence he travelled southward to Sandwich and crossed to Flanders¹⁹ on his way to the pope, who was then at Sens. Meanwhile, some of the bishops and others had left Northampton for the same destination on behalf of the king.²⁰ On arrival they were not very sympathetically received,²¹ but Becket, who

¹ *Materials for Hist. of Thomas Becket* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 52-4, 296-9.

² *Ibid.* 299.

³ *Ibid.* iii, 56, 300-4.

⁴ *Ibid.* 305.

⁵ *Ibid.* iv, 46.

⁶ *Ibid.* iii, 57, 305.

⁷ *Ibid.* i, 35.

⁸ *Ibid.* iii, 58-9, 306-8. As they were eye-witnesses it is mainly on their description of the trial that this brief account is based.

⁹ *Materials for Hist. of Thomas Becket* (Rolls Ser.), i, 21, § x.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* iii, 62-4.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 66, 308.

¹² *Ibid.* 67-8, 309-10.

¹³ *Ibid.* 68.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* iv, 52.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* iii, 311; iv, 45.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* i, 40; iv, 52.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* iii, 312.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* iv, 53-4.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 55; ii, 399-400.

²⁰ *Ibid.* iii, 72.

²¹ *Ibid.* 73, 335.

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came later, was welcomed with enthusiasm,¹ and the majority of the constitutions of Clarendon, which he exhibited in a full consistory, were solemnly condemned.² The incidents connected with the council of Northampton, and the subsequent struggles culminating in his murder at Canterbury, served to stamp the name and memory of St. Thomas of Canterbury deeper on the minds of the mass of the people than that of any other figure in Church or State from the Conquest to the Reformation.

The troubles of the reign of John must have been keenly felt in Northamptonshire, for he spent much of his time at Northampton and Rockingham every year that he was in England, making this county, indeed, more his residence than any other part of the kingdom. In the second year of his reign died St. Hugh of Lincoln, whose beneficent rule that diocese had enjoyed for fourteen years.³ The see remained vacant till 1203, was then held by William of Blois (elected in opposition to the king's nominee) till 1206, and was then vacant again for three years.⁴ In 1208 the quarrel between John and the pope about the appointment of Stephen Langton to the primacy came to a head, and England was laid under an interdict, in consequence of which the life of the Church, though perhaps less affected than has sometimes been supposed,⁵ nevertheless suffered considerably. As a counterblast the king confiscated the property of the clergy, both religious and secular. Most of the bishops left the country. The clergy throughout the land were oppressed and insulted by the king's emissaries, and many, both of the clergy and of the laity, went into exile like the bishops.⁶ Archbishop Langton, consecrated by the pope in 1207 to succeed Hubert Walter, who had died in 1205, was obliged to remain in exile till the king should give way. The see of Lincoln was already vacant when the interdict was published; but even when it was filled by the election of Hugh Wells, in 1209, the new bishop so annoyed John by obtaining consecration from Archbishop Langton at Melun, that the king declared the see again vacant and confiscated its revenues.⁷

In 1210 ineffectual negotiations for the reconciliation of the crown and the clergy took place between John and two papal emissaries, Pandulf and Durand, at Northampton.⁸ In 1213 John submitted to the pope, and Archbishop Langton, the bishops (including Hugh of Lincoln), and the exiled clergy and laity generally returned to England.⁹

Except for the three years 1203-6, the huge diocese to which Northamptonshire belonged had now been without actual supervision since the death of St. Hugh; and from 1208 it had been suffering presumably in almost every parish, from the interruption, consequent upon the interdict, of most of the ministrations of the Church,¹⁰ as well as from the results of the king's ill-treatment of the clergy and the general spoliation of church property.¹¹ On the bishops' return, those who had inclined to the king's side in each

¹ *Materials for Hist. of Thomas Becket*, (Rolls Ser.), iii, 76, 340.

² *Ibid.* 340-2.

³ *Roger de Hoveden* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 309; iv, 141.

⁴ Stubbs, op. cit. 33, 36, 37.

⁵ Stephens, op. cit. 211-12.

⁶ Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 521-3; *Walter of Coventry* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 199-200, 213.

⁷ *Ibid.* 200; Matt. Paris, op. cit. (Rolls Ser.), ii, 528.

⁸ *Ibid.* 531-2.

⁹ *Ibid.* 550; *Walter of Coventry* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 211, 213.

¹⁰ Matt. Paris, op. cit. (Rolls Ser.), ii, 522. The interdict was mitigated more than once. (*Walter of Coventry* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 201, 205).

¹¹ Matt. Paris, op. cit. (Rolls Ser.), ii, 523.

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diocese sought absolution from their diocesan, and received it, all save ecclesiastics, for these were reserved for the pope's judgment.¹ Many sees and abbacies were now vacant, several of the latter, including that of Peterborough being in the Lincoln diocese, but the bishops would not allow them to be filled unless the procedure was to be canonical;² and it was not until the king had rendered satisfaction for the plunder of ecclesiastical property, that they consented to take off the interdict in the summer of 1214.³ In 1215, by agreement with certain of the bishops who had been in exile, including the archbishop and the bishop of Lincoln, freedom of election to sees and abbacies was granted by John and confirmed by the pope.⁴

As would naturally be expected, the historical associations of the Church in Northamptonshire gather largely about the county town. It was here that a dispute arose which led to one of the earlier interferences of the pope in the affairs of the shire. Simon de St. Liz, who had founded the priory of St. Andrew about 1093, filling it with Cluniac monks, gave to that house all the churches in the town.⁵ The parishioners of certain of these churches, however, had taken upon themselves to found chapels without the sanction of the patrons. The monks of St. Andrew's, therefore, appealed to Rome, and in 1201, the pope, Innocent III, decided in their favour. As the see of Lincoln was then vacant the publishing and enforcing of the papal mandate was entrusted to the archbishop of Canterbury, in association with the bishops of London and Ely.⁶

Simon, the son of the above-mentioned Simon de St. Liz, had bestowed on the priory of St. Andrew a tenth of the profits arising from a fair held on All Saints' Day in the church and churchyard of All Saints⁷ (which is conclusive evidence of the considerable size of the nave of the Norman church). The scandals attendant on such a use of any part of a church came home to that earnest prelate, Bishop Grossetête, who ruled the diocese of Lincoln so ably from 1235 to 1253, and in the former year he induced King Henry III, who was then at Northampton Castle, to order that for the future the fair should be held in 'a void and waste place to the north of the church,' the present large Market Square.⁸ The bishop followed up the royal action by issuing to his archdeacons an injunction which cited the decree relative to All Saints', and forbade generally, under pain of ecclesiastical censure, any buying or selling in the monastic and parochial churches of their archdeaconries.⁹ In a second communication he ordered them to correct various abuses, particularly the desecration of churches and churchyards by their being used for games.¹⁰

Northampton, like other towns in England of commercial importance, had its Jewry, which was probably established in the latter half of the twelfth

¹ *Walter of Coventry* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 213.

² *Ibid.* 213-14. The vacant abbeys were now in the king's hands under somewhat exceptional circumstances.

³ *Walter of Coventry* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 214, 217; Matt. Paris, op. cit. (Rolls Ser.), ii, 541, 569, 570, 575, 576.

⁴ *Ibid.* 607-10.

⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* v, 185. *V.C.H. Northants*, i, 293.

⁶ Northants Chart. No. 7 (Bodl. lib.).

⁷ Reg. of St. Andrew, Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xvii, fols. 2, 3.

⁸ Close, 20 Hen. III, m. 24.

⁹ *Letters of Bp. Grosseteste* (Rolls Ser.), 71.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 75.

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century.¹ The Jews' quarter in our English towns was always, as might be expected, near the market-place, and in Northampton it was placed to the west of the great market-square, chiefly in Silver Street and part of Gold Street.²

There was a strange notion current among the antiquaries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that the round church of St. Sepulchre was the old Jewish synagogue.³ Such an idea was, of course, absurd, but it is true enough that near St. Sepulchre's lay the Jewish burial-ground, just outside the north gate.⁴ Where the synagogue stood can now be determined from the recently calendared charters at the British Museum.

The *schola* of the Jews is mentioned soon after their expulsion as being on the west side of Northampton, beyond the bridge.⁵ It afterwards became the property of the abbey of St. James, Northampton, and was the scene of a curious incident in connexion with one of those widespread outbursts of anti-Semitism which marked the first year of Richard I, when the popular dislike of the Jew was fanned by the enthusiasm attending the third crusade.⁶ On 7 March, 1190, a number of young men who had joined the crusade and had assembled from various districts at Stamford, where a great market or fair was being held, organized an attack on the Jews in that town, partly from religious motives, but even more with a view to defraying their crusading expenses out of the plunder.⁷ Many Jews were killed, and Jewish houses were ruthlessly pillaged. One of the plunderers named John carried off his spoils to Northampton, where he was robbed and murdered by the man in whose house he lodged. The murderer threw the body over the town wall and decamped with the booty. When the corpse was found, the excited anti-Semitic feeling at once ascribed the crime to the Jews, and the dead man soon began to be regarded as a martyr. Miracles were reported to have been performed at his tomb, and matters went so far that pilgrimages as to a shrine began to be organized from surrounding, and even from comparatively remote, districts.⁸ The fraud was encouraged by the local clergy on account of the material gain.⁹ News of these proceedings came, however, to the ears of the diocesan, St. Hugh, who hurried at once

¹ There was apparently no Jewry here in 5 Hen. II (Jacobs, *The Jews of Angevin Engl.*, p. 28, § 9), but the roll of a general subscription made by the Jews for Richard I, probably towards his ransom, shows that the Jewish settlement at Northampton had attained to a position of considerable importance by 1194. It was at Northampton, also, that the promise of this subscription was made, on behalf of the Jews of all England (Ibid. 162-3, 381-2).

² Cox and Serjeantson, *Hist. of St. Sepulchre's, Northampton*, 26, n.

³ Ibid. 26, n. 160. The same idea used to be current with regard to the round church at Cambridge (Ibid. 26, n.).

⁴ The burial-ground seems to have been rented from the prior of St. Andrew's. It was maintained at least in part, by the rent of some houses in Stamford. A stone wall surrounded it (*Trans. Jewish Hist. Soc. of Engl.* ii, 98). In 1177 the king granted a licence to the Jews to have a burial-ground outside the walls of any city where they could, without objection, purchase a convenient site (*Roger de Hoveden* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 137).

⁵ 'Schola' was then the regular term for a synagogue, and, as has been remarked, is strangely similar to the familiar word 'school' for synagogue still in common use among English Jews (Jacobs, *Jewish Ideals*, p. 169). From a will of 1630 (quoted by Cox and Serjeantson, loc. cit.), it would seem that a synagogue was then believed to have once stood in or near Silver Street.

⁶ *Ralph de Diceto* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 75. The motive of these outbreaks seems to have been due to greed quite as much as to religious ardour (Will. of Newburgh in *Chron. of Steph. Hen. II, and Ric. I* (Rolls Ser.), i, 308. In 2 Hen. III the Jews throughout England were protected by royal writ to the local sheriffs and officers against annoyance from 'Crucesignati' (Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*, p. 77). The Jews were forced to contribute towards the crusade. *Roger de Hoveden* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 338.

⁷ Will. of Newburgh in *Chron. of Steph. Hen. II and Ric. I* (Rolls Ser.), i, 310-11.

⁸ Ibid. 311.

⁹ Ibid.

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to Northampton to put an end to the imposture.¹ A serious riot ensued, which the biographer of St. Hugh mentions as affording an instance of the courage and presence of mind which the saint could display. Writing generally of this and certain other somewhat similar incidents, he tells how the good bishop, while swords were flashing round him, and his attendants were crouching in their terror beneath the very altars, could succeed bare-headed and unarmed, in quelling the storm by his intrepidity and the sternness of his rebukes, and how his remarkable personality subdued the infuriated burghers of Northampton.² The tomb which was the centre of the disturbance is said to have been within the church of All Saints.³ Wherever it was, the scandal associated with it was decisively checked. St. Hugh profaned the votive offerings and forbade further reverence to be paid to the false martyr under pain of excommunication.⁴

After the erection of a special court in the latter part of the twelfth century for the regulation of Jewish affairs, known as the Exchequer of the Jews,⁵ the members of this race were practically forced together in those towns where chests were established for the registration of their bonds.⁶ Northampton and Stamford, as well as Lincoln, are frequently mentioned in the thirteenth century as towns containing these public chests.⁷ In 1218 'the sheriff and constable of Lincoln and of Stamford . . . and the sheriff and constable of Northampton,' as well as the authorities of various other parts of England, received an important order⁸ by which the Jews were to be allowed to remain where they were, and to have the same 'communa' among the Christians which they had had aforetime; the officers to whom the order was addressed were to watch over their interests, and to proclaim that the king had granted the Jews his 'firm peace,' notwithstanding any action that might be taken to the contrary by the bishop of the diocese, to whom the affairs of 'the king's Jews' were to be of no concern;⁹ and if the Jews did anything for which they could be bound over to appear the said officers were to see that they appeared before the king's justices appointed for the custody of the Jews,¹⁰ and that the jury was composed of Jews and Christians of good repute; they were not to allow Jews to be summoned for debt before the 'court Christian'; and they were to see that all was managed as in the time of John.¹¹

As regards episcopal hostility to the Jews, much, of course, depended on the character of individual bishops. In the diocese which included Northampton the Jews on the whole suffered more at the hands of civil

¹ Will of Newburgh in *Chron. of Step. Hen. II and Ric. I* (Rolls Ser.), i, 310-11.

² *Magna Vita S. Hugonis* (Rolls Ser.), 167, 348.

³ Serjeantson, *Hist. of All Saints', Northampt.* 15.

⁵ Cunningham, *Growth of Engl. Industry and Commerce*, i, 188.

⁴ Will. of Newburgh, loc. cit.

⁶ The justices of the Jews were ordered in 1283-4 to receive all Jews staying in any place wherein there was no chest of chirographers of the Jews, on the ground that their residence in such places was contrary to the custom of the king's Jewry. Close, 12 Edw. I, m. 8.

⁷ Pat. 1 Edw. I, m. 18; 4 Edw. I, m. 36.

⁸ Ibid. 2 Hen. III, m. 3. It had also been ordered that the Jews of Northampton and elsewhere should wear two white strips of linen or parchment on the breast of their clothing, that none injuring them might pretend that he did not know they were Jews (Tovey, op. cit. 79-80).

⁹ For the relation of the mediæval church and king toward the Jews, see Jacobs, *The Jews of Angevin England*, pp. ix-xxii.

¹⁰ Tovey, *Angl. Judaica*, 31, 43, 48.

¹¹ John had granted a charter of privileges to the Jews of England and Normandy. The Jews had also figured in the Great Charter. Ibid. 61, 73.

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than of ecclesiastical authorities.¹ They were especially befriended by St. Hugh,² and later on by Bishop Grossetête.³ In the episcopate, however, of Grossetête's successor, Henry Lexington, the cruel accusation of ritual murder, which in Europe was first brought against the Jews of Norwich in 1144,⁴ was repeated at Lincoln in the case of 'little St. Hugh' in 1255, and led to the execution of some nineteen Jews, including one who is said to have been a chief priest or rabbi (*pontifex*) and the imprisonment of a much larger number.⁵

The Jews of Northampton did not escape a similar charge in the next reign. An old crucifix, built into the wall of a house at the south-west corner of St. Sepulchre's churchyard, is even now occasionally pointed out as a memorial of the crucifixion of a christian boy on Good Friday, 1277!⁶ Ritual murder, as ascribed to the Jews, is, of course, a wicked myth, but it is undoubtedly true that, early in the reign of Edward I, the Jews of Northampton had this terrible charge brought against them, and that many suffered death in consequence. It is commonly asserted that, on this probably quite baseless accusation, fifty Jews were drawn at the horse-tail outside the walls of the town and there hanged.

A seventeenth-century statement places the alleged crime in the seventh year of the reign, and states that the Jews did not 'thoroughly kill' the boy; adding that in connexion with the affair many Jews, after Easter, were drawn at horse-tail and hanged in London.⁷

In 1290 the Jews were banished the kingdom, and their property in Northampton and elsewhere was confiscated to the crown.⁸

Northampton was specially identified with the different phases of the crusading movement. The great Simon de St. Liz, earl of Northampton, joined the first crusade, which ended in the capture of Jerusalem by assault on 15 July, 1099. It is almost certain that he was the founder of the round church at Northampton, built after the model of the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and that he built it on his return (which took place in the same year) as a thank-offering for the success of the expedition.⁹ At the beginning of 1188, (Jerusalem having fallen into the hands of the Saracens

¹ Many of the higher clergy were deeply in their debt. In 1175 William of Waterville, abbot of Peterborough, was deposed by Archbishop Richard for having entered the monastery church with an armed force and extracted the arm of St. Oswald and other relics against the will of his monks, in order to pledge them to the Jews (Jacobs, *op. cit.* 57).

² The biographer of the saint vividly describes their lamentations at his funeral. *Magna Vita S. Hugonis* (Rolls Ser.), p. 373.

³ *Letters of Bishop Grosseteste* (Rolls Ser.), p. 33.

⁴ Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin Engl.* 19-21.

⁵ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 340; ii, 346. Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), v, 516-19, 546, 552. According to the first of these accounts the Dominicans, according to Matthew Paris the Franciscans, intervened on behalf of the condemned Jews in London. For the discussion of the whole of this celebrated case see Jacobs, *Jewish Ideals*, 192-224.

⁶ Cox and Serjeantson, *Hist. of St. Sepulchre's, Northampt.* pp. 119-122.

⁷ John Weever, *Anct. Funeral Monuments* (ed. 1631), p. 377. The *Jewish Encyclopaedia* (ix, 335) gives the following account: 'In 1279, a boy having been found murdered at Northampton, some Jews of that town were taken to London, dragged at the tails of horses, and hanged.'

⁸ *Cal. of Pat.* 18 Edw. I, m. 14, 13; 19 Edw. I, m. 25, 21, 20. At this time there seem to have been only five Jews or Jewesses holding landed property in Northampton, the general community holding, besides their synagogue and cemetery, five houses and five cottages (with curtilages belonging to them). The buildings were subject to certain payments to the priory of St. Andrew and the abbey of St. James. 'The 'archa' or chest of the Northampton Jews was duly delivered at Westminster, but the particulars of their bonds have been lost (*Trans. Jewish Hist. Soc. of Engl.* ii, 98). Not till 1890 do we again find any considerable settlement of Jews at Northampton, but in that year some Russian Jews arrived and established a synagogue (*Jewish Encyclopaedia*, ix, 335).

⁹ Cox and Serjeantson, *Hist. of St. Sepulchre's, Northampt.* 23-6.

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on 6 October, 1187,¹) the archbishop of Tyre met the kings of England and France at Gisors, and preached the third crusade. Both Henry II and Philip laid aside the differences which had brought them to Gisors and took the cross,² as Prince Richard had done already.³ Before the end of January, at a council held at Le Mans, Henry issued an order levying the famous tax known as the Saladin tithe, whereby every man in his domains who did not personally join the crusade was required to give one-tenth of his income and goods toward the expenses.⁴ Returning immediately afterwards to England, he designed to go to Canterbury, but hearing that the services in the cathedral there were suspended⁵ he went instead to Northampton, where the archbishop was about to hold a conference with his clergy and where the bishops and barons also assembled on the news of the king's arrival.⁶ On 11 February a great council met in the king's presence at Geddington, when a number of important articles, which had apparently been before the council held at Le Mans,⁷ were read and approved, regulating matters connected with the aforesaid tithe (clerical books and vestments being specially exempted therefrom), and with the personal behaviour and business arrangements of the crusaders. Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, then rose and excommunicated all who should break the peace during the crusade, after which he somewhat inopportunistically raised the question of his quarrel with the monks of Canterbury. Partly in consequence of the stirring sermons delivered during this council by him and by Gilbert Glanvil, bishop of Rochester, many persons, both clerical and lay, took the cross before the council broke up, among those who did so being the bishop of Lincoln. Arrangements were also made for the collection of the aforesaid tax in the counties on the principle ordained at Le Mans, while in the towns a list was to be made of the richer inhabitants, who were to pay the tithe according to an assessment made by persons acquainted with their affairs, a similar plan being applied to the Jews.⁸

In the following year Henry died, and Richard I was crowned at Westminster on 3 September. A council of the higher clergy was summoned to meet in London almost immediately afterwards, that the king might fill up a number of ecclesiastical offices then vacant, before starting for the Holy Land. The council, however, was presently adjourned to Geddington,⁹ and its actual meetings were held at the neighbouring abbey of Pipewell,¹⁰ on the outskirts of the royal forest of Rockingham. It opened on 15 September, 1189, being attended by the abbots and priors of almost the whole of England and by a number of bishops, among them the crusading Archbishop Baldwin, the saintly Hugh of Lincoln, and several prelates from Ireland and the Continent. Many important ecclesiastical vacancies were filled at this council, including several abbacies and the sees of York, Winchester, London, Salisbury, and

¹ *Roger de Hoveden* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 321 and note.

² *Gesta Hen. II et Ric. I* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 29-30.

³ *Ibid.* p. 29.

⁴ *Ibid.* 30-31.

⁵ This was an incident in that protracted quarrel between Archbishop Baldwin and his cathedral monastery which occupies so large a part of the *Chron. of Gervase of Cant.*

⁶ *Gervase of Cant.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 406. Henry, apparently while he was at Northampton, sent to Canterbury to complain of the cessation of the services as a slight to himself on his arrival in England. (*Ibid.*)

⁷ *Gesta Hen. II et Ric. I* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 31-2.

⁸ *Ibid.* 33; *Gervase of Cant.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 409-12; see also *Roger de Hoveden* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 335 et seq.

⁹ *Gervase of Cant.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 457-8.

¹⁰ *Gesta Hen. II et Ric. I* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 85 and note.

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Ely,¹ and it was on this occasion that Baldwin made his claim, which he supported by an appeal to the pope, that the right to consecrate to the see of York belonged to the archbishops of Canterbury.²

On Sunday, 17 September, John, bishop elect of Whithern (Galloway), was consecrated in the abbey of Pipewell by the bishop of Enaghdone and the archbishops of Dublin and Treves.³ After the appointment of justiciars by the king, the council was dissolved⁴ and shortly afterwards Richard set forth on the crusade.

The next crusade with which Northampton was associated was the seventh. Many of the nobles, headed by Richard earl of Cornwall, brother of Henry III, took the cross in 1236.⁵ Various causes, however, delayed their departure, and it was not till 12 November, 1239, that the crusaders assembled at Northampton to discuss their impending expedition. To prevent being inveigled by papal influence into engaging in other warfare on the way, Richard and his companions bound themselves by a solemn oath, sworn upon the high altar in the church of All Saints 'to take their journey to the Holy Land for the deliverance of the holy church of God in that year.'⁶ In spite of this oath, the crusaders were not able to start till 10 June, 1240.⁷

About thirty years later, the same town played the most considerable part, so far as England was concerned, in the ninth and last crusade. On 24 June, 1268, a great assembly was held here to kindle religious enthusiasm against the renewed successes of the infidel. The fullest description of the scene as given by a chronicler of the time may be thus rendered in English :

There assembled on Sunday, the festival of St. John Baptist, at Northampton, the papal legate the bishop of Winchester, and an innumerable multitude of English knights, and there, after a solemn preaching, Prince Edward, and Prince Edmund his brother, sons of the king, Prince Henry, the eldest son of the king of the Romans, the earls of Gloucester and Warenne, Lord William de Valence, and other knights to the number of one hundred and twenty, much troubled by the havoc wrought in the Holy Land—especially by the capture of Antioch by the Saracens—received on their shoulders the sign of the Holy Cross, in token of their intended expedition. Aroused by the example of the nobility, a vast number of people of both sexes, and of all conditions, rushed forward to receive the cross. Of the number of the knights, twenty-two were of the superior rank termed knights-banneret. The enthusiasm thus roused in Northampton was carried throughout the cities, boroughs, and towns of the whole kingdom, by the preaching of the Dominican and Franciscan friars, so that a great and innumerable multitude soon bore upon their shoulders the sign of the cross.⁸

Not the least interesting incident in the ecclesiastical history of Northampton at this period—a period when education was largely the monopoly of the church—was the establishment here of a university. About the year 1261 a quarrel at Cambridge between the northern and southern scholars, led to a serious riot in which the townsfolk joined, and a number of the masters

¹ These were assigned respectively to Geoffrey (the king's natural brother), Godfrey de Lucy, Richard Fitz-Nigel, Hubert Walter, and William de Longchamp, who (except Geoffrey) were all consecrated later at Westminster and Lambeth (*Ralph de Diceto* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 71, 75).

² Geoffrey, however, was consecrated 18 August, 1191, at Tours, by the archbishop of Tours (*Ibid.* 96). Baldwin was then dead and the see of Canterbury vacant. A protest had, however, been made by William de Longchamp, bishop of Ely, as legate (*Gervase of Cant.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 496–7).

³ Fulmar, archbishop of Treves, died soon after this council while staying at Northampton, and was buried in the priory of St. Andrew (*Ralph de Diceto* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 70; *Gesta Hen. II et Ric. I* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 89).

⁴ *Gesta Hen. II et Ric. I* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 85–7; *Roger de Hoveden* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 15–16; *Gervase of Cant.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 458.

⁵ Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 368.

⁶ *Ibid.* 620. In the following year Northampton was the scene of a meeting of the bishops to protest against an unwarrantable exaction by the pope (Matt. Paris, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 437).

⁷ Matt. Paris, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 437.

⁸ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 217.

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and students, annoyed at the too frequent disturbances of their studies, determined to migrate to Northampton.¹ For this plan they obtained a licence on 1 February, 1260-1, from the king,² who also issued letters patent to the Northampton authorities directing them to receive the new-comers and treat them with due respect.³

Early in 1264 the settlement was reinforced by the advent of a number of students from Oxford who had left that city in fear that their privileges would be taken away by the king in consequence of a recent town-and-gown conflict. These seceders were shortly afterwards induced by the king to return, but before any except a very few of them had actually done so, Henry issued a new writ expelling all scholars from Oxford till after the approaching session of Parliament there, probably because the university favoured the baronial party. Many of the ejected scholars thereupon openly went over to the barons, and were directed by them to repair to Northampton,⁴ which thus seems to have received two immigrations from Oxford in rapid succession. These, however, were not the only migrations of university scholars to Northampton that are recorded. There had been one as early as 1238, when a number of students seceded hither from Oxford after that affray between the scholars and the retinue of the Cardinal-Legate Otho which had brought such severe punishment upon the former and their university from both the legate and the king,⁵ and it is not improbable that a community of students had existed in Northampton continuously, from 1238 up to the later immigrations from Cambridge and Oxford already mentioned.⁶ The seceders from the latter university in 1264 had been directed to Northampton because that town was under the influence of the barons.⁷ As a stronghold of that party, it was attacked in the same year by the king, on the resumption of hostilities following the Mise of Amiens.

As the foremost ranks of the royal forces entered the town by a breach near the priory of St. Andrew, they were assailed with especial vigour by the clerks from Oxford, who, marching under a banner of their own, plied them with slings, bows, and catapults. At this the king was so enraged that he swore that as soon as he was safe inside the walls, the scholars should be hanged. As soon as the clerks heard this, many of them shaved their heads (i.e. probably renewed their tonsures); and on the king's entrance some of them fled to the castle, others left their horses and arms behind them and took refuge in the churches, while a few (but of the baser sort, *de communi populi*) ran away altogether. When the king demanded the execution of his oath it was pointed out to him that to hang the scholars would certainly alienate many of his own supporters, who had sons and other relatives among them, whereupon he abandoned his intention. An attack was subsequently made upon the castle which immediately surrendered, and after it had been garrisoned the king took his departure.⁸ But though the scholars from Oxford had been spared, the university of Northampton was doomed.

¹ Cooper, *Ann. of Camb.* i, 48.

² Rymer, *Foedera* (Rec. Com.), i, pt. i, 403.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Maxwell-Lyte, *Hist. of the Univ. of Oxf.* 63-5, 74; Rashdall, *The Univ. of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ii, 395.

⁵ Maxwell-Lyte, *op. cit.* 34-7.

⁶ Rashdall, *op. cit.* ii, 396.

⁷ During the war much plunder was taken by the insurgents at Northampton and some other towns from the unfortunate Jews (Rigg, *Select Pleas . . . from the . . . Exch. of the Jews* (Selden Soc.), Introd. p. xxxvii.

⁸ *Hen. Knighton* (Rolls Ser.), i, 241-4; *Walter of Hemingburgh* (Engl. Hist. Soc.), i, 309-12.

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After the battle of Lewes (fought on 14 May, 1264), a writ was issued in the king's name, but really prompted by the victorious Simon de Montfort, ordering the Oxonians to return to Oxford,¹ and on 1 February, 1264-5, another writ was issued in similar circumstances forbidding the mayor and citizens of Northampton to allow any longer the existence of a university in the town or the sojourn of any students there under any other conditions than had existed before the foundation of the said university, on the ground that such a university did harm to Oxford, and that the bishops were unanimously of opinion that its removal would conduce to the advantage of the English Church and to the profit of students.²

Just before the first crusade the priory of St. Andrew, as has been already stated, was entrusted by Simon de St. Liz with the patronage of all the churches in Northampton. This control of parish churches by religious houses was a notable cause of ecclesiastical dispute in England, at any rate up to the year 1219. The parish churches of England were at first all rectories possessing the tithes, the glebe, and the offerings. Vicarages had their origin in appropriation, that is, the giving of the advowsons, and subsequently the rectories or endowments, to religious houses. For some time after the Conquest the monasteries that obtained benefices from patrons procured occasional licence to dispense with episcopal institution or induction. This grew into a habit, so that the heads of many religious houses claimed and maintained the right to institute to their own benefices by investiture. The consequences only too often were fitful clerical residence and a lack of hospitality or almsgiving within the parochial limits, as well as occasional neglect of the divine offices. To check this evil the council of London, held at Westminster in September, 1125, passed the decree—termed by the first earl of Selborne ‘the coping-stone of the parochial system’—that the bishop should institute to every benefice in his diocese.³ By many of the monasteries this English canon was, however, systematically disobeyed, and in 1179 the third Lateran Council⁴ ordered that the bishops were to require monasteries to assign a sufficient maintenance for vicars, and that vicars were not to be removable at the will of the appropriators.⁵ Even this failed to reduce to obedience the more powerful of the English monasteries, which steadily refused to assign definite stipends or security of tenure to their vicars. The council of London, held at Westminster in 1200, also dealt pointedly with the question,⁶ and at last it was taken up still more decisively by the great Lateran Council (the fourth) of 1215.⁷ The English bishops were now determined to put down any further defiance of their powers. The one who was the most persistent and gained the day for his own and other dioceses was that vigorous administrator, Hugh Wells, of Lincoln. Finding that there was still much resistance throughout his vast and unwieldy diocese, Bishop Wells boldly attacked the most powerful offender, the great abbey of St. Albans, and fastened on the case of its appropriation of the revenues of the important

¹ Maxwell-Lyte, *op. cit.* 66.

² This writ is printed by T. Fuller in his *Hist. of the Univ. of Camb.* (ed. Prickett and Wright), 31-2. See also Rashdall, *op. cit.* ii, 395.

³ Bail, *Summa Conciliorum*, ii, 398.

⁴ *Ibid.* i, 404 et seq.

⁵ Before this, ‘appropriations might have been made to laymen,’ but by the decrees of this council, ‘which were incorporated into the English law, laymen were made incapable of appropriations granted to them’ (Phillimore, *The Eccl. Law of the Ch. of Engl.* (ed. 2), i. 222).

⁶ Bail, *op. cit.* ii. 414.

⁷ *Ibid.* i, 413 et seq.

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church of Luton, where there was merely a single temporary stipendiary priest as vicar, without any legalized income or recognized position in the diocese. This battle of the parishes against the monasteries—for all recognized this as a test case—was a prolonged one, and very costly to both combatants. It eventually resulted in the appointment by Pope Honorius of a special commission (the bishop of Salisbury and the abbots of Westminster and Waltham), which gave judgment in 1219. It was thereby ordered: (1) that the vicar should be presented for approval and institution to his diocesan; (2) that he should receive all the small tithes and obventions of the church and its parochial chapels, with a suitable manse; (3) that he should pay all parish dues, procurations, and synodals; and (4) that the bishops of Lincoln should for the future have full jurisdiction in the church of Luton.¹ After this victory the religious houses throughout England gave way all along the line, wherever pressed, and the formal ordination of vicarages became general.

From this time onward any further encroachment on parochial rights by monasteries or other religious orders was very exceptional. In a considerable number of parishes the benefices remained rectories, the monasteries merely presenting the rectors, and obtaining now and again a small pension from the tithes; whilst in cases where the great tithes were appropriated, the vicars were presented, and had an assured income, usually about a third of the value of the benefice. Houses of regular canons, such as the Augustinian and Premonstratensian, might present to the livings their own members, but in the case of the much more numerous monks, whether Benedictine, Cluniac, or Cistercian, this was strictly forbidden, though the restriction was occasionally evaded. Save, then, that the income of a benefice appropriated to a religious house was divided between that house and the incumbent, the parishes that had religious patrons and those that had secular patrons differed practically in no way from one another. The question of the vicarages is one with which the ecclesiastical history of this county is specially connected. It is usually assumed that no vicarage was formally ordained in England until about 1200, but the living of Blakesley in the south of the county was entered as a vicarage on the diocesan roll in 1156. It was appropriated to the Knights Hospitallers.²

No sooner was the Luton case settled than Bishop Wells proceeded to secure the definite establishment of vicarages throughout his diocese, and the enrolment of others that had been ordained in previous times. One of the most interesting items in the fine collection of episcopal muniments at Lincoln is the *Liber Antiquus* of that energetic prelate, wherein are entered particulars of no fewer than 300 vicarages in the seven archdeaconries of his diocese. Internal evidence shows that this list was compiled about 1220, but certain additions were made somewhat later in his episcopate. The Northampton vicarages enumerated in this volume are fifty-three, and comprise Little Addington, Canons Ashby, Cold Ashby, Mears Ashby,

¹ A copy of this deed is given in *Antiq. of Beds.* (Biblio. Topog. Brit.), iv. 62. See also Cobbe, *History of Luton Church* (1899), 100-3.

² Blakesley is briefly entered on Bishop Wells' list of vicarages, and a later hand has added that the ordination of this vicarage was entered on the roll of Robert, formerly bishop of Lincoln, in the eighth year of his episcopate. This must refer to Bishop Robert de Chesney, who was consecrated in 1148. Cf. the important charter of Robert de Chesney in Round, *Cal. Doc. France*, p. 444, No. 1,231. This must be earlier than 1154.

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Ashby St. Ledgers, Little Billing, Blakesley, Bozeat, Brackley, Brafield, Catesby, Chacombe (Chalcombe), Daventry, Dodford, Duston, Evenley, Fawsley, Floore, Fotheringhay, Guilsborough, West Haddon, Hardingstone, Hemington, Horton, Little Houghton, Lilbourne, Marston, Maxey, Moulton, Newbottle, Northampton (All Saints, St. Bartholomew, St. Edmund, St. Giles, St. Michael, St. Gregory, and St. Sepulchre), Norton by Daventry, Pattishall, Peterborough (St. John Baptist), Preston Deanery, Preston Capes, Roade, Slipton, Staverton, Sulgrave, Watford, Weedon Beck, Weedon Lois, Welford, Wellingborough, Woollaston, and Wothorpe.¹ Forty of these parishes are expressly stated to have had their vicarages ordained *auctoritate concilii*. By this must be meant the fourth Lateran Council (1215). Almost all of the vicarages thus characterized in the Northampton and other archdeaconries would be those ordained by the bishop after the Luton judgment, when the general canon of the council was supported in a particular case.

Six of these Northamptonshire vicarages are described as ordained *exduddum*, that is, 'very long ago,' namely, Guilsborough, Marston, Maxey, Moulton, Newbottle, and Wellingborough.

Bishop Wells's existing roll of institutions at Lincoln does not begin till 1220, but there are two transcripts or full excerpts which contain notices of occurrences in 1217.² Among the institutions of the latter year are those made to the Northamptonshire livings of Addington, Maxey, and Norton, the incumbent in each case being styled 'perpetual vicar.'

The considerable variety of religious houses holding the great tithes of Northamptonshire is illustrated by the list of the fifty-two examples of this period:—Priory of St. Andrew, Northampton, thirteen; priory of Daventry, seven; abbey of St. James, Northampton, five; abbeys of Peterborough, Sulby, Leicester, priories of Dunstable, Delapré, and Catesby, and the Knights Hospitallers two each; priories of Canons Ashby, St. Neots, Huntingdon, Launde, Luffield, Merton, and Chalcombe, abbeys of Alnwick and Crowland, and the hospital of St. John, Northampton, one each. In addition to these, there were three foreign houses, each of which held a single vicarage, namely, the abbey of St. Lucien, near Beauvais, the abbey of Bec, and the abbey of Ebrulf (St. Evroul), all in Northern France.

The ordinations of these vicarages do not give (with the exception of Peterborough) such full details as are found in later examples, but no two of them are precisely alike, and most of them have some special point of interest. The vicars of the various Northampton churches, all of which belonged to the priory of St. Andrew at its north gate, were treated after a different fashion from the country vicars, as the emoluments of these town churches were so small. The vicar of the great church of All Saints was entitled to

¹ The full title of this volume is *Liber Antiquus de Ordinationibus Vicariorum tempore Hugonis Wells, Lincolnensis Episcopi*, 1209–35. It was printed by Mr. A. Gibbons in 1888, with an introduction by Canon G. G. Perry. The Northamptonshire vicarages are on pp. 31–40 of Mr. Gibbons's edition. Canon Perry's edition assumes that the *Liber Antiquus* was written in 1218, but careful examination shows that the date was about 1220, the year after the Luton case. As a proof of some later entries, it may be mentioned that there is a reference under one vicarage to the council of Oxford, which was held in 1222. By a slight error in transcription Mr. Gibbons has placed the notice of St. Sepulchre under the heading of St. Gregory. Both ordinations are mentioned in the original MS. There is a full criticism of the *Liber Antiquus* in H. Cobbe's *History of Luton Church* (1899), 517 et seq.

² Bishop Kennett's Collections, Lansd. MS. 946; and Hutton's Collections, Harl. MSS. 6950–5.

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daily board, either in the frater or in the prior's chamber, as he preferred, his servant boarding in like manner with the prior's upper servants. He received as stipend 30s. a year, and 6*d.* at each of the four principal feasts. He was also allowed the residuum of the blessed bread every Sunday, half of every second legacy, and a penny whenever he celebrated mass at a funeral or a marriage. Moreover, the monks not only sustained all parochial charges, but found two chaplains with their two clerks to assist the vicar. The vicar of St. Sepulchre's was on a like footing with his brother of All Saints', save that he had a stipend of two marks, and did not receive any clerical assistance. The vicars of St. Edmund, St. Giles, and St. Michael received the full value of their churches, save that they had to render to the priory the respective sums of twenty shillings, twelve marks, and four marks. The vicar of St. Bartholomew's retained all the income of that church by rendering annually to the monks a pound of white incense.

With regard to the country vicarages, one or two of the more exceptional features may be named. The vicar of Little Addington received part of his stipend in kind, the abbot of Sulby supplying him with six quarters of wheat and six of barley, half the quantity at Easter and the other half at Michaelmas. The abbey of St. Lucien exempted from the dues of the vicar of Weedon Lois the oblations offered to relics in the church of Weedon, as well as the candles on the day of the Purification. One of the most interesting obligations that we have met with in regard to vicarage ordinations is that which rested upon the canons of the Austin houses of both Chalcombe and Canons Ashby with regard to the vicars of those parishes, namely, the providing them each with a palfrey to attend synods or chapters, or to visit the sick whenever necessary.

During the last half of the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century the ordination of vicarages in this county went on apace, though after an intermittent fashion, until the number enrolled by Bishop Wells was nearly doubled. The proportion of vicarages to rectories in Northamptonshire was far in excess of the average proportion in England generally. At the end of the pre-Reformation period there were in this county 105 vicarages to 176 rectories, whereas the general proportion throughout England stood at 3,845 to 9,284.¹ It is difficult to offer any adequate reason or reasons for this exceptional feature of Northamptonshire church life, but it was probably chiefly due to the powerful influence of the great abbey of Peterborough in the north of the county, and of the priory of St. Andrew in Northampton and the adjoining districts. There would, too, be less disposition on the part of bishops to put a check on appropriations when so many of the Northamptonshire parishes were of comparatively small area and population.

The amount of tithes, glebes, and advowsons held throughout the shire by religious houses does not, of course, by any means represent the extent of territorial influence which the religious orders possessed. They had tenants almost everywhere up and down the county, some of these tenants occupying small farms or holdings let at a definite rental and under no special control; others being found on the large farms or granges where the monks or canons had a definite agricultural establishment and a chapel, the latter in no way connected with the parochial system.

¹ Cutts, *Parish Priests and their People* (1893), caps. xxv, xxvi.

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The Taxation Roll of 1291 shows the great extension of ecclesiastical temporalities that had taken place in the two centuries succeeding the Great Survey. Besides the monastic establishments of the shire itself, many religious houses situated in other counties or abroad possessed temporalities in Northamptonshire when the Taxation Roll of 1291 was compiled; as, for example, the abbeys or priories of St. Albans, Belvoir, Biddlesden, Bradenstoke, Bradwell, Bury St. Edmunds, Bushmead, Chicksands, Clattercote, Creting, Croxden, Crowland, Deeping, Dunstable, Elstow, Evesham, St. Frideswide, Godstow, Grestain (Normandy), Huntingdon, Launde, Lavendon, Leicester, Lenton, Lilleshall, Markyate, Merevale, Kirkby Monachorum, Newstead, Owston, Ogbourne, Ramsey, Sawtry, Snelshall, Thorney, Tickford, Tutbury, Ware, Wardon, St. Wandrille (Normandy), Westminster, Woburn, and Wroxton.¹

This Taxation Roll of the Church—undertaken in order to ascertain the correct value of the tenths granted by Pope Nicholas IV to the king for six years for crusading expenses, and completed for the province of Canterbury in 1291—was compiled under the direction of the bishops of Winchester and Lincoln. Perhaps that accounts for there being somewhat fuller particulars recorded of Lincoln² than of some other dioceses. The total value of the Northamptonshire benefices³ was £3,323 15s. 8d., but for the purposes of taxation £429 17s. 9½d. had to be deducted for seventy-seven livings that were under the annual value of 10 marks.⁴ Mr. Round has commented on the great diversity of income in parochial endowments which is shown by the entries that name such endowments in Domesday Book.⁵ That diversity has always been apparent, and its causes are too obvious to need explanation. But as our attention has been drawn to the exceptional number of vicarages in the county, it is of some interest to note, in fairness to the religious houses, that according to the Taxation Roll of 1291 Northamptonshire contained far more small rectories than small vicarages. Out of the seventy-seven livings under the annual value of 10 marks fifty-six were rectories and only twenty-one vicarages.⁶

Occasionally the emoluments of a church appropriated to a religious house were divided into two parts or rectories, one of which was held by the religious house and the other by the incumbent for the time being, and both parties were alike termed rectors. Thus the church of Higham Ferrers was in two moieties, or rectories, one held by the resident priest and the other by the Austin canons of Dunstable;⁷ Isham was in like manner divided between the local priest and the priory of St. Andrew;⁸ and Weldon between the local priest and the priory of Launde.⁹ Pattishall, on the other hand, was in the singular position of having one half of its rectory appropriated to the Dunstable canons, and the other to the convent of Godstow.¹⁰ Clipston, again, was divided into three portions, but none of these were appropriated; they were all small, and two were assigned to one rector and the third to another, so that one rector of Clipston had an income of £9 15s. 6½d. while his fellow-rector only drew £4 17s. 9½d.¹¹ It must not, however, be understood that such division of the emoluments into two or more rectories was always, or

¹ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 53-6.

² *Ibid.* 30-77.

³ *Ibid.* 37-40, 42-3.

⁴ *Ibid.* 40, 43.

⁵ *V.C.H. Hants*, i, 420-1.

⁶ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 37-43 (Archdeaconry of Northampton).

⁷ *Ibid.* 38.

⁸ *Ibid.* 39.

⁹ *Ibid.* 38.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.* 39.

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even usually, an arrangement adopted for the sake of avoiding vicarages, for such cases often came down from much earlier days, when portionary churches were the rule and not the exception.

The endowments of the secular or parochial clergy were subject, in the thirteenth and succeeding centuries, to the gravest abuses, among the chief of which was the holding of benefices in plurality. A notable instance of this evil occurs in connexion with Northamptonshire. On 23 May, 1280, Bogo de Clare was presented by the earl of Gloucester to the rectory of Whiston. His institution was claimed from the official of Lincoln, the see being then vacant. Institution had to be granted, for a papal dispensation was produced. Bogo's proctor had to declare on oath the name and value of each preferment that his principal already held, the total yielding the then great income of £228 6s. 8d. Bogo held the widely dispersed churches of Callan (diocese of Ossory), Leverington (Ely), St. Peter's, Oxford (Lincoln), Kilkhampton (Exeter), Eynsford (Canterbury), Polstead and Soham (Norwich), Acaster and half Doncaster (York), Swanscombe (Rochester), Dunmow (London), Rotherfield (Chichester), Simonburn (Durham), Fordingbridge and half Dorking (Winchester), Llandogo (Llandaff), and Ham and 'Cheverell' (Salisbury).¹ All these rectories would be served by mere stipendiary chaplains, and the parishes would probably be in a worse plight than those that had duly ordained vicarages.

Northamptonshire also supplies some striking examples of one of the greatest grievances inflicted by the crown upon the Church: the application of benefices in royal hands or under royal influence to the remuneration of offices of civil administration, without the least regard for the needs of the diocese, the archdeaconry, or the parish.

Sometimes such benefices provided an income in this way for an official of creditable life and high character, as in the case of Hugh de Pateshull. In early life this official was employed in the Exchequer.² He lost the favour of John through siding with the baronial party. Henry III, however, appreciated his merits, and in 1234 he became treasurer of the kingdom.³ He was a clerk in priest's orders, and was a prebendary of St. Paul's, as well as holder of several livings. In 1240 Hugh was consecrated bishop of Lichfield,⁴ and discharged that office faithfully till the following year,⁵ when, revisiting his native county of Northampton, he was taken ill and died at Potterspury.⁶ In 1239, when he was nominated to the bishopric and was accepted by the chapters of both Lichfield and Coventry, he had taken the then unusual step of at once resigning his parochial benefices. The register of his friend, Bishop Grossetête, shows that in that year he resigned the Northamptonshire rectories of Brockhall, Cottingham, Elkington, and Stowe-Nine-Churches, together with the half-rectory of Higham Ferrers.⁷

Bishop Grossetête, who was so justly severe and so exemplary as a diocesan, would scarcely see much wrong (in spite of the better feeling of the times) in such comparatively moderate plurality as served to find an income for the upright Hugh de Pateshull; but in another case connected with Northamptonshire, that of Robert Passelew, it was otherwise.

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Sutton.

² Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 296.

³ Ibid. iii, 296; iv, 1-2. He is also mentioned as 'domini regis cancellarius,' Ibid. iii, 542.

⁴ Ibid. iii, 542-3, iv, 1, 31.

⁵ Ibid. iv, 171.

⁶ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 157.

⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Grosseteste.

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A man of ability but of unscrupulous character, he had taken an evil part in public affairs in the days of John, and was for a long time an exile from the kingdom.¹ In 1228, after the death of Archbishop Langton, he returned and gained the favour of Henry III.,² who made him treasurer of the Exchequer, and afterwards deputy-treasurer of the kingdom.³ About 1244 the king made him justice of the forests, an office that he exercised with the greatest severity.⁴ Although Passelew was not in priest's orders, the king conferred on him a prebend of St. Paul's and the archdeaconry of Lewes, as well as certain minor preferments. But Henry met his match when he endeavoured to increase his favourite's income at the expense of the Church in the diocese of Bishop Grossetête. He presented Passelew to the rectory of St. Peter's, Northampton, which, in conjunction with Kingsthorpe and Upton, was at that time a valuable piece of preferment. The bishop refused to institute Passelew, stating that it would be contrary to divine law and canonical sanction to institute one who exercised the functions of a forest judge.⁵ In a letter to Archbishop Boniface, he explained that as a justice of the royal forests Passelew judicially inquired into thefts of vert and venison, caused those branded with such charges to be arrested and imprisoned, and sentenced not only laymen but clerks, besides discharging other functions of that office; that Passelew had been frequently but fruitlessly warned by him (presumably after the presentation to St. Peter's) to cease from exercising such an office; and that the refusal to institute was grounded upon Passelew's illicit exercise thereof, as well as upon other objections not specified.⁶ Grossetête's action was all the bolder, because Passelew had been presented in the time of this bishop's predecessor to two other rectories in Lincoln diocese—Swanbourne, Buckinghamshire, in 1218, and Brampton, Northamptonshire, in 1231.⁷ Shortly before this rebuff to the king the canons of Chichester, partly because they knew such a step would win the royal favour, elected Passelew as their bishop, but Grossetête was able to defeat their intention. The election of Passelew came before the bishops, and they deputed Grossetête to examine him. Passelew had to submit to examination, and the sturdy bishop of Lincoln reported that he was too ignorant for the episcopate.⁸ The king was indignant and appealed to Rome for his consecration,⁹ but Innocent IV eventually consecrated Richard de Wych, whom the bishops had put forward without asking the king's consent.¹⁰

Bishop Grossetête was as bold against papal as against royal encroachments, and the well-known instance of his rejecting for preferment the nephew of the pope¹¹ is often cited. His register, however, shows that he could not always keep foreigners out of the benefices of his diocese; and it must be remembered, too, that his vigour in this direction was less marked during the earlier portion of his episcopate than it became toward the end. Giles de Spoleto, described as clerk of the papal legate, was instituted to the

¹ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 89; *Walter of Coventry* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 262-3; *Matt. Paris, Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 94.

² *Matt. Paris, op. cit.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 240, 296.

³ *Letters of Bishop Grosseteste* (Rolls Ser.), 349.

⁴ *Ibid.* iv, 400-1, 426-7.

⁵ *Ibid.* 353-4.

⁶ *Matt. Paris, op. cit.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 401.

⁷ *Ibid.* 412.

⁸ *Ibid.* 401, 426. Passelew was eventually ordained priest in 1249, and the bishop of Ely then gave him the church of Dereham (*Ibid.* v, 85).

⁹ *Letters of Bishop Grosseteste* (Rolls Ser.), 432.

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Northamptonshire rectory of Werrington in 1237. Alemannus de Cokanato (a name obviously not English), described in the register as a cousin of the papal legate, was in 1244 instituted to the rectory of Deene, also in this county.¹ It is, of course, almost certain (though it is not possible to state it as a fact) that neither of these foreigners resided in his benefice. Among foreigners beneficed in Northamptonshire later on in the century, may be named J. de Aqua Blanca, the pope's chamberlain, instituted to Geddington in 1282; and the imperious Boniface VIII, who only resigned the rectory of Towcester when he became pope, and who was followed in the same living in 1295 by another Italian, who, through his proctor, exhibited papal letters to secure it.²

Another great evil of Grossetête's days that he endeavoured strenuously to combat, was the holding of livings by clerks who were not priests. In 1244 the Northamptonshire rectories of Harrowden and Geddington were both filled by sub-deacons.

There is, however, one other aspect of Grossetête's administrative abilities that may rightly be mentioned under this county. In 1221 he seems to have become archdeacon of Northampton, and it was the knowledge of the manifold and grave abuses prevailing which he gained as archdeacon that caused him to put forth his powers as bishop to such varied and practical purpose. Soon after his consecration he began a systematic visitation of his immense diocese, and he has left on record the admirable and novel plan which he then adopted,³ and which there is reason to believe he first carried out in his old archdeaconry of Northampton. Orders were issued to his archdeacons to instruct the rural deans to call together both clergy and laity at some convenient centre in each deanery. On the day appointed, Grossetête, with several of the ablest of his much-loved friars, was in readiness. The bishop himself preached to or admonished his clergy, while one of the friars preached to the great concourse of the people. During the day four of the friars were continuously engaged in hearing confessions, to which duty the bishop earnestly exhorted them. When the bishop had concluded his address to the clergy, he then proceeded to the confirmation of the children whom the parents had been previously urged by their parish priests to bring. When this was over, the bishop, with his clerks around him, spent the rest of the day listening to inquiries, and in giving advice or judgment in all cases brought before him.

Exceptional energy was displayed in the administration of this great diocese by Bishop Dalderby, whose episcopate extended from 1300 to 1320. He paid very close attention to the religious houses of this county, and of his circumspection and vigour generally a good idea can be formed from the following brief summary of some of his principal acts connected with the archdeaconry of Northampton, culled from his register.⁴

Indulgences were granted toward the repairs of the bridges of Oundle, Towcester, Geddington, and of the south bridge of Northampton; for the fabric of the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr at Thrapston bridge; to those visiting the church of St. John Baptist, Barnack, the altar of Our Lady at

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Grosseteste.

² Linc. Epis. Reg.

³ *Letters of Bishop Grosseteste* (Rolls Ser.), 71, 134, 146, 305, 344, etc.

⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Dalderby, *passim*.

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Lilford, the parish church of Weldon, and the Lady chapel of Moulton ; and for the repair of the church of Harlestone, and of the south aisle of the church of Fotheringhay. The high altar of the newly-built church of Rothwell was dedicated in 1310, and in the same year the altar of Our Lady at Kingsthorpe church ; the bishop also dedicated three altars in St. Michael's, Northampton, the high altar of the church of Preston, and an altar in the church of Ufford. In 1317 he instructed the archdeacon of Northampton to make collections for the fabric of the mother church of Lincoln.

The zeal of this prelate was also shown in other directions. Hearing that the vicar of All Saints',¹ Northampton, was incapable of doing duty through age and infirmity, he appointed a commission to inquire and report as to this case and others that might resemble it. The rector of Thorpe Malsor was cited to make residence. Irregular superstition was curbed, and the bishop inhibited the veneration of a well of St. Thomas the Martyr, in the field of Hackleton, in Piddington parish. A mandate was issued to all deans, rectors, vicars, and chaplains to bring children to be confirmed.

The bishop showed himself a strong upholder of the mendicant orders. In 1318, he licensed 104 Dominicans, sixty-two Franciscans, and sixteen Austin friars to hear confessions throughout the diocese ; but at the same time he inhibited unlicensed friars from either hearing confessions or preaching.²

Another entry in Dalderby's register tells of what seems, at first sight, an outbreak of iconoclastic rage. In Whitsun week, 1313, the parishioners of Tansor were making their customary Whitsuntide procession to Oundle, preceded by their cross and candles. They had just entered the churchyard when some of the inhabitants of Oundle rushed upon them, attacked both priests and people, broke up the staff of the cross into three or four pieces, and trod the cross under their feet 'in an heretical and diabolical manner.' The bishop in consequence excommunicated the offenders.³ The real reason for this attack was certainly mere local jealousy, and no anger against the symbol of Christianity. Probably it was customary, and was considered courteous, for the crosses of surrounding parishes to be lowered on entering the town or the churchyard of Oundle.⁴ At any rate the entry is of interest as showing that Oundle, an early centre of Christianity, was regarded as the mother church or minster of some of the surrounding parishes, who came at Whitsuntide to make their Pentecostal offerings.

It was in the episcopate of Dalderby's third successor, Bishop John Gynwell, that the diocese was visited by the Black Death. That terrible scourge which swept over Europe in the fourteenth century, reached these shores in 1348, probably in the month of August, and quickly spread from the coast of Dorset, where it first appeared, over all the west of England. On 17 August the bishop of Bath and Wells ordered his clergy to hold special services every Friday in their churches to avert God's wrath. In the following month, the prior of Canterbury (the see being vacant)

¹ An interesting inhibition addressed to the dean of Northampton with respect to trading within the church and churchyard of this parish will be found printed in Dansey, *Horae Decanicae Rurales* (1844), ii, 436.

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Dalderby, 368, 370, 383.

³ Ibid. f. 245b.

⁴ The crosses of Alrewas and Longton had to be delivered up on entering, at Whitsuntide, the close of Lichfield. Quarrels like that at Oundle were by no means infrequent.

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ordered processions or litanies throughout the province.¹ By the summer of 1349 the plague was raging throughout all parts of England. It was at its worst in Northamptonshire from May to October in that year. Of the beneficed clergy 148 died,² though the benefices subject to episcopal institution numbered only 281. The number of deaths would be far larger among the unbeneficed, particularly among the monks and friars. The clergy of the county town, where the plague was fiercest in October, suffered terribly. Out of the nine parochial benefices of Northampton, seven were rendered vacant, the vicarage of All Saints' being twice emptied.

A very striking instance of the effect of the Black Death upon the religious houses of the county is afforded by the abbey of Peterborough. In the custumal of that house it is stated that the number of the monks at the time of the great mortality was sixty-four, but that the deaths of that period reduced it to thirty-two, and that it was found impossible to observe the accustomed rota of services.³ The priory of Luffield is said to have lost all its monks and novices as well as the prior. There perished also the prior of Canons Ashby; the masters of the following hospitals: that of SS. John and James at Brackley, that of St. John Baptist at Armston, and that of SS. John and John Baptist at Northampton; and the superiors of the nunneries of Delapré, Rothwell, Swardsley, Catesby, and Wothorpe. Wothorpe never recovered from the effects of the pestilence. On the petition of its patron, it was in 1354 united to the neighbouring convent of Stamford St. Michael, the royal licence stating that the house was 'by the late pestilence reduced to such poverty that all the nuns, save one, had in consequence dispersed.'⁴

The effect of the Black Death upon religious and other architecture, and upon social life in general, is dealt with elsewhere: suffice it here to say a word or two about the effect upon ecclesiastical life in particular. Knighton, a canon of St. Mary's, Leicester, who thus lived in Lincoln diocese, and close to the border of Northamptonshire, and who wrote shortly after the cessation of the epidemic, thus sums up the situation:—

At that time there was everywhere such a dearth of priests that many churches were left without the divine offices, mass, matins, vespers, sacraments, and sacramentals. One could hardly get a chaplain to serve a church for less than £10, or 10 marks. And whereas before the pestilence, when there were plenty of priests, anyone could get a chaplain for 5 or even 4 marks, or for 2 marks and his board, at this time there was hardly a soul who would accept a vicarage for £20, or 20 marks. In a short time after, however, a large number of those whose wives had died in the pestilence came up to receive orders. Of these many were illiterate and mere laics, except in so far as they knew in a way how to read, although they did not understand what they read.⁵

The lists of ordinations from the Lincoln episcopal registers fully confirm some of Knighton's statements as to the after results, though the considerable

¹ F. A. Gasquet, *The Great Pestilence*, 71-4.

² This estimate is formed from the Lincoln Episcopal Register, compared with the Patent Rolls, where the presentations to benefices in the king's gift are recorded. In seventeen cases there were two or more changes during the year. It cannot of course be positively stated that in every case the vacancy was through death by the plague, but this must be true of the enormous majority of cases. The institutions of the arch-deaconry of Northampton, which included Rutland, were 32 in 1348, 183 in 1349, and 46 in 1350.

³ Lambeth MSS. 198*a* and 198*b*. This MS. is not paged.

⁴ Pat. 28 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 16. See also Gasquet, *op. cit.* 137-8.

⁵ For Knighton's account of the plague and its after results, and of the action of the bishop of Lincoln see his *Chronicle* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 58-65. For the wording of the above translation the writer is indebted to Abbot Gasquet (*op. cit.* 205-6).

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number of graduates that appear among the persons instituted show that his charge of illiteracy was somewhat sweeping.

Although the institution of those in minor orders to benefices was permissible, it remained the exception, and the best of the bishops endeavoured to reduce it to a minimum. But the Black Death upset all usual ecclesiastical procedure. The years 1349-51 are remarkable for the extraordinary number, not merely of persons who were ordained, but of persons whether in minor orders or otherwise, who were ordained straight to benefices. The striking difference begins with the ordination held at the prebendal church of Liddington, in March, 1348-9, when fourteen sub-deacons were ordained to benefices, five of which were in Northamptonshire, viz. : Ashley, Blakesley, Creaton, Litchborough, and Middleton Cheney. On 6 June, 1349, at Grantham, thirteen acolytes, eleven sub-deacons, and nine deacons were ordained to benefices, of which those in Northamptonshire were Armston, Ashby St. Ledgers, Elkington, Pytchley, Wadenhoe and Wollaston. On 18 September Lincoln witnessed the ordination of forty acolytes, twenty-three sub-deacons, and twelve deacons. A great ordination was held at the Carmelite church, Stamford, on 19 December, when the *beneficiati* included thirteen acolytes, sixty sub-deacons and seventy-six deacons, many of them destined for parishes in Northamptonshire. At an ordination in the church of Rothwell, on 20 February, 1349-50, eleven acolytes were ordained to benefices. There was another ordination on 13 March, when those appointed to benefices included five acolytes, thirteen sub-deacons, and forty-three deacons. It was much the same with the four other ordinations of that year, and with those of 1351 and 1352, which were held at scattered centres, such as Bedford, Huntingdon, Oxford, Sleaford, and Stowe, and it was not until after the May ordination of 1353 that matters resumed a normal condition.

These beneficed clerks were for the most part speedily passed on to the priesthood, but what must have been the condition of their parishes meanwhile, so far as sacraments and sacramentals were concerned? A few instances, occurring in this county, may be given here of the rapidity, contrary to all usual custom, with which many of these clerks progressed in orders. Richard de Cranesley was ordained sub-deacon, and instituted to Ashley in March, 1349, and was priested in the following June. The case of John de Wrangle and the vicarage of Blakesley was exactly similar. John Spelyng, instituted to Little Billing in September, was ordained acolyte and sub-deacon at the time, deacon in December, and priest in the following March. Philip Weland, William Danet, and Elias de Brympton were instituted in December, 1349, to the respective livings of Grendon, Hargrave, and Newnham ; at the same date they were all three ordained to the degrees of acolyte and sub-deacon, and were admitted to the diaconate and the priesthood at the following Easter. But protracted and far-reaching as were the effects produced upon the Church by the Great Pestilence and recurrences of the plague in 1361 and 1366, she maintained, with little diminution, the dignity of her corporate life.

In 1380 Northampton was the scene of an important meeting of Parliament. In connexion with the not infrequent summoning of Parliament to this town, the statement has been made (first by Bridges and then repeated by sub-

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sequent writers) that it met in 1380 and on several subsequent occasions in the church of All Saints.¹ Reference to the Fine Rolls, however, shows that in 1380 the king and his Parliament met in the priory of St. Andrew, in the great new dormitory, not as yet divided into cubicles.² There was indeed a meeting held at the same time in All Saints', but it was composed of clergy assembled in convocation, and the like is true of the subsequent occasions just alluded to. This Parliament of 1380 was a memorable one, both for Church and State. Opened by the young king, Richard II, and first addressed by the chancellor, Simon of Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, it was chiefly concerned with the raising of money for the wars then being waged in France. The king asked for £160,000. The Commons promised £100,000, provided that the clergy, as owners of a third of the kingdom, paid one-third of the sum. The clergy, sitting in All Saints', where the message reached them, demurred to this stipulation as an infringement of their rights, saying that, 'their grant was never made in Parliament, neither ought to be; and that the laity neither ought nor had the power to bind the clergy, nor the clergy the laity.' Nevertheless, they expressed their willingness to consider the question independently, and eventually voted, approximately, the proportion required. In the following month (December) the king formally notified the southern archbishop of this clerical subsidy and of the times of its payment.³

In the preceding year, when a graduated poll tax had been adopted, the following scale had been imposed by convocation on the clergy:—Bishops and mitred abbots £4, beneficed clergy £3 to 2s. according to the value of their living, monks and nuns from 3s. 4d. to 4d. according to the value of the house to which they belonged, and unbeneficed clerics 4d. This had produced from the clergy £8,000. The exact method adopted to raise the far larger sum of £33,000, authorized by the convocation of Northampton, is not known, but in all probability it took the form of a heavier poll tax. The newly devised poll tax, passed on this occasion by the Parliament of Northampton, was not graduated, and fell heavily on the poorer classes. It was, indeed, the chief cause of Wat Tyler's rebellion of the following year.⁴ That rebellion, it will be remembered, was contemporary with, and by some was even partially attributed to, the spread of the teaching of Wycliffe. A great part of Wycliffe's work was done in this diocese and within a few miles of the north-west border of Northamptonshire. He was the rector of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire, from 1375 till his death in 1384, and among his conscientious supporters may be mentioned Sir Thomas Latimer, who bore a well-known Northamptonshire name.⁵

It was where men most did congregate that Wycliffe's revolutionary social tenets, still further emphasized after his death by his followers the Lollards, gained the strongest hold. They caused considerable disturbances at Leicester and at Northampton. In 1392 a formal complaint was made to the king against John Fox, mayor of Northampton, who was charged with infringing both ecclesiastical and civil rights by the headstrong character of his proceedings. The complaint embodies so many vivid particulars, and illustrates so well the extent and character of Lollardism in the county town,

¹ Bridges, *Hist. of Northants*, i, 429.

² Hartshorne, *Memorials of Northampton*, 163-7; Serjeantson, *Hist. of All Saints*, 32.

³ Fine R. 4 Ric. II, m. 22.

⁴ Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* ii, 485-7.

⁵ Hen. Knighton (Rolls Ser.), ii, 181.

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that it is best to reproduce it in full from a seventeenth-century transcript now in the Bodleian Library¹:—

Anno 16 Ric. II. A complaint to y^e King and Council, against John Fox, Maior of North^t etc., exhibited in French by Rich^d Stormesworth, Woolman; complaining y^t y^e s^d Maior hath p^resumed by Colour of his office, to use Royal power and auctority of Holy Kirke in y^e s^d Town authorising y^e Lollards to preach, maugre y^e Bishop of Lincoln and his Curates, notwithstanding their Inhibiçions.² That y^e s^d Maior is a Lollard, keeping in his house one Richard Bullock chaplain, who hath been convicted of many Errors and Heresys at North^t before Thos. Botteler, Archdeacon of North^t and likewise one James Collyn, sometime a Prentice of y^e Trade of Mercery in London: refusing his Arte to become a Lollard: w^{ch} James Collyn was y^e first maintainer of Lollardy in North^t and y^e s^d Maior hath drawn to him one Tho. Compworthe of y^e county of Oxford, who hath been convict before y^e chancellor and University there of many Err^{rs} and Heresys. And one Nicolas Weston, a ffryer Carmelite apostate and Lollard without y^e licence of his Order, and made him Parish Chaplain of St. Gregory's at North^t. And y^t y^e s^d Maior hath drawn unto him one Mr. Wm. Northwold, an instructor of y^e Lollards of y^e Town, without y^e licence of y^e s^d Bp etc.; y^e w^{ch} Mr. Wm. did wrongfully occupy y^e Archdeaconry of Sudbury about seven years, and after Symoniacally took away a great sum of Money, on w^{ch} he liveth at this day deliciously in y^e House of St. Andrew at North^t: where he hath caused such debate between y^e Prior and Monkes y^t y^e house is well nigh undone. Mr. Wm. caused y^e like troubles at Melkeworth and Oseney and St. John's at Bedford, etc.

That y^e s^d Maior hath made y^e whole Town of North^t in a manner to become Lollards, being vexatious to such as are not. That he brought in one Robert Braibrok, a chaplain, an Herretick, to preach in All St^s Church at North^t maugre y^e Bp etc. and one . . . Parson of Wynkpole, a Lollard, to preach there, who assended y^e Pulpit wⁿ y^e Viccar of y^e Church, after the offertory, went to y^e Altar to sing his Mass; whom y^e s^d Maior followed and took by y^e back of his vestment, to cause him to cease, till y^e s^d Preacher had preached, and y^e Vicar answer'd *non possum*. The s^d Parson preached there his Lollardy in y^e afternoon too, to whom the s^d Rich^d Stormesworth cryed, *Tu autem, Tu autem*, to cause him to hold his peace: commanding him to come down, upon w^{ch} an uproar ensued, and y^t y^e s^d Rich^d was in danger of his life. That afterwards y^e s^d Maior fearing that he might be blamed for w^t he had done in maintenance of y^e s^d Preacher, got unto him 8 or 9 of y^e 24 chief men to assist him for y^e inditeing of y^e s^d Rich^d for y^e s^d ffray, [and] summoned y^e Dosouns to appear at his court. That Laurence Barber, one of y^e Dosouns, was imprisoned by y^e rest for not agreeing with their p^resentment. That y^e Maior got a Jury of Lollards who, together with Wm. Pisford, an enemy of y^e s^d Rich^d gave their Verдите y^t y^e s^d Rich^d was principal in y^e Affray, y^e s^d Rich^d being absent when this Verдите was given. That no action is there maintainable by y^e Inhabitants against y^e Lollards during this man's maioralty. That y^e Maior etc. sent to Oxford to hire Preachers to preach during y^e time of Lent, at y^e Cross in y^e Church Yard in y^e Market-place of North^t. That y^e Commissaries of y^e Bp of Lincoln dare not sit upon Lollardy in North^t for fear of y^e Maior. That he with other Lollards brought y^e afores^d Mr. Wm. Northwold from y^e Monastery of St. Andrew's, arrayed en une cloke, une Tabard, et une chapon furies de pellure and wth a Cap on, as if he had been a Doct^r or Master of Divinity, to preach.

It has not been found possible to trace the issue of this complaint, but at all events John Fox³ must have been a man of some considerable substance in the town, and could not have undergone any serious punishment; for subsequently he was again mayor in two successive years, 1399 and 1400.

The Lollards came to be regarded in the time of Henry IV as a positive danger to the state on account of their social tenets, and rigorous measures

¹ This is undoubtedly a condensed rendering of the French of Anct. Petition 7,099 (P.R.O.). A fuller English transcript will be found Cott. MS. Cleopatra II, 201.

² In 1392 Bishop Buckingham issued a letter to the clergy of his diocese with respect to the wolf that was preying on the flock, particularly in the town of Northampton, where unlicensed preachers were expounding after the manner of the Lollards. The bishop inhibited all such preachers, and ordered that his proclamation should be published in all the churches of Northampton. In the following year the bishop commissioned the abbot of St. James's, Northampton, and others to inquire and report as to the names of Lollards, as a number of wandering priests and others were leading the flock astray, especially in Northampton (Linc. Epis. Reg. Buckingham, fols. 393, 401).

³ He had been appointed a local commissioner by the crown in 1387. *Cal. Pat.* 11 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 21 d.

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were adopted for their suppression. It is noticeable, however, that the more religious side of the movement never died out, and that the places where Lollardism mostly prevailed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were permeated with Puritanism in the two centuries that followed. Of no place in England, as will presently be seen, is this more true than of Northampton.

From 1405 to 1419 the diocese was ruled by a bishop who had himself been formerly a Lollard, and even a leading exponent of Lollard opinions. The career of Bishop Philip Repington was not free from faults, but he was at least a strict disciplinarian. Towards the end of his rule he issued severe warnings against laymen presuming to sit in the chancels of churches. One of his special injunctions in this respect was against Joan, the wife of Lawrence Mortymer, of Towcester, in this county, who took her seat in the chancel after knowing that the penalty of greater excommunication would be pronounced against such offenders.¹ A later instance of Lollardism in Northamptonshire during this century is afforded by the case of John Frankes, rector of Yardley Hastings, who had to make a formal abjuration before his diocesan of erroneous opinions publicly preached. He had preached against pilgrimages and the adoration of images.²

The Assize of Arms of 1181 bound every holder of land to produce one or more men fully equipped and capable of fighting in national defence. For more than four centuries, the providing for and the assembling of the local militia (though the scale of arms was revised in 1285) continued on the basis laid down by Henry II. Though the clergy, both secular and religious, were, of course, exempt from any personal service in arms, they were liable for their proportionate share of the local force in all cases where their income was derived from a charge on land or from the land itself. In times of emergency special attention was given to the due proportions of the Assize of Arms so far as it affected the clergy. The bishops were held responsible for the apportioning of the number and quality of men-at-arms due from the clergy of their diocese in proportion to the income of those clergy, and obtained their returns through their rural deans. Such an emergency arose in 1418, when the king was absent in France and a Scotch invasion not improbable; and details of the clerical array for the deaneries of Peterborough, Oundle, and Weldon will be found in a register of the abbey of Peterborough. This array, one of a class of which there are few examples for that period, is unfortunately too long and intricate for full discussion here. It is valuable as giving a kind of clergy-list (though not a complete one) for a large portion of the county, and much interest attaches to many of the particulars it contains as to the peculiar liabilities, with regard to national defence, of various classes of ecclesiastics and of several religious communities—the colleges of Cotterstock and Fotheringhay, the priory of Fineshade, and the abbeys of Peterborough and Pipewell. The document containing this array is now preserved in the British Museum.³

The deaneries mentioned in the document had to provide eighteen 'armed men,' eight of whom fell to the share of the wealthy abbey of Peterborough. From the terms of other arrays it is clear that this expression meant mounted yeomen, as when in 1285 anyone possessed of £15 in lands

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Repington, fols. 144, 147, 150.

² Ibid. Chedworth, fol. 46.

³ Add. MS. 25,288, fols. 81b-83.

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or 40 marks in goods had to furnish a man provided with 'an hauberke, a brest plate of yron, a sworde, a knife, and an horse.' Of the 233 archers, seventeen were harnessed archers (furnished with a leather corslet, etc.) and armed with sword and battle-axe. The chaplains of Clapton and Stanion had each to provide a pikeman, armed with 'palet and pole-axe.'

This array did not secure a unanimous response. The master of the college of Fotheringhay, with five of the eight chaplains, proved contumacious, and so did the rector of Lutton. One of the chaplains at Apethorpe, one of those at Cotterstock, and the chaplain at Newton were excused from providing soldiers on the ground of impotence, that is, doubtless, of poverty. At Barnwell there was an instance of a pensioned ex-rector, who, as he drew twelve marks from the living, was liable to this array, as well as the rector in charge. It is also of peculiar interest to note that Master John Colnet, prebendary of Nassington, was exempt from the array, in consequence of his being with the king in Normandy.

Between the days of the French wars and the eve of the Reformation the course of religious life in Northamptonshire was comparatively uneventful. As to the condition of the churches and the general support of the various religious uses in them during the first half of the sixteenth century, much information can be gleaned from the large number of Northamptonshire wills of the time of Henry VIII in the local probate office. Reference to some of the more important details will be made in the account of the separate parishes, but a few particulars may be mentioned here. It was an almost invariable custom to leave some bequest, however small, to the mother church (Lincoln, and afterwards Peterborough), and another to the parish church for forgotten tithes, for the repair or sustentation of the bells, and for the high altar. Usually there were also bequests to the lights before different images or pictures, as well as to the sepulchre (Easter) light, the rood light, or the light before the blessed sacrament. Bequests to 'the torches' or great funeral tapers for parochial use were also common. These gifts were frequently in kind, such as a quarter or strike of barley, a sheep, a cow, or a hive of bees. There was frequently a stock or store pertaining to different lights or altars which was managed by the churchwardens, or by special gilds under their supervision. The procuring or repair of costly vestments, altar vessels, censers, candlesticks, service books, and the like, as well as altar linen, was also materially helped by means of legacies, those who could not afford whole gifts of this description being content to leave small sums 'toward' such and such an object.¹ It should be remembered that the great cost of all the details of worship was then borne, even in the humblest parish church, by the free-will offerings and bequests of the parishioners, save in the rare cases of an endowment for lights. Church rates were unknown until post-Reformation days. These wills also show that considerable repairs and rebuildings of towers and spires were in progress during the first quarter of the sixteenth century, with the occasional addition or reconstruction of an aisle or a porch. Rood lofts were now and again renewed at this period, and often re-gilded and repainted.

¹ Readers of Tudor wills can see how later on they bear witness to the abandonment of the old usages, the re-establishment of some of them under Mary, and their gradual cessation in the early days of Elizabeth. In some parishes the various successive injunctions with regard to lights were but tardily obeyed.

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Ere the scandalous tale of the wholesale dissolution of monasteries is reached, it should be mentioned that precedents for suppression in England were numerous, from the cases of the Knights Templars and the alien priories in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, down to the reign of Henry VIII. But it should also be remembered that in all these the papal sanction had been asked and granted, and that the possessions and funds of a suppressed house were (with very rare exceptions) devoted to other religious purposes.¹ In fact it was a policy similar to that now followed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners when they transfer funds from the estates of bishoprics and chapters to the augmentation of small livings. Northamptonshire yields several examples. In the fifteenth century, for example, the small priory and the manor of Weedon Pinkney (also called Weedon Lois) were made part of the endowment of Archbishop Chichele's foundation of All Souls', Oxford.² In 1494, the pope, at the request of Henry VII, granted a bull for the suppression of Luffield Priory, which was too poor to maintain itself, and for the incorporation of its property with his new foundation at Windsor,³ a grant which was subsequently revoked by Pope Julius II in favour of Westminster Abbey and the chapel of Henry VII there.⁴ In the next reign (1526) Cardinal Wolsey carried this principle a great deal further, and obtained both papal and regal consent to the suppression of many of the smaller monasteries to enable him to found that great college at Oxford which was afterwards known as Christ Church; one of the establishments thus suppressed being the Cluniac House at Daventry.

It may be mentioned in passing that for a few months Wolsey was himself the ecclesiastical ruler of Northamptonshire. After having held the deanery of Lincoln for six years he was consecrated bishop of that see on 6 March, 1514; but six months later (November) he was translated to York, and neither as dean nor as bishop was he much in the diocese of Lincoln. Afterwards, however, not long before his death, which occurred in November, 1530, he spent Easter at Peterborough. On Palm Sunday he carried his palm in the procession; on Maundy Thursday he washed the feet of a number of poor men, with the abbot as his attendant; and on Easter Day he sang high mass in the abbey.⁵ The practice to which he had resorted so recently in the case of Daventry and a few other religious houses, was destined to become, five years after his death, a general policy, directed by far more unscrupulous hands and actuated by far more doubtful motives.

The principal monastic houses in Northamptonshire at this time were the abbeys of Peterborough (Benedictine), Pipewell (Cistercian), St. James, Northampton (Austin Canons), Sulby (Premonstratensian), the priory of St. Andrew, Northampton (Cluniac), and the nunneries of Delapré (Cluniac), and Catesby (Benedictine). In addition to these, the friars of each of the four orders had a house in Northampton, and the Knights Hospitallers a preceptory at Dingley.

¹ So, in the case of the priory of Luffield (*vide infra*), the bulls of Alexander VI and Julius II for its annexation to other foundations expressly stipulate that it should not revert to profane, or as we should say, lay uses. Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 352.

² *Ibid.* vi, 1018; *Cal. of Pat. Edw. IV*, 1461-7, 148.

³ *Ibid.* iv, 352.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Gunton, *Hist. of Ch. of Peterb.* (1686), 57.

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In 1535 a commission was issued. The commissioners in the case of St. Andrew's Priory, Northampton, included Dr. Richard Layton, arch-deacon of Buckingham, and certain laymen. A formal confession¹ was made by the monks in the presence of the commissioners; but the faults admitted, whatever they may have been, did not debar the brethren from receiving pensions, while the prior was later chosen as the first dean of the newly constituted see of Peterborough. A letter from one of the commissioners to Cromwell ends by saying: 'We have practised with the poor men for their pensions as easily as the king's charges and as much to his grace's honour as we could devise.'²

The income of this house was £400 a year, and the pensions allowed made a total of £36 3s. 4d., without those of the prior and sub-prior. The rest went to the king and the rents probably increased, if we may credit the statement of one of the commissioners that the prior's predecessors 'pleasured much in odoriferous savours, as it should seem by their converting the rents of their monastery that were wont to be paid in corn and grain, into gilly-flowers and roses.'³

Dr. London, the commissioner who reported as to the friars and the nuns, was of worse character even than Layton, and after convictions for perjury and worse offences died at last in 1543 in the Fleet Prison.⁴ His evidence consequently requires thorough sifting, and carries little weight. According to him, John Goodwin, the prior of the Austin Friars, knowing of his approach divided £30 among the brethren; but the commissioner, hearing what had happened, imprisoned the delinquent and got back about 40s. of the money.⁵

The Carmelite Friars of the town were reported as being so much in debt that all they had would not clear it off, and London complained generally of the poverty of the churches of the friars and the coarseness of their surroundings. Later he admitted that the town of Northampton and the villages round were falling into decay, and that many attributed the cause to the destruction of the four friaries.⁶ The friars at this time had certainly fallen away from their original fervour, but this unconscious testimony to their poverty and to their goodness to the poor deserves note. Dr. London gave a good report of the Cluniac nuns of Delapré. He received the

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii, pt. i, No. 396.

² *Ibid.* xiii, pt. i, Nos. 405, 407. A report addressed to Cromwell by all the commissioners (*Ibid.* pt. i, 405) states that the prior Francis Leycetour and sub-prior specially asked to have their cases submitted for Cromwell's consideration, and accordingly were respited; that the other members of the chapter were pensioned as follows:—

	Age	£	s.	d.		Age	£	s.	d.
Thomas Smyth . . .	52	4	0	0	John Harolde . . .	32	3	6	8
Thomas Gowlestone . . .	50	4	0	0	Thomas Barbor . . .	31	3	6	8
Robert Marten . . .	41	4	0	0	William Warde . . .	29	3	3	4
James Hopkyns . . .	52	4	0	0	Thomas Aterbury . . .	27	3	3	4
Richard Bunbery . . .	40	4	0	0	William Sowthecote . . .	31	3	3	4

and that John Rote, aged thirty-six, was given the vicarage of St. Giles's, Northampton, with £7 per annum, instead of a pension, the commissioners saying that though nominally of the value of £7, it is 'of so smale vawle that evere of them haveyng his pension shalbe in better case than he.' When the religious pension roll of Philip and Mary was drawn up, Thomas Bettes the sub-prior was receiving £8 per annum, the three last on the original list £2 13s. 4d. each, and Gowlestone £4, while Richard Cooke, a name not mentioned before, was also receiving £4 (*Pension Roll Phil. and Mary*, Add. MS. 8,102).

³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, pt. i, No. 407; cf. No. 404.

⁴ *Narrative of Reformation* (Camd. Soc.), p. 35; Strype, *Eccl. Memoirs*, i, 175.

⁵ Cott. MS. Cleop. E iv, fol. 227.

⁶ Cromwell Corresp. (P. R. O.), xxiii, 69-96.

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surrender of the convent personally, and strongly commended to Cromwell the case of the abbess, whom he described as 'a gudde agydde woman.' He assigned to her in her great age a fourth part of the sheep, namely fourscore, and other stock, and asked Cromwell to deal favourably with her and her sisters in their pensions.¹

The commissioners also reported favourably of the nunnery of Catesby, which they found in very perfect order: 'the prioress a sure wyse discrete and very religyous woman with ix nunnys under here.' They considered that the house was a great boon for the relief of the king's poor subjects in a somewhat out-of-the-way quarter.² At this report the king was angry, and said openly that they had been bribed. Nor is this unlikely, for the prioress of Catesby was at that very time foolishly writing direct to Cromwell, quoting this report and offering him if he could get the king's leave for her house to stand, 'one hundred marks of me to buy you a gelding, and my prayers during my life, and all my sisters' during their lives.'³

Most favourable also was the commissioners' report of the abbey of St. James, Northampton, praising the brethren for their relief of the poor, and stating that they were of good report with the whole town.⁴

The commissioners' report was followed in every instance by the suppression of the house reported on, and all monasteries in the county ceased to exist within the five years 1535-40. In most cases the buildings, or the greater portion of them, were destroyed. The great Benedictine abbey of Peterborough, however, had a somewhat different fate from the monasteries, being made the seat of one of the six new dioceses which were finally constituted by Henry instead of the proposed fifteen.⁵ Letters patent in 1541⁶ converted the monastery and church into an episcopal see for Northamptonshire and Rutland with an establishment of bishop, dean, and six prebendaries. Dr. Chambers, the last abbot, who had not been the choice of the monks, but had been forced on them by Wolsey, and who had offered Cromwell £300 to spare the abbey, was made first bishop, and the account of Peterborough in the article on the Religious Houses will show how far the monastic revenues were applied to the purposes of the see. By being separated, however, from the huge diocese of Lincoln, to which it had belonged for five centuries, Northamptonshire was at any rate placed in a position to receive better episcopal supervision. Great as were the wrongs inflicted by Henry upon the church, his creation of new dioceses deserves to be mentioned as a very notable improvement in her organization. Very different from the treatment of Peterborough was that of the important Cistercian house of Pipewell, where kings and councils had met in earlier times. This abbey was granted at the

¹ Cott. MS. Cleop. E iv, fol. 208.

² Ibid. fol. 209.

³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* x, No. 383.

⁴ In this connexion it should be borne in mind that besides the daily distribution of food at the gates of the monasteries the reception of poor travellers, and the special visiting of the sick and needy in the district, there were as a rule certain sums set apart for alms, through bequests or otherwise. The sums were charged on real property, and so came under the notice of the commissioners who drew up the *Valor* of 1535. The amount in this county of the obligatory alms of monastic houses at the time of the dissolution, was £84 9s. 11d. equal to over £800 of our money. The precise amounts were: Peterborough £56 19s. 4d., St. James's £7 6s. 0d., St. Andrew's £6 16s. 2d., Pipewell, £5 15s. 0d., Canons Ashby, £3 8s. 0d., Sulby, £2 18s. 9d., and Delapré, £1 6s. 8d. *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 284, 296, 301, 315, 319, 321, 337. On the general subject of monastic charities in the county see Dr. J. C. Cox, *Engl. Mon.* (1904), cap. iv.

⁵ See Hen. VIII's scheme of bishoprics, *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* civ, pt. ii, Nos. 428, 429, 430.

⁶ Ibid. xvi, Nos. 1,148, 1,226 (6-8, 10).

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dissolution to Sir William Parr,¹ and news of the destruction of the buildings having reached London, a commission was appointed in 1540 to inquire into the matter. One of the commissioners was actually the late abbot. The account of their findings given in the article on the Religious Houses will show how ruthlessly the buildings were despoiled. The fabrics of the other monasteries in the county were similarly treated, hardly one stone being left upon another to tell the tale of their former life.

There is no evidence of any such open rebellion in this county against the suppression of the monasteries as occurred in the north, and to some extent in Lincolnshire. The only abbot in Northamptonshire of really distinguished position, Chambers of Peterborough, whose conduct Gunton explains by saying that he probably loved to sleep in a whole skin, and desired to die in his nest,² was told he would be bishop of the new see, and made no protest.³ St. Andrew's, Northampton, with its patronage of the town livings, had not been in harmony with the strong municipal life of the borough; and the undoubted popularity of St. James's and other houses does not seem to have extended beyond those persons who received benefactions, or the immediate neighbourhood. Many of the landed gentry shared in the spoil, and although the dissolution came before changes in doctrine and ritual had taken place in the church, the prevalence of Lollardism in this county would tend to encourage any anti-monastic bias in the minds of the people.

Thus it will be seen that Northamptonshire at this crisis presents no special features, but illustrates the general character of the problem. The cases of the Northamptonshire houses show, what recent historians have made clear, that the bulk of the 'religious,' especially in the larger foundations, were leading good lives; while the absence of any marks of popular indignation at the time of their fall indicates that, apart altogether from the character of their inmates, they were less in touch than formerly with the life and vigour of the country. The many reasons which led to their downfall—namely, their relation to the now repudiated papal authority, the demands of the national government for more resources, the decay of faith of the mediaeval type before the learning and the ruthless criticism of the Renaissance, the unscrupulous character of Henry and his ministers, the steady growth of religious ideas deeply anti-monastic in character, the opportunity for satisfying the greed of courtiers and officials—all these divers forces shared in the result, and will be accorded different values according to the pre-dispositions of students.

No particular events in the county mark the phase of opinion or policy of which 'The Six Articles' were the expression, and the next change came when, after the suppression of the monasteries, the king and his advisers turned their attention to the chantries.

Chantries, which were primarily foundations for the maintenance of one or more priests to offer up prayers for the soul of the founder, his family and ancestors, and all Christian souls, spread throughout England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. There were only two named in the whole of the

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii, pt. ii, No. 466; *Aug. Off. Misc. Bks.* cix, No. 29.

² Gunton, *Hist. of Peterborough* (1686), 57-8.

³ The inhabitants of Peterborough, however, petitioned Queen Elizabeth in 1581 for relief, complaining that their trade was decaying, and that they and their interests had been better protected by the late abbey, with its power and influence, than they were now by the bishop and the dean and chapter. (*Cal. S. P. Dom. Eliz.* cxlviii, 38).

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Taxatio of 1291; one of these was for the soul of good Bishop Hugh Wells, of Lincoln, who died in 1235. In the majority of cases a chantry would be founded at an existing altar of the parish church, but not unfrequently the east end of an aisle was rebuilt or a chancel chapel added for its better accommodation. Usually chantries were enclosed within screens or parcloes, and included special seats or provision for the founder and his family; in this way they were the precursors of the big 'hall pew.' Now and again chantries were founded in the private chapel of the manor house. Occasionally their foundation involved a separate building, at a distance from the parish church, and such building became a regular parochial chapel, or sometimes, if the foundation secured immunity from all parochial control, a 'free chapel.'

It is quite a mistake, though a common one, to think that chantry priests were as a rule mere mass priests 'with no parochial functions or responsibilities.'¹ The ordinations of these chantries frequently enjoin that the priest or priests were to be present at the general offices of the church and to assist the incumbent in sacramentals. Small schools were often attached to the chantry, the priest being the parochial schoolmaster, as was the case at Aldwinkle, Blisworth, Rothwell, etc. In other cases the chantry priest was the chaplain of a gild or fraternity which had a temporal as well as a spiritual mission to fulfil.

The churches of the county that had definitely endowed chantries at the time of their confiscation under Edward VI, were Great Addington, Aldwinkle, Ashby St. Ledgers, Blisworth, Boughton, Brington, Brixworth (2), Bulwick, Chalcombe, Charwelton, Clipston, Cogenhoe, Finedon, Green's Norton, Gretton, Harringworth, Kingsthorpe, Lowick, Marholm (2), Maxey, Marston Trussell, Peterborough, Rothwell, Rushton, Spratton, Stamford Baron, Towcester, and Weedon Beck, making a total of thirty chantries. In 1545 an Act was passed (37 Hen. VIII, c. 4) 'for the Dissolution of the colleges, chantries and Free chapels at the King's pleasure.' The reason given for their suppression was that money was required for the king's wars, and that, as many private patrons, availing themselves of the altered feeling of the time, were seizing the property of the chantries, it would be better that the money should go into the pocket of the king for the benefit of the whole community.² Only some half-dozen chantries and colleges fell under this Act, two of them (the chantries at Aldwinkle and Lowick) being in Northamptonshire. Shortly after the passing of the Act the king appears to have changed his mind, for on dissolving Parliament he informed the House that he intended to reform, not to destroy, the chantries. Henry died early in 1547, and one of the first proceedings of the new king's advisers was to procure the passing of a fresh Act (1 Edw. VI, c. 14), handing over to the crown the property of all chantries, colleges, fraternities and gilds. The reason now given was an entirely new one, viz., that the saying of masses for the dead was superstitious, but no promise was made for the continuance of the other duties which chantry priests had discharged. The new Act was promptly put in force, and the chantries were everywhere suppressed.

¹ These are the words of the usually accurate historian Wakeman (*Hist. of the Ch. of Engl.*). Their error is obvious to every original inquirer into the subject of English chantries. See Cutts, *Parish Priests*, 438-72; Page, *Yorkshire Chant.* (Surtees Soc.).

² Leach, *Engl. Schools at the Reformation*, 61.

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At the same time specific endowments for stipendiary priests (or as we should now say, assistant clergy) were seized by the crown, and on similar grounds, namely because a part of their duty was the saying of masses for the departed. There were Northamptonshire instances of this at Brackley, Farthinghoe, Hartwell, and Kettering. Moreover, for a like reason, the endowments of many a rectory and vicarage were at this time materially lessened; for whenever it could be ascertained that lands, rent or rent charges had been left to the incumbent with the specific charge of saying so many masses, the property was at once seized by the crown.¹

With the chantries fell the colleges. Many had been dissolved in the reign of Henry VIII, but those which had hitherto managed to escape now shared the same fate. The Northamptonshire colleges were at Higham Ferrers (dissolved 1542); Cotterstock, Fotheringhay, All Saints' (Northampton), Towcester, Irthlingborough.²

The expediency or in expediency of suppressing the colleges and chantries will naturally be judged by men of different schools of religious thought in very opposite ways. But there is far less difference of opinion as to the great harm done to the whole community by the confiscation of the gild property. This was professedly due to their being involved with superstitious uses, but the legislators of the time, in the teeth of popular opinion, disregarded the social and economic work of these gilds (which was by far the larger part of their activity) as well as their religious uses capable of being adapted to the times. Hence resulted great harm to the community as well as gross injustice to the members of the gilds. Gilds (in the sense of course of religious gilds) may be said to have existed for two purposes, one strictly religious, the other social or philanthropic. Most of them owe their origin to the desire of one or more individuals to assist in some practical fashion the services and upkeep of their parish church. Many of the gilds maintained at their own cost one or more chaplains: other of the less wealthy ones maintained the lights in certain chapels, provided vestments and books, and cared for the adornment of the particular chapel in which their members met periodically for worship.

To take a single instance, the gilds of the great church of All Saints', Northampton, maintained at their own expense no less than twelve chaplains to assist the vicar in conducting the services of their parish church. In addition to this, one of the gilds (that of Holy Trinity) paid the stipends of the 'organ player,' 'three singing men,' and the sexton, and maintained a song-school for the instruction of the choristers.³

On the social and economic sides the gilds did the work of the modern friendly societies. They assisted their members in the various vicissitudes of life—in sickness, in old age, in cases of loss by fire, wrongful imprisonment,

¹ The following were the Northamptonshire parishes which had these 'obits' confiscated: Achurch, Alderton, Apethorpe, Armston, Cold Ashby, Ashton, Anyho, Benefield, Brigstock, Braunston, Long Buckby, Bugbrooke, Chipping Warden, Collyweston, Cransley, Crick, Culworth, Doddington, Duston, Ecton, Easton Maudit, Easton Neston, Etton, Everdon, Eydon, Floore, Geddington, Glinton, Greatworth, Grimsbury, Guilsborough, Hargrave, Harrowden, Haselbech, Helpston, Holcot, Irchester, Lamport, Litchborough, Ludington, Middleton Cheney, Nassington, Naseby, Newnham, Newton, Oakley, Passenham, Pilton, Polebrook, Preston, Pytchley, Raunds, Rockingham, Roade, Rushden, Stoke, Stoke Doyle, King's Sutton, Sibbertoft, Thorpe, Thornby, Tiffeld, Twywell, Ufford, Wadenhoe, Warmington, Weldon, Wilby, Whitfield, Woodford, Wollaston, Wooton, and Yarwell.

² A full account of these societies is given under Religious Houses. ³ Serjeantson, *Hist. of All Saints*, 52-6.

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or shipwreck. Each gild member, in contributing to the funds of the fraternity, felt that he was providing for himself against a rainy day.

Gilds increased rapidly in numbers and popularity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and at the time of their suppression every town church of any note possessed several, and a very large number of the county churches boasted one or more of these associations in which religion, thrift and good fellowship were usefully blended. Thus the little village church of Dallington, near Northampton, possessed two gilds—those of Our Lady and of the Rood. All Saints', Northampton, had seven.¹ With the gilds, chantries, and colleges there disappeared also the 'free-chapels' at Ashton in Oundle parish, Sutton in the parish of Weston by Welland, the chapel of St. James at Higham Ferrers, and others; while a specific endowment for Teeton, which was a chapel of ease to Ravensthorpe, was also seized by the crown.

In this county, as elsewhere, the suppression of the gilds very seriously crippled the resources of religion. The incumbents of the larger parishes found it next to impossible, without the aid of the gild chaplains, to provide adequately for the services; while the church fabrics speedily fell into disrepair, the funds which for generations had been lavishly supplied for their maintenance being suddenly cut off. It was chiefly owing to these losses that Northampton borough, which had within its walls at the beginning of the sixteenth century twelve parish churches (in addition to the various monastic churches), retained at the end of the century only four.

Economically, the suppression of the gilds deprived the members at one blow of the provision that they had been laying up all their lives for sickness or old age, destroyed a valuable social machinery, and greatly increased pauperism.²

In 1552 a further confiscation of Church property took place. Commissioners were sent round from parish to parish with instructions to make an exact inventory of the vestments, sacred vessels, and ornaments in the various churches, with a view to their appropriation by the crown. The commissioners' returns with regard to the town of Northampton have been lost,³ but a large number of those relating to the country churches are still preserved at the Public Record Office, and show that Northamptonshire was not a whit behind other counties in the beauty and value of its church furniture and ecclesiastical vestments.⁴ There is no evidence that the proceeds of the plunder were actually used for any religious or even national purpose.

The condition of the diocese of Peterborough in the reign of Mary presents several features of interest. Whatever the feeling of the laity may have been, it is worthy of note that the Marian policy was accepted by the clergy with far greater equanimity in the diocese of Peterborough than in England at large. The average proportion of deprivations for conscience

¹ For a full account of the gilds of this church see R. M. Serjeantson, *Hist. of All Saints*, 40-6.

² The late Mr. J. Toulmin Smith, one of the greatest authorities on gilds, and a Nonconformist, describes the suppression of the gilds and the confiscation of their property as 'a case of pure wholesale robbery and plunder done by an unscrupulous faction to satisfy their greed under cover of law' (*Engl. Gilds*, p. xlii).

³ It is true that one is still extant relating to the church of St. Edmund, but this is probably of a slightly earlier date.

⁴ A graphic account of the general work of the commissioners is given in Dr. Augustus Jessop's *Before the Great Pillage*.

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sake throughout all the dioceses of England and Wales in the first thirteen months of Mary's reign is generally accepted as about one in five, whereas in Peterborough diocese the proportion was one in ten. The exact number for Northamptonshire was twenty-eight.

The religious persecution of this reign had only one victim in Northamptonshire, so far as the death penalty was concerned. It has been stated that this immunity was chiefly due to the character of Bishop David Pole, who was consecrated on 15 August, 1557,¹ on the death of Bishop Chambers,² and who is described as a learned, pious, and meek man, and as having given no encouragement to severity within his jurisdiction. John Kurde, a shoemaker of Syresham, after a year's imprisonment, was brought before Dr. Bensley, archdeacon of Northampton, in the church of All Saints, Northampton, in August, 1557, on a charge of denying transubstantiation, and holding other heretical views. He was condemned to death, handed over to the secular power, and burnt outside the north gate on 20 September, John Rote, vicar of St. Giles's (ex-monk of St. Andrew's priory),³ in vain exhorting him to recant.

The question of the pensions of the dispossessed monks and of the ejected chantry and collegiate priests received special attention in the reign of Philip and Mary. A revised list was drawn up for each county, on which various fresh names appear, but the amount granted in the old cases (many of the ejected persons had died in the interval) seems never to have exceeded the sum originally promised. The Northamptonshire list includes twenty-five monks, twelve religious canons, six nuns, and thirty-six chantry, collegiate, or stipendiary priests. The total expenditure was £134 4s. 10d.⁴

With the accession of Elizabeth in 1558 came another movement away from Rome; and her advisers, warned by her sister's reign, went more quietly and slowly to work than the promoters of the late movement in the opposite direction. The process of deprivation for conscience sake was extended over a considerable period. The number of those thus deprived of their benefices in the county of Northampton was sixteen. In 1559 were ejected Bishop Pole, Dean Boxall, and the incumbents of Bugbrooke, Harrowden, and Wadenhoe; in 1560, the incumbents of Cottingham, Kettering, and Yelvertoft; in 1561, the rector of Dingley; in 1562, the incumbents of Desborough and Loddington. The incumbents of Alderton, Badby, Mears Ashby, Newnham, and Southwick were also ejected, but the precise dates of their deprivation cannot be ascertained.⁵

Special visitations of all the dioceses were made in 1559 to secure the subscription of the clergy to the Elizabethan Settlement. The visitors were almost exclusively of the laity, those for the county of Northampton being headed by William Parr, marquis of Northampton, as lord-lieutenant. The Peterborough subscriptions are, unfortunately, not extant. Archbishop Parker, who was consecrated on 17 December, 1559, instituted a metropolitanical

¹ Stubbs, *Reg. Sac. Angl.* 82.

² Gunton, *Hist. of Peterburgh*, 69, 70.

³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii, pt. i, 405.

⁴ This includes the yearly payments to a large number of annuitants of the religious houses, and not merely the payments made to the pensioners proper. The ex-abbot of St. James's, Northampton, was then receiving the yearly sum of £11 6s. 8d., and the ex-prioress of St. Michael's nunnery, Stamford, £8. The Premonstratensian canons of Sulby were each receiving £6, while the five surviving nuns of Delapré were only in receipt of pittances varying from £2 13s. 4d. to 20s. (Add. MS. 8,102).

⁵ Gee, *The Elizabethan Clergy*, 1558-64 *passim*.

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visitation with the object of testing the working of the new Act of Uniformity and gauging the obedience of the clergy to the Injunctions. All these visitations were held by commission, and after the issue of a prohibition restraining the suffragan bishops from holding any visitations of their own. Peterborough came late upon the list: it was not until 19 December, 1560, that a commission was issued to Thomas Yale, vicar-general of Canterbury, and Edward Leeds, to hold a visitation of this diocese.¹

The Marian bishops were all imprisoned for not taking the oath of supremacy, save Goldwell of St. Asaph, who fled to the Continent, and David Pole of Peterborough, whose age and mildness, though he was quite as firm in his convictions as his brethren, secured him more lenient treatment.² He was deprived in November, 1559,³ and the temporalities of the bishopric were seized. In an interesting list of about the year 1561 of 'Recusants which are abroad and bound to certain places,'⁴ mention is made of 'Doctor Poole, late bishop of Peterborough, to remain in the city of London and suburbs, or within three miles' compass about the same,' his character being thus given in the margin: 'A man known and reported to live quietly, and therefore hitherto tolerated.' Subsequently Bishop Pole was removed to other quarters, and in November, 1564, was at the house of Bryan Fowler, at the manor on Sowe in Staffordshire, for Dr. Bentham, bishop of Coventry, complained⁵ that his presence there 'causeth many people to think worse of the regiment and religion than else they would do, because divers lewd priests have resorted thither. His removal would do much good to the country.' This 'removal' seems to have taken place, and he died in May or June, 1568.⁶ John Boxall, dean of Peterborough, for refusing the oath of supremacy, was imprisoned in the Tower for three years, and afterwards handed over to the custody of Archbishop Parker, whom Cecil scolded (in 1567) for allowing him too much liberty.⁷

On the deprivation of Bishop Pole, the see of Peterborough, after some delay, was filled by the consecration of Edmund Scambler on 16 February, 1560-1.⁸ In the late reign as minister to a secret Protestant congregation in London, he had been in great danger, but afterwards, on the accession of Elizabeth, became chaplain to Archbishop Parker.⁹ In his first episcopal visitation he prescribed to the chapter of Peterborough an interesting body

¹ Cant. Archiep. Reg. Parker (Lambeth), fol. 316 *d*. Immediately following this commission, in Parker's register, is an interesting instance of submission on the part of one of the Northamptonshire clergy to Dr. Yale, as commissary of the see. George Butman, rector of Barnwell, who had apparently refused his subscription to Elizabeth in the previous year, sought the benefit of absolution. This was granted him, and having been restored to his benefice he was asked what benefices he now held. In answer he confessed that, in addition to the church at Barnwell, he also held the church of Stevington in Lincoln diocese, whereupon Dr. Yale enjoined upon the rector that he should reside one year in the one parish and one in the other, 'sub pena juris.'

² Gunton, *Hist. of Peterburgh*, 70.

³ Stubbs, *Reg. Sac. Angl.* 82.

⁴ S.P. Dom. Eliz. Addenda, xi, 45. ⁵ *Hist. MSS. Com.* Salisbury Papers at Hatfield, pt. i (1883), 309.

⁶ The place of his death is not certainly known. Sanders, writing only three years after his death, states in his *De Visibili Monarchia* that Bishop Pole died in prison. It is possible that this was the Fleet, as the bishop by his last will, dated 17 May, 1568, appointed as his chief and trusted executor Sir Thomas Fitzherbert, who was then and had been for some time before a prisoner there. The statement, often repeated, that the bishop died at one of his farms is based on no contemporary authority. The chief provisions of his will have been printed by Phillips, *Extinction of the Ancient Hierarchy* (1905), 284.

⁷ Spanish Cal. 1 Nov. 1567. In addition to being dean of Peterborough, John Boxall was dean of Windsor and archdeacon of Ely, as well as prebendary of Salisbury, Bath and Wells, and London. He was one of Queen Mary's Privy Council.

⁸ Stubbs, *Reg. Sac. Angl.* 83.

⁹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* L, 396.

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of articles, which in many points resemble those in the Prayer Book, and to which he required their subscription.¹

On 26 October, 1577, he made a return to the council of the number of recusants in his diocese, with the value of their lands and goods, suggesting at the same time that more information would have been obtained by a return of those refusing to receive the Communion,² and on 18 November in the same year he sent up information of other recusants, not before certified, this second return including not only his own diocese, but also the county of Huntingdon.³

The list, made about 1561, which has been already quoted, contains an entry to the effect that 'Doctor Tresham, late of Oxford, was ordered to remain within the bounds of Northamptonshire,' and the marginal reference describes him, somewhat equivocally, as 'a man whose qualities are well known.' Dr. William Tresham was a native of Great Oakley in this county, and had risen to distinction in the Church under Henry VIII, whose favour he had gained by advocating Queen Katherine's divorce. In 1540 he had been nominated a member of the commission for inquiring whether the current ceremonial of the Church was supported by Scripture and tradition, and had subsequently disputed on doctrine with Peter Martyr, and with Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer. Imprisoned under Edward VI, he had returned to favour under Mary. Besides filling several high offices—among them the vice-chancellorship of Oxford—he had held the Northamptonshire livings of Towcester, Bugbrooke, and Green's Norton; but for refusing to take the oath of supremacy after the accession of Elizabeth, he was deprived of all his preferments except Towcester. On promising to take no active steps against the Elizabethan settlement, he was allowed to retire to Northamptonshire, where he died in 1569.⁴

The Treshams, whose principal seat was at Rushton, were prominent during the latter part of this reign, and the opening years of the succeeding one for their attachment to the Roman Catholic church, as were also the Vaux family of Harrowden and the Catesbys, owners of Ashby St. Ledgers. Before 1580 they seem to have conformed more or less to the Elizabethan settlement.⁵ Sir Thomas Tresham, whose grandfather and namesake had been grand prior of the order of St. John, as revived by Mary,⁶ and who succeeded to the Rushton estate in 1559 as a minor, appears to have been brought up in the reformed faith, but he and Sir William Catesby were among the principal converts made in 1580 by the famous Jesuit, Robert Parsons.⁷ Thenceforth they were assiduous promoters of the religious propaganda carried on by the Jesuit mission. It was probably because these important converts of Parsons were domiciled in Northamptonshire, that the county was visited in the same year by his colleague, Edmund

¹ Gunton, *op. cit.* 71–2, where these articles are given in full. He devoted considerable attention to the government of his cathedral, putting forth certain injunctions for it in 1576 (*Cal. S. P. Dom. Eliz.* cix, 21). In 1580 a case was pending in the Court of Arches between him and one Smith, touching the deprivation of the latter of a prebend for not keeping residence according to the cathedral foundation. A reference to *Acts of P. C.* (New Ser.), xii, 249–50, xiii, 89, will show that this was thought an important, and even, in a sense, a novel case. In 1582 the bishop sought confirmation for some new cathedral statutes (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* loc. cit.).

² *Cal. S. P. Dom. Eliz.* cxvii, 16.

³ *Ibid.* cxviii, 29.

⁴ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* LVII, 206.

⁵ *Cal. S. P. Dom. Eliz.* lix, 22.

⁶ *Ibid. Mary*, xii, 48, 60.

⁷ Simpson, *Edmund Campion, a Biography*, 252; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* XLIII, 412.

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Campion,¹ who may possibly have sprung from a Northamptonshire family of that name.² For a time he was hiding at Great Harrowden, where the third Lord Vaux had provided his manor-house with facilities for the secret conduct of Roman Catholic services.³ Campion also received hospitality at Rushton, where there were doubtless similar means of eluding persecution.⁴ For harbouring so dangerous a papist Sir Thomas Tresham was summoned in August, 1581, to London, as was also Lord Vaux,⁵ and in November they and Sir William Catesby were tried before the Star Chamber for having refused, at their previous examination, to state on oath whether Campion had been at their houses.⁶ But notwithstanding this persecution, both Sir Thomas Tresham and Lord Vaux remained conspicuously faithful to their sovereign, and kept aloof from all secret negotiations with Spain.⁷

Campion was far from being the only representative of the Society of Jesus who found shelter in this part of the country. Thus in 1581 and 1582 the Privy Council was making efforts for the apprehension of one Edmond or Edward Chambers, 'a wandering and seditious Jesuite,' who seems to have been moving about in Northamptonshire, Rutland, and Huntingdonshire.⁸ Among those required to take part in the search for him were Sir Edmund Brudenell and (as far as the first two counties were concerned) the bishop of Peterborough,⁹ to whom the council further issued a letter (19 April, 1582) 'for the searching of certain houses in the counties of Northampton and Rutland,' and the apprehension not only of Chambers, but of 'such other Jesuits or seminary priests as are presently or hereafter shall be known to remain and lurk within the said counties.'¹⁰ Toward the end of the reign Great Harrowden seems to have been for a time the headquarters of the noted Jesuit, John Gerard, who was sheltered here by Elizabeth Vaux, widow of a son of the third Lord Vaux.¹¹ A hiding place at Rushton, the home of the Treshams, is said to have sheltered Gerard's colleague, Edward Oldcorne.'¹²

The recusancy of Sir Thomas Tresham and Sir William Catesby assumed a more dangerous form in their children. Francis Tresham, the eldest son of Sir Thomas, did not inherit his father's loyalty to the state. He was involved in a notorious intrigue with Spain, and in the Gunpowder Plot, nor has his reputation been much bettered by the fact that he was almost certainly the betrayer of that conspiracy.¹³ His complicity therein was probably the immediate cause of the concealment of those interesting family documents which were so curiously discovered at Rushton in 1828.¹⁴ He died of disease in the year of the plot, but his head, as that of a traitor, was afterwards publicly exposed at Northampton.¹⁵

Even more deeply involved in the conspiracy was Robert, second son of Sir William Catesby. According to one view, the idea of destroying the Protestant king and Parliament, and setting up a Roman Catholic government in their stead, was his conception.¹⁶ On the discovery of the plot it was to

¹ Simpson, loc. cit. ² Ibid. ³ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* LVIII, 196. ⁴ Ibid. LVII, 204. ⁵ Ibid. loc. cit.

⁶ *Cal. of the Rushton Papers*, by J. Taylor (Tracts relating to Northants, Second Ser. 1881), bdle. vi, Nos. 11, 13. ⁷ *Cal. S. P. Dom. Eliz.* ccxxxix, 26.

⁸ *Acts of P. G.* (New Ser.), xiii, 259, 362, 387, 411, 421.

⁹ Ibid. 363, 385-6.

¹⁰ Ibid. 386-7.

¹¹ J. Morris, S. J., *Life of Father John Gerard*, 332 et seq. Allan Fea, *Secret Chambers and Hiding-places*, 52-4.

¹² Ibid. 59.

¹³ Gardiner, *Hist. of Engl.* 1603-42, i, 251.

¹⁴ Taylor, preface to *Cal. of Rushton Papers*.

¹⁵ Gardiner, op. cit. i, 268.

¹⁶ Ibid. 235.

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Ashby St. Ledgers that he and several of his fellow-conspirators fled. He was caught and killed a few days later at Holbeach.¹ In the Vaux family the ardour of the third Lord Vaux was especially maintained by his son Henry and his daughter Anne, both very prominent in the religious intrigues of their day.² Among the popish recusants in the county may also be mentioned the Bentleys of 'Little Ogle,' near Rothwell.³

But if the adherents of the Roman Catholic church counted for comparatively little in this district, the disputes within the Church of England between high churchmen and Puritans were here particularly prominent. There was no county in the whole of England where Puritanism gained such a stronghold, or made such open demonstration of its objects and methods. The novel teaching of the two previous centuries, first by the friars, and secondly by the Lollards, had made a deep impression, as we have already seen, in this part of the ancient diocese of Lincoln. The alienation from the parochial clergy encouraged by the one, and the anti-sacerdotal principles of the other, prepared the way for a complete rejection by many of the episcopacy, and the substitution of the Presbyterian principles of Calvin, which the Marian exiles brought back with them from the Continent. The three objects that they set themselves to achieve were the substitution of Presbyterianism for Episcopacy, the gradual disuse of the Book of Common Prayer in favour of extemporary prayers and lectures, and above all, the establishment of the 'Discipline.' This last was a court of morals to be administered by a kind of parish vestry. It must be remembered that both parties (High Church and Puritan) in the reign of Elizabeth, if not later, claimed to be true churchmen, and so strove to mould the national church according to their views.

For the first ten years of Elizabeth's reign the Privy Council managed to steer its way with some success between the extremes of Romanism and Puritanism, and to suppress most of their manifestations. But the rising in the North in 1569 provoked a reaction in favour of Puritanism from many who had hitherto held aloof, and the papal bull of 1570 helped in the same direction.

Two causes gave great encouragement to the development of Puritanism, and to its acceptance in Northamptonshire. Lord Burghley, for political reasons, gave the movement considerable support, and it also received at this time direct encouragement from Bishop Scambler. A rhyming pamphlet, published at Northampton in 1570, shows how in the popular mind the issue was between Geneva and Rome. The *via media* of Hooker and the High Church Anglican party only became prominent later in the reign.

It was at the great church of All Saints, Northampton, in 1571 that the famous Puritan exercises known as 'Prophesyings' had their origin. The rules relative to the 'Prophesyings' or 'Exercises of the Ministers' are given, together with a long confession of faith, in the Domestic State Papers. The

¹ Gardiner, op. cit. i, 257-9, 263. Popular tradition connects Ashby St. Ledgers with treasonable meetings held under Robert Catesby's presidency. Allan Fea, *Secret Chambers and Hiding-places*, 56.

² J. Morris, S. J., *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, first and second ser. *passim*; *Life of Father John Gerard*, 311-13.

³ Ibid. 11, 314.

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rules and confession are accompanied by an elaborate series of orders,¹ regulating the religious affairs of the town and, to a certain extent, of the county also, and laying down the details of a stern religious discipline. A specially noteworthy point in these orders is the bishop's sanction to the use in church of Calvin's Catechism.

Whatever may be thought of the 'discipline' above mentioned, and of the 'classes' to be described presently, there was nothing necessarily revolutionary in their exercises or 'Propheysings' elaborated at Northampton, so long as they remained merely devotional meetings for the clergy under strict regulation, coupled with successive expositions of Scripture before the general congregation. The idea became popular, and spread from Northampton to the dioceses of London and Norwich, and by 1573 had reached the dioceses of Chester, Durham, Ely, and York. The Privy Council, however, having before them the Northampton document, in which the rules for spiritual exercise were annexed to the discipline orders which we have just cited, and dreading all religious enthusiasm, determined on their suppression. It will be remembered that it was the refusal of Archbishop Grindal to put down these 'propheysings' in accordance with the letter of Elizabeth to the bishops

¹ *Cal. S.P. Dom. Eliz.* lxxviii, 38. The orders and dealings in the Churche of Northampton established and sett up, by the consent of the Bysshop of Peterborough the maior and bretherne of the Towne there and others the Queenes Ma^{ties} Justices of peace within the saide Countie and Towne taken and founde the Vth daie of June 1571, Annoque XIIJ Regine Elizabeth.

1. The singinge and playenge of Organes before tyme accustomed in the Quier is putt downe and the comen prayer theare accustomed to bee said is brought downe into the bodie of the churche amongst the people before whome the same ys used accordinge to the Queene's booke with singinge psalms before and after the Sermond.

2. There is in the chefe churche every tewsdaye and thursdaie from IX of the clock untill X in the mornynge Redd a lecture of the scriptures begynnynge with the confession in the booke of Comen prayer and ending with prayer, and confession of the faith, etc.

3. There is in the same churche every sondaye and holydaie after mornynge praier A Sermond the people singinge the psalmes before and after.

4. That service be ended in everie parishe churche by IX of the clock in the mornynge every sondaye and holydaie to thende the people maye resort to the sermon to the same church and that every mynister gyve warnynge to the parishioners in tyme of comen prayer to repaire to the sermon theare, excepte they have a sermon in their owne parishe Churche.

5. That after praiers don, in the tyme of Sermon or Catechisme none sitt in the streetes or walk up and downe abroade or otherwye occupie themselves vaynely, uppon such penaltie as shalbe appointed.

6. That youth at thende of eveninge prayer every sondaie and holydaie before all the elder people are examyned in A porçon of Calvyns Catechisme which by the reader is expounded unto them and holdeth an hower.

7. There is a general Communion every quarter in every parish churche with a sermond whiche is by the mynister at Comen praier warned fower severall sondaies before every Communion, with exhortaçon to the people to prepare for that daie.

8. One fourthnighte before eche Comunion, the mynister with the Churchwardens maketh his Circuyt from howse to howse to take the names of the Comunycantes and to examyne the state of their lyves, amongse whom yf any discorde be founde the parties are brought before the Maior and his bretherne being assisted with the preacher and other gentillmen before whome there ys recon-sylement made, or ells Correccion and puttinge the partie from the Comunion which will not dwell in Charitie.

9. And ymediatly after the comunion the mynister &c. retorneth to euery howse to understand whoe have not receaved the comunion accordinge to comon ordre taken and certyfieth it to the Maior &c. who wth the mynister examyneth the matter and useth meanes of persuation to induce them to their duties.

10. Every comunion daie eche parisshe hath ij comunyons thone for servauntes and officers to beginne at V of the clocke in the mornynge wth a sermonde of an hower, and to ende at VIIJ The other for m^{rs} and dames etc., to begynne at IX the same daie wth a like sermonde and to ende at XII at the uttermoste.

11. The manner of this comunion is besides the sermonde accordinge to the order of the Queene's book saving the people, beinge in their confession uppon their knees for the dispatche of manye doo orderly aryse from their pewes, and so passe to the Comunion table, where they receive the sacram^t and from

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that brought about the sequestration of his see, and his suspension from office.¹ The order of suppression was dated 7 May, 1577, and Bishop Scambler found it necessary to obey. Having been the first bishop in any way to sanction the methods complained of, he resented their suppression, and apparently encouraged the clergy of Northampton to show a like spirit. The result of the conflict was a decline in religious observances and church services, and Lord Keeper Bacon, who visited Northampton toward the close of 1578, when the town was recovering from a visitation of the plague, was shocked at its spiritual destitution and lack of any preacher. He wrote a severe letter to Bishop Scambler, saying that the condition of things would be lamentable in a poor village, and far more so in 'a towne so greate and so notorious as Northampton.'²

The bishop, however, maintained his policy of inaction until the formal attention of the Privy Council was called to the 'disorders in matters ecclesiastical in the town of Northampton.' On 5 April, 1579, they addressed a letter to the bishop, requiring him 'with the assistance of some learned ministers in the places adjoining, and especially Mr. Smith, parson of Blisworth,' to inquire into these 'disorders,' and to take steps for their repression with the aid of such gentlemen and justices in the neighbourhood as he should think fit to consult.³

The bishop excused himself on the ground of ill-health, but it was he who, about this time, reported to the council that people were repairing in great numbers out of their own parishes in Northampton to the house of the noted Puritan and parliamentary leader, Peter Wentworth, at Lillingstone

thence in lyke order to their place, havinge all this tyme a mynister in the pulpitt readinge unto them comfortable scriptures of the passion or other lyke pertaynyng to the matter in hande.

12. There is on euery other Satterdaye, and nowe euery Satterdaie from IX to XJ of the clocke in the mornynge, an exercise of the mynisters bothe of Towne and countrie about the interpretacon of scriptures, the mynisters speakinge one after another, doth handell some texte, and the same openly amonge the people; that doon, the mynisters doth wthdrawe themselves into a pryve place, theare to confere amonge themselves as well touchinge doctrine as good lieff, manners or others orders mete for them.

13. There is also a wekelye assembly euery thursdaye after the lecture by the maior and his bretherne, assisted wth the preacher, mynister, or other gentlemen, appointed by the Bisshoppe for the correction of discorde made in the towne, as for notorious blasphemy, whoredome, drunkenness, raylinge against religyon, or the preachers thereof, skowldes, rybaults, and suche lyke, w^{ch} faults are eche Thursdaye presented unto them in writinge by certein sworne men, appointed for that cervice in each parisshe, so the bisshoppes authoritie and the mayors joyned together being assisted wth certein other gentillemen in comysion of peace, yll lyeff is corrected, Godds gloary sett fourthe, and the people brought in good obedience.

14. The comunyon table standeth in the bodye of the churche, accordinge to the book at the over ende of the middle Ile, havinge three mynisters, one in the mydle to delyver the bread, the other ij at eche ende for the cupp. The mynisters often tymes doo call on the people to Remember the poore w^{ch} is there plentyfully doon, and thus the comunyon beinge ended, the people doo singe a psalm.

15. The excessyve ringinge of bells at forbidden tymes by Injunctions (whereby the people grewe in disorder to the slaughter of some and the unquyetinge of others geven to here sermonde) is inhibited, allowinge notwthstandinge suche orderly ringinge as may serve to the callinge of the people to churche and gevinge warnynge of the passinge and buriall of eny persons.

16. The carryenge of the bell before courses (corpses) in the streets, and biddinge prayers for the ded (w^{ch} was there used till wth in thes twoo yeres) is restrayned.

17. There is hereafter to take place ordered that all mynisters of the shyer once euery quarter of the yere, uppon one monethes warnynge gyven repayer to the said towne, and theare, after a sermonde in the churche herde, to wthdrawe themselves into a place appoynted wthin the sayde churche, and there pryvately to confere amongst themselves of their manners and lyves, amongst whome yf any be founde in faulte, for the fyrst tyme exhortation is made to hym amongst all the bretherne to amend, and so lykewyse the seconde, the thirde tyme by complaynt from all the bretherne, he is comytted unto the bysshopp for his correccion.

See *Northampt. Borough Rec.* (1898), ii, 386-90, where the confession of faith and the rules for the prophesying are also given in full.

¹ See Strype, *Grindal*, 325 et seq. and *Grindal Remains* (Parker Soc.), 372-390.

² Harl. MS. 398. The letter is printed by R. M. Serjeantson, *Hist. of All Saints', Northampton*, 111-13.

³ *Acts of P.C.* (New Ser.), xi, 93.

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Dayrell, over the Buckinghamshire border,¹ apparently to receive the Communion according to the Puritan rite. It was he, too, who ordered the imprisonment of one Flower *alias* Guye, of Northampton, afterwards accused to the council of having spoken disrespectfully of Elizabeth and her supremacy.² On 30 May, 1579, the council sent Wentworth a summons to appear before them, and forbade him to admit any to the services at his house, except persons from his own parish.³ They also ordered the Northampton authorities to send up Flower, and to certify what words he had used against the queen and what had happened after they were spoken.⁴ At the same time they again required the bishop to repair to Northampton, and on this occasion they associated with him Sir John Spencer, Sir Edmund Brudenell, Sir Edward Montagu, and one Roger Cave, esquire. These commissioners were to call in the aid of 'Mr. Shepparde, the archdeacon, and Mr. Smith, parson of Blisworth' (of whom the council seem to have entertained a high opinion), and were to 'inform themselves of all such disorders in the town as either Jennings, the minister there, or any other could deliver unto them.' If the bishop was still unwell the others were to proceed without him. A report was afterwards to be sent up to the council.⁵ On 11 June the council notified the mayor of Northampton of their dealings with John Flower. After first committing him to prison they had released him 'upon his bond and submission.' As he had been accused also of having avoided the Communion at his parish church, they had enjoined him to communicate there according to the queen's injunctions on his return to Northampton. He was to signify his willingness to do so to the curate of the parish, who was to report to the council if Flower failed to present himself at the Communion service.⁶ Shortly before this Martin Clipsham, vicar of St. Giles's, Northampton, had presented to the council a schedule of disrespectful words that had been used in the town against the queen. Instructions were therefore sent down (11 June) together with the schedule, to Sir John Spencer, Sir Edward Montagu, and Roger Cave, to repair to Northampton and inquire into the matter with the assistance of the mayor, who was to inform the council as to what the town authorities had been doing in the matter, and what he himself could answer to a charge that had been made against him in the aforesaid schedule. They were also to bind over John Roller to 'answer to law' upon notice to be given him at his dwelling. As, moreover, certain charges had been brought against 'Jenninges, one of the ministers of that town,' they were to investigate any complaint that might be presented by the mayor or others against his life and doctrine, and, if necessary, were to cite the said Jennings or other offenders before the council.⁷ On 3 August the council wrote to the lord treasurer and the chancellor of the exchequer (who, they had heard, were about to visit Sir Christopher Hatton, the vice-chamberlain, at Holdenby), enclosing the reports which they had received from Sir John Spencer and others, and desiring their lordships as they would be so near to Northampton, to summon 'William Jennings, parson of Allhallowes,' to their presence, together with the mayor and others, and to settle the dispute 'to the preser-

¹ *V.C.H. Bucks*, i, 312.

² *Acts of P.C.* (New Ser.), xi, 133, 137, 219.

³ *Ibid.* The exception is interesting. Wentworth, it may be remarked, was a man of powerful connexions. His wife was sister to Sir Francis Walsingham, and aunt by marriage to Sir Philip Sidney.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.* 158-9.

⁷ *Ibid.* 159-60.

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vation of unity hereafter.' They were also desired to send for Peter Wentworth, to whose house at Lillingstone, inhabitants at Northampton were still resorting, and to deal with this difficulty 'so as their Lordships be not hereafter any more troubled therewith.'¹ But the case of Jennings, at any rate, was not settled yet, if, that is, he was the 'preacher named Jenens' mentioned in the Acts of the council under 6 September, 1580, where a letter is recorded as sent to the bishop of London, 'requiring' the latter to remove 'Jenens' from Northampton, where, according to report, he had been 'a very unquiet and indiscreet person in his behaviour among the inhabitants,' and to send him to a certain benefice in Devonshire.²

As early as 1572 Thomas Cartwright, previously Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, published a treatise strongly attacking episcopal government, and advocating Calvin's Presbyterian system, and in 1574-5 he issued an English translation of Walter Travers' celebrated book on ecclesiastical discipline. Cartwright endeavoured to show how Presbyterianism could be grafted on to the Church of England. To put it briefly, he suggested the retention of bishops, who, however, would be left with little more than a semblance of power, whilst all real authority was to be vested in 'classes,' or boards of Puritan clergy and elders. Fuller, an almost contemporary writer, and a native of Aldwinkle, speaking of these 'classes,' says he found them 'more formally settled in Northamptonshire than anywhere else in England.'³

In 1587, Northamptonshire, in accordance with the scheme of Cartwright and Travers, was divided into three 'classes,' those of Northampton, Daventry, and Kettering. Their meetings were each of them commonly attended by some six or seven Puritan incumbents. The Northampton 'classis' was frequently held at the Bull Inn; and one, Edmund Snape, acting as curate of St. Peter's, generally presided. There was also an assembly at Northampton, consisting of six members, two from each 'classis,' Daventry being usually represented by two members named Barbor and King, and Kettering by two members named Stone and Williamson. They went so far as to order a survey to be taken of every benefice in the shire, having a special column for the 'life, paines and qualities' of the incumbent. A Puritan incumbent was appointed to draw up this account of his brethren for each deanery, Mr. Littleton, at one time curate of West Haddon, being chosen for the Haddon deanery.⁴ All the members of the Northamptonshire 'classes' subscribed as follows:—'We doe promise to submit ourselves unto such orders and decrees as shall be set downe by our classis, and we doe promise to submit ourselves to be censured by our brethren of this classis in all matters concerning doctrines and discipline.' As an instance of the discipline, it may be stated that Nicholas Edwards, rector of Courteenhall, was severely rebuked by the Northampton 'classis' for using the sign of the cross in Baptism.⁵

Whether Bishop Scambler would have tolerated these more advanced developments of Puritanism in his diocese is perhaps doubtful, but the way had been largely prepared for them by the favour he had shown to the move-

¹ *Acts of P. C.* (New Ser.), xi, 218-19.

² *Ibid.* xii, 194.

³ Fuller, *Church Hist.* bk. ix, section 7.

⁴ The style of comment in which they indulged can be gathered from the sample of the Cornwall survey given by Neal, *Hist. of the Puritans*.

⁵ Bancroft, *Dangerous Positions and Proceedings* (1593), 75-8. Lansd. MS. ccxxxviii, 327. lxi, 3, 24; Strype, *Whitgift*, iii, 268-85.

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ment in its earlier stages. Indeed, prominent as was the part which he played in the religious affairs of his day,¹ he was a lax administrator of his diocese, and the venality of his officers was notorious. He much impoverished the see in favour of Cecil (through whose influence he is said to have obtained it) and of the queen, and it was perhaps fortunate for Peterborough that in 1585 he was translated to Norwich.² The Puritan movement, however, continued its course unabated under his successor, Richard Howland,³ as indeed has already appeared. A paper, dated 16 July, 1590, containing charges brought against 'the ministers of Northamptonshire and Warwickshire'⁴ indicates to what length in these counties the movement had gone in the direction of Presbyterianism. Above the 'classes' were general 'synods,' and in doctrine and worship as well as in organization, most of the principal notes of Presbyterianism were already present, either in actual practice or in intention.⁵ There appear to have been about four 'classes' to a county,⁶ and those of Northamptonshire were attended by the 'ministers' of Warkton, 'Courtnoll' (Courteenhall), 'Cookenoe' (Cogenhoe), Higham, Abington, Wellingborough, Weeden (Weedon), and other places.⁷

When Archbishop Whitgift succeeded to the primacy, in 1583, most stringent subscriptions were insisted on from all exercising any ecclesiastical functions, pledging them to the use of the Book of Common Prayer, and none other, in their ministrations. In the following year a list of twenty-five interrogatories was drawn up, which were to be administered by the court of High Commission to any of the clergy whom the court thought good to question. Whitgift promised Burghley that resort would not be made to the interrogatories, save when private remonstrance failed. In 1585—to counteract parliamentary action, and prove to the queen and Burghley that the Puritan clergy were as a body small in number, and slender in ability, and had acquired a fictitious importance through the support of some in high places—the archbishop had a return prepared of the conforming and non-conforming clergy throughout the whole of the province of Canterbury, stating their degrees. Unfortunately the return for Peterborough is wanting, but out of ten dioceses there were 786 beneficed incumbents who conformed to the law, and only 49 who did not. A new code of canons was issued, and greater pressure used towards the offenders. Naturally angry at the energy of the archbishop, and the warm support given him by Elizabeth, the more extreme of the Puritans retaliated, and their outburst of invective brought into play the suspended use of the interrogatories of the Star Chamber.

The Marprelate Tracts,⁸ in 1588-90, were most intimately connected with Northamptonshire. Hatred of episcopacy was the keynote of the whole series of these tracts, seven in number, which were but an amplification of the text supplied by Tyndale, 'That the Bishops were Antichrists, inasmuch

¹ He was concerned in the preparation of the Bishops' Bible (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* L, 396), and was one of the seven bishops who, in 1583, presented to the queen a body of articles for the general government of the church (*Cal. S.P. Dom. Eliz.* clxiii, 31). His writings were placed in the Roman Index (Gunton, *Hist. of Peterburgh*, 72). He seems to have had a reputation for skill in reducing individual opponents of the Elizabethan Settlement to conformity (*Acts of P.C.* (New Ser.), xii, 338, 362; xiii, 12).

² Stubbs, *Reg. Sac. Angl.* 83.

³ Ibid. 86.

⁴ Printed (from Lansd. MS. lxiv, fol. 51) in Serjeantson, *Hist. of St. Peter's*, 29.

⁵ Ibid. *passim*.

⁶ Ibid. 7, § 4.

⁷ Ibid. 4, § 9.

⁸ The books to be consulted on the Martin Marprelate controversy are those by Maskell, in 1845, and Arber in 1894; Lansd. MS. 7,042, and J. H. Shakespeare, *Baptist and Congregational Pioneers*, 94-104.

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as in their doctrine and their doings they are directly against Christ and His Word.’¹ In the errata to the second of the number, which was printed in this county, the author holds out special threats of dealing separately with Bishop Scambler, the quondam patron of the milder Puritanism :—‘ There is nothing spoken at all of that notable hypocrite Scambler, bishop of Norwich. Take it for a great faulte, but unlesse he leaue his close dealing against the truth, ile bestow a whole booke of him.’

These tracts were printed at a press which was moved about from place to place to avoid detection. It was first set up at Molesey, near Kingston-on-Thames, and was then moved, in November 1588, to Sir Richard Knightley’s house at Fawsley. It was there that the *Epitome*, one of the most violent of the set, was secretly printed. From there the press was moved to a farm-house of Sir Richard’s, at Norton-by-Daventry, and after a fortnight’s sojourn was again set up at Coventry. Eventually it was taken from Warwickshire to Newton, near Manchester, where it was discovered, and the printers arrested. Sir Richard Knightley, in his subsequent deposition, tells us that the press was set up in a disused nursery of his house. The whole story, as told by the different witnesses, is full of curious touches, one of the most quaint being that of the Puritan Penry, strolling about the secluded house and park of the Knightleys, in a sky-blue mantle trimmed with gold and silver lace, with a sword at his side and a plumed hat on his head to avoid suspicion. John Penry, though a Welshman by birth, was intimately associated with Northamptonshire during the last few years of his eventful life. In 1587, he married Eleanor, daughter of Henry Godley, of Northampton, and was a member of the Northampton classis, which by its constitution only admitted residents. Sir Richard Knightley, convicted through the now freely used interrogatories of the Star Chamber, was severely reprimanded and fined. He is the most conspicuous instance in the county of those Puritan gentry who were strongly anti-episcopal and Protestant, and who had the countenance at times of Leicester and even Burghley. Early in 1590 Penry’s papers were seized by order of the archbishop, and a warrant for his arrest was issued. He escaped to Scotland, but on returning in September, 1592, he was taken, and on what now seems miserably insufficient evidence convicted of high treason (under the same statute that condemned the Roman Catholics), and hurried to execution, thus becoming like them a martyr to his conscientious convictions. William Hacket, of Oundle, a man in whom religious enthusiasm developed into lunacy, and who eventually believed that his body was animated by the soul of John the Baptist, was also at this time executed in London.

In 1590 the government grew alarmed at the continued growth of Puritanism, and they resolved to strike a blow at the leaders of the party. Next to Cartwright, one of the foremost was Edmund Snape, already mentioned as a curate of St. Peter’s, Northampton. A list of the charges brought against the Puritans of Northamptonshire and Warwickshire is extant among the Burghley papers, divided into twenty articles. Article nine states :—

The ministers in Northamptonsheer (who especiallye doe assemble themselves at such classes and manelye were present at ye aforesayd classes) are Mr. Snape, Stone minister of

¹ *Obedience of a Christian Man*, 102.

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Wharton, Edwards of Courtnoll, Spicer of Cookenoe, Atkins of Higham, Fletcher of Abington, Larke of Wellingborough, Prowdeloe of Weeden, Kinge of Coleworthe, Barebone and others : or some of them.

Snape was clearly the local leader of the episcopally ordained clergy who were striving by every means to thwart the bishops and introduce Presbyterianism. The last of these articles refers exclusively to the St. Peter's curate. One of the allegations against him was his saying 'that rather than he would have stooed by the vertue of anye letters of Orders, he woulde have been hanged upon ye gallowes.' In fact so strong was the action against him that a supplement of seven additional charges was prepared, giving definite particulars with name and places as to his line of action, which is summed up in the following paragraph :—

Beeinge or pretending to be curate of St. Peters, in Northampton, doth not in his ministrations reade the Confession, Absolucon, Psallmes, Lessons, Letanie, Epistle, Gospell, administreth the Sacraments of batisme and the Supper, marieth, burieth, churcheth, or giveth thanks for weomen after childe burthe, visiteth the syke, nor perfourmeth other partes of his dutie at all, or at least not accordinge to the forme prescribed by the booke of common prayer authorised ; but in some chaungeth, some parts omitteth and others addeth, choppeth and mingleth it w^t other prayers and speeches of his owne, etc., as it pleaseth his owne humor.

Snape steadfastly declined, like Cartwright and other leaders of this clerical revolt, to answer interrogatories before the Court of High Commission, and was committed to prison. In June, 1591, further information was laid against him in the Star Chamber, when he was again remanded to prison, where he continued till December, when he was released on bail.¹

Cartwright and others very properly refused to convict themselves on oath before the Star Chamber by answering the interrogatories, but other of the Northamptonshire Puritans did not make so stout a resistance. Thomas Stone, rector of Warkton, was stiffly examined in London from 6 a.m. to 7 p.m. on all the details of the Northampton classis, of which he had been so prominent a member, on the very day (in 1591) of Hacket's execution. He conformed, and subsequently lived for many years quietly at his rectory.²

Northamptonshire, the stronghold of ultra-Protestant activity, is closely identified with the rise of Independency or Congregationalism. Till about 1642 the Independents were often called Brownists, from the famous Robert Browne (1550–1632). Less really typical of the principle that each Church should be a single congregation of faithful men self-governed and free from all civil control than his contemporary Barrow, his vehemence and sufferings in thirty-two prisons have given him prominence. In 1590 he was absolved from excommunication, received from Brayley, who always stood his friend, the living of Thorpe Achurch in this county, and held it for more than forty years. Recent research shows that his position was intermediate between the extreme separatists and traditional Churchmanship, and he has suffered much misrepresentation in consequence.

When the long reign of Elizabeth came to a close, and the throne was occupied by a king who had lived in conformity to the Presbyterian system, the hopes of the Puritans vainly revived, and the continued close identification of this county with the Puritan movement is strikingly confirmed by the recently issued Montagu papers. James considered that the Hampton Court

¹ The articles against Snape, with full particulars, are set forth in R. M. Serjeantson, *Hist. of Church of St. Peter, Northampt.* (1904), 25–36.

² Bailey, *Life of Fuller* (1874), 69–72.

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Conference ought to be accepted as closing the Puritan remonstrances, but to his great annoyance the knights of the shire of Northampton almost immediately raised the question in Parliament.

On 23 March, 1604, Sir Edward Montagu, who at that time shared the county representation with Sir Valentine Knightley, delivered himself in the House of Commons of several grievances which he had been desired by his constituents to make known. They were three in number, the first relating to the intolerable burden of the Commissaries' Courts, and the third to the depopulation and excessive conversion of tillage into pasturage. The second was:—'The suspension of grave, learned, and sober-minded ministers for not observing certain ceremonies, long since by many disused.'¹ In pursuance of Sir Edward's motion concerning the grievance of the Commissaries' Courts, the speaker delivered a message from the king on 16 April, desiring that there might be a conference between the Commons and the bishops, to which the House assented. On the bishop of London requesting that they hold conference with Convocation, the House of Commons at first 'utterly refused' this, as establishing a new precedent, but a compromise was effected by the Lords appointing thirty of their House (including the bishops) to confer with sixty of the Commons. On 4 June the Lords and Commons began a conference on matters of religion, but the bishop of London read a letter from Convocation inhibiting the bishops from conferring with the Commons, 'for that the laity had no authority to meddle in these matters now the king had granted those letters patent.' On 8 June this was reported to the House, 'who took it in ill-part, and chose a Committee to draw a petition for toleration of ceremonies,' which was presented to the House and twice read, and ordered to be presented to His Majesty. The prorogation of Parliament prevented any further steps.

In February of the following year, the two knights of the shire of Northampton undertook to present to the king and council a petition against the suspension of the non-conforming ministers in Northamptonshire, but it was delivered back to them to amend. On their declining to do so, both Sir Edward Montagu and Sir Valentine Knightley were put out of all commissions in His Majesty's service, and ordered to depart into the country. Sir Edward Montagu was, however, soon afterwards reconciled to the king through his brother James, dean of the Chapel Royal. In the year 1605 it was Sir Edward's hand that drew up the 'Act for a Public Thanksgiving' on 5 November for deliverance from the Gunpowder Plot. Sir Richard Knightley (the father of Sir Valentine), as the prime mover in this petition, was removed from the lieutenancy and commission of the peace, placed in confinement in London for a time, and fined £2,000. Other Northamptonshire gentlemen, including Sir W. Lane and Erasmus Dryden, were severely treated, the council pronouncing the question to be 'factious and seditious.'² The very heavy fine on Sir Richard Knightley was doubtless caused by the recollection of his previous Marprelate action.

The reign of James I was the period during which the position of the Church of England became more clearly defined and consolidated, while the writings of Hooker, Andrewes, and Jeremy Taylor prepared the way for the

¹ *Hist. MSS. Com.* 1900. Rep. on MSS. of Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, 42-5.

² *S.P. Dom. Jas. I.* xii, 69, 74, 94, 95.

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final settlement of 1662. There is no proof of this county taking any share in this theological movement ; and nowhere, perhaps, did there still remain within the Church a greater Puritan leaven than in Northamptonshire. The successors of Bishop Scambler (Howland and Dove) were men of little mark ; and though Bishop Andrewes from time to time visited the county, his sojourns were too brief to make any special impression, as they appear to have been confined to the preaching of state sermons before James and his court at Holdenby.

When Charles I, in 1626, committed the first great blunder of his reign by endeavouring, without the intervention of Parliament, to raise a considerable sum of money by way of 'benevolence,' Northamptonshire was speedily in the thick of the fray. The resistance was by no means confined to the laity, the neighbouring bishop of Lincoln setting an example in this respect even from the episcopal bench. It was felt by the king's advisers that a special stand should be made in Northamptonshire, and the aid of the pulpit was invoked. The president of the council and the earl of Exeter were at Northampton in January, 1626-7, when they had a conference with Dr. Sibthorpe, vicar of Brackley, Dr. Clerke, rector of St. Peter's, Northampton, and other High Church clergy, on the question whether conscience and religion did not necessitate a loan to the king if it were demanded. Dr. Sibthorpe, as the divine who most strongly upheld the royal prerogative, was selected to preach the sermon in All Saints at the coming assizes. Accordingly, on 22 February, Dr. Sibthorpe delivered himself of a discourse, wherein he taught the doctrine of passive obedience under every conceivable circumstance with absolute thoroughness. Archbishop Abbot was requested to license the sermon for printing, but he refused, and drew up a series of objections. The preacher replied, toning down the strongest passages. The king then appointed a committee, consisting of the bishops of Durham, Rochester, Oxford, and Bath and Wells (Laud), to decide on the fitness of the sermon for printing. The committee sanctioned its publication, and the Northampton sermon on 'Apostolike Obedience' at once attained a great circulation under the licence of the bishop of London.

The king was delighted, made the preacher one of his chaplains-in-ordinary, and soon afterwards presented him to the Northamptonshire living of Burton Latimer.¹

Laud was called to the primacy in 1633, and three years later began his celebrated metropolitical visitation. Bishop Dee, of Peterborough, heartily welcomed Laud's interference, and Dr. Sibthorpe and Dr. Clerke (rector of St. Peter's, Northampton) were appointed commissioners to carry out a circumstantial visitation of the diocese. In no other county of England was there probably the same extreme defiance of rubrics, order and doctrine, as was the case in some of the parishes in Northamptonshire. The report and orders of the commissioners with regard to All Saints', Northampton, dated 26 October, 1637, show the condition to which that church was reduced. The whole of the fabric and fittings were in a miserable plight ; the collegiate seats (stalls with high backs) had been dragged from the chancel, and placed round the Holy Table at the upper end of the nave, which, intentionally or

¹ There are many blunders with regard to Sibthorpe in Wood's *Athenae*. For a long account of him, based on original documents, see Cox and Serjeantson, *Hist. of St. Sepulchre's, Northampt.* 144-54.

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not, hid from observers whether the communicants received kneeling or sitting. The following is an example of the actual wording of this detailed report :—

The pavement of the church is uneven in most places and broken in divers places, most part of it of rough stone, a great deale of it fitter for the gripp of a cowhouse than the house of God. . . . The crosse which was upon the east end of the chancell is broken down, and instead thereof the towne's armes are sette up, as if it were towne's church and not Christ's.¹

On 28 October, Thomas Ball, vicar of All Saints', was cited before the visitors, when he was formally enjoined to observe all the rites of the Church of England, and specially 'not to come out of the Cancellinge (railing) to deliver the communion to any factious person.' The churchwardens were at the same time admonished to rail in the communion table and affix a kneeling bench to the same, together with divers other injunctions. The wardens neglected to obey, and, after the three formal warnings necessary in ecclesiastical law, were excommunicated on 12 January, 1637–8. In the following month the excommunicated wardens petitioned Archbishop Laud, making various excuses for their delay. The matter was referred to Sir John Lambe, as dean of Arches, and on promise of amendment the petitioners were absolved. The chancel rails were duly erected, but they were not suffered long to remain, for from letters addressed to the dean of Arches in the following June, we find that they had been cut to pieces and the holy table brought back into the nave, the alternative position under the rubric which the Puritans preferred. The Domestic State Papers at the Public Record Office and other documents show that there was somewhat similar conduct at Towcester, Daventry, and a few other places in the county, but the instance of All Saints' must suffice as a striking example.²

There still remain in a few of the Northamptonshire village churches the Laudian altar-rails, as witnesses that the archbishop's rule for the accessories of sacramental worship were at all events not resented in some of the country districts.³ For every set that remains, it is safe to say that the restorations of the last half century have cleared away at least half a dozen.

With the meeting of the Long Parliament in 1640 the tide turned in favour of the Puritans, but the more ardent Protestants, conceiving that religious changes were not proceeding at a sufficient pace nor always in the direction they wished, held a meeting on 21 January, 1641–2, at the 'Swan,' Northampton, of 'knights and gentlemen and freeholders of the county,' to draw up a petition to the House of Commons, which was presented on 8 February. The petition, which is of some length, opens with warm praise of the general action of Parliament and of 'the justice done upon delinquents,' and then proceeds to state that they had been encouraged to expect 'a perfect reformation in religion.' But to their great grief, their expectations had been disappointed through the actions of the malignants and particularly 'the voting of Popish Lords and Bishops in the House of Peers.' They proceeded to ask, amid divers other requests, that the votes of

¹ This report, and other consequent documents, are given in extenso in *Rec. of the Borough of Northampt.* ii, 391, 397.

² Serjeantson, *Hist. of the Church of All Saints, Northampt.* cap. ix. and x.

³ Creaton, Duddington, and Gretton may be mentioned.

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the bishops might be taken away. The actual signatures appended to the petition are only eighteen; they include the names of Richard Knightley, Erasmus Dryden, John Cartwright, and Richard Samwell.¹

Matters speedily ripened in the direction desired by these petitioners. Parliament, after a very thorough fashion, had taken over the royal supremacy before the petition was presented, and had made itself the supreme judge in the affairs of the Church. Northamptonshire (so far as can be ascertained), was the very first county to have a local committee for dealing conjointly with sequestrations and scandalous ministers. This committee was in working order and commenced operations as early as May, 1641.² In compliance, also, with petitions from Northampton and elsewhere, the bishops were excluded from voting during the session of 1641. In December of that year twelve of the bishops were sent to the Tower and imprisoned for making a protest against the validity of Acts of Parliament passed during their absence from the House of Lords. John Towers, who had left the deanery of Peterborough for the bishopric of the diocese in 1638, was one of the number. On his release he joined the king at Oxford. In February, 1642, the bishops were excluded by statute from Parliament. In 1643, the Solemn League and Covenant was accepted by the Commons, as the condition of military assistance from the Scots, and Episcopacy was abolished. On 19 March, the Covenant was taken by the town and garrison of Northampton. During 1645-6 Parliament abolished the Book of Common Prayer, substituted the 'Directory for the Publique Worship of God,' and ordered the establishment of presbyteries throughout the kingdom.³ Henceforth, for fifteen years, the form of state religion was in the eyes of the law Presbyterian, and the Episcopal Church of England was not only destitute of legal rights, but the exercise of its liturgy was subject to legal penalties.

The elaborate scheme of a parish presbytery, a classical assembly and a provincial synod for all the counties of England, was never thoroughly carried out: in some districts it only existed in a more or less skeleton form, and in others dwindled away after a few years' trial, through hostility to the discipline. In London, Lancashire, and Derbyshire,⁴ it retained a fairly strong hold to the last, but in Northamptonshire (where the classis was most popular during the reign of Elizabeth) it seems never to have taken root. At all events no proof is forthcoming of the definite establishment and continuance of a single classis, or of Presbyterian ordination throughout the whole of the shire.⁵ This absence of rally to a Presbyterian form of church government in Northamptonshire possibly arose from that county being the centre of the

¹ The petition was printed, together with two to the like effect from the county of Kent. B.M. Pamphlet, E 135 (36).

² We are indebted to Mr. Alderman Wetherell of Northampton for the loan of a valuable MS. record of the proceedings of the Committee for Sequestrations in Northamptonshire. There are a few instances in 1641, and several undated ones: from 8 May, 1644, to 17 Dec. 1644 the entries are full and regular. The proceedings were methodical, and the committee met several times each week.

³ At the end of the parish register of Great Doddington, Northants, is the following note: 'We whose names are underwritten have made the Protestation framed and made by the House of Commons. Antho. Warters. cler.' Then follow seven signatures and the marks of forty-nine persons who were unable to write.

⁴ *Journ. of Derby. Arch. Soc.*, vol. ii, (1879), wherein is an annotated transcript of the Minute Book of the Wirksworth classis, and full details of religious worship under the Commonwealth, by Rev. Dr. Cox.

⁵ Mr. Shaw states in his exhaustive *History of the English Church during the Civil Wars and under the Commonwealth* (1900), that he has not found a single Northamptonshire illustration of Presbyterianism in all the documents he has consulted.

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actual military operations, and from the Independent sympathies of the army, but it remains an unsolved problem.

The Committee for Scandalous Ministers, appointed in 1641, did not interfere with patronage, but dealt only with the condition of the clergy. The Journals of the House show that Dr. Beale was removed from the living of Paulerspury as early as 11 March, 1640-1.

The central committee issued an order immediately on their appointment, calling upon every ingenuous person to be active in improving the present opportunity by giving true information of all parishes in their several counties, as to (1) pluralities, (2) defect of maintenance, (3) not preaching, and (4) scandalous lives. The certificate from Northamptonshire for that year is of much interest. It is stated that there were not more than sixteen or twenty cases of plurality out of the 326 benefices, and that they did not do near so much harm as the poor and scandalous livings; that half the churches were 'appropriate,' and the vicarages often so small and destitute 'that there is no sufficient means left to a minister to buy books, nor to keep hospitality, nor live like a minister in reasonable condition'; that there was not an ordinary clergyman in the diocese able to leave £100 or scarce £50 to his children in land, 'excepting Doctor Clerke, who having been the King's Chaplain twenty years hath perhaps gotten something.' In this printed certificate the questions of the local power of preaching and of scandalous living are left alone. Specific instances are however adduced of lack of maintenance. The tithes, glebe, and parsonage house of Piddington were entirely in the hands of Sir John Wake; not so much as a poor curate left resident there to read prayers or bury the dead, and neither a child or a servant in the parish that can say the Lord's prayer—'only Sir John keeps a minister in his house at the Lodge in Sawcy Forest, whom he sends to Piddington at times.' As to the vicarage of Preston, everything was in the hands of Sir Robert Hartnell, the poor vicar being only allowed eight pounds stipend. Sir Robert 'pulled down the body of the church, sold the lead and the bells, and employed it to profane uses, the Chancell also for a time was prophaned, being made a kennell for greyhounds, and the steeple a pigeon house; as for prayers and preaching, when they were disposed to have any, it was performed in the Hall or Parlour, the house standing neere to the church, and sometimes they frequented the lectures at Northampton.'¹

Early in 1644 the Houses of Parliament began to appoint to livings that were in the gift of the crown, or would otherwise have lapsed to such patronage. Later in the year they claimed the right to livings which pertained to the estates of sequestrated royalists. The second instance in which this was carried out and the first in which a definite principle was laid down, happened in connexion with a Northamptonshire living:—'August 23d 1644. Whereas the parsonage of Braybrook in the county of Northampton is become void by the death of the late incumbent Nicholas Bent, and that Sir Edward Griffin in arms against the Parliament is patron of the said living, and that James Uty, M.A., an orthodox divine, is in the same living by way of sequestration: and whereas the House is of opinion that where livings become void of which delinquents are patrons that in such cases the gift of such livings is in the Houses of Parliament: it is ordered that Sir Arthur Haselrig and

¹ B.M. Pamphlet, 873, E 61.

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Mr. Nicholas do bring in an ordinance for settling Mr. Uty in the said living.’¹

Previous to this, on 11 June, the Northamptonshire Sequestration Committee recorded the appointment of Charles Newton, M.A., to the rectory of Burton Latimer, which had been sequestered from Dr. Sibthorpe ‘for that he hath wholly deserted the cure of the said church and betaken himself to the forces raised against the Parliament.’ In the same month Richard Trewman, M.A., was appointed to the rectory of Church Brampton, inasmuch as Mr. Canon had absented himself from the cure for ‘neere a twelvemonth.’

From the very full minutes of the County Sequestration Committee for 1644 we find that far the greater part of their business was concerned with the estates of laymen, but that from time to time ministerial appointments came before them. These half dozen Puritan county gentlemen had full power to act in such cases, apparently consulting the parishioners now and again, if they were of like tendencies. Their resolutions required, however, the sanction of Parliament. The following are the daily matters of that kind with which they dealt in 1644, there being no trace of the existence of any Presbyterian classis or assembly. On 6 August they wrote to Mrs. Campion, of Holcot: ‘We desire you would come over to us on Thursday next to treat with us about the setting of an honest and painfull minister to supply the cure at Holcott.’ On 14 August a certificate was forwarded to the inhabitants of Castle Ashby to the effect that, ‘We doe approve of and appoint that William Huett shall supply the cure of the parish church of Ashby, and that there be farther order given that he shall have for his pains therein the same money which Michael Balls is to pay for the crop of corne and hay in the open fiede there.’ Mr. Hewitt evidently met with some resistance, for on 19 September the clerk to the committee sent peremptory orders to the wardens of Ashby to deliver up the key of the church door to Mr. Hewitt, to give him quiet entrance, and in no way to hinder him from praying, preaching, and officiating in the church. In the same month Dr. Dillon’s parsonage of Farthingstone was sequestered for his delinquency. In October Archibald Symmer was appointed to the rectory of Boughton, in the place of John Andrews, who was alleged to have deserted the cure and joined the forces against the Parliament. In November another rectory was sequestered, because the incumbent, who had obtained a licence from the Parliament to go to ‘the Spawe’ for his health, was still in England in disguise at the king’s quarters. On an earlier occasion the committee invited Mr. Rainsford to come over to treat about Guilsborough vicarage, the townsmen to have notice to accompany him if they pleased.

The Lambeth Palace library contains a most interesting series of ecclesiastical documents of the time of the Commonwealth. In pursuance of various ordinances of the Parliament, a complete survey of the possessions of bishops and deans and chapters, as well as of all benefices, was begun in 1650, and continued over several years by special commissioners. The original surveys were transmitted to the trustees nominated for the management of this property.

These surveys have hitherto for the most part been strangely neglected. This has been the case with those for Northamptonshire, which was one of

¹ *Commons Journals*, iii, 603.

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the last counties visited by the commissioners, the returns being dated 1655.¹ They are arranged in hundreds and are complete, save that the appointment of the commissioners is missing. The commissioners varied for the different counties, and were mainly drawn from the local justices. After the preliminary information had been collected, an inquisition was held by the commission in the chief town of the hundred, and the returns certified by a jury of thirteen good and lawful men. The returns from the different counties differ not a little. Some of them, especially the earlier ones, are particularly free in their comments on the character of the incumbents. Remarks such as 'a drunkard, a cavileer, and scandalous,' 'a tippler and very scandalous,' 'a frequenter of alehouses,' or 'noe preacher and scandalous,' are more commonly found than those of a complimentary nature, such as 'honest and able,' or 'a paynestakinge minister.' The returns from the Northamptonshire hundreds are, however, precise and businesslike, and show that careful attention was given to the general instructions that the commissioners received in common. The value of the rectory is set forth, and in the case of a vicarage the value of the impropriation and the name of the impropriator. The value of the vicarage is also given, or the stipend of the minister, which was occasionally increased by augmentations from the estates of delinquents. The name of the minister is given, or the fact of the benefice being vacant recorded. Other important points are the naming of chapelries, with their distance from the mother church, and the relative distances and population of small adjacent parishes. The inquests were expected to make recommendations as to the enlargement or consolidation of parishes. The following may be cited as instances of such suggestions in Northamptonshire. In the hundred of Willybrook the commissioners suggest that the chapelries of Apethorpe and Woodnewton be united and made into a distinct parish; and also that the benefice of Duddington should no longer be held in conjunction with that of Gretton, as they are five miles apart and have two intervening parishes between them. In the hundred of Newbottle the interesting suggestion was made that the parochial chapelry of Teeton—which then had a resident population of thirty families and paid £30 a year of tithes to the mother church of Ravensthorpe, a mile distant—should be made into a distinct parish. The chapel of Teeton has long since disappeared.

Notwithstanding the costly and complete character of this great national survey of church property hardly any legislation was attempted upon the reports, and the parishes remained as aforesaid.²

Another valuable collection of Commonwealth MSS. which was transferred to the safe keeping of Archbishop Juxon in 1662, and is now at Lambeth, comprises the records of the Central Committee for the Augmentation of Livings.³ They cover the period from 1647 to 1658, and are contained in fifty-five folio volumes. Grants were made by this committee from the estates of delinquents (usually those of the locality) and from the larger endowed benefices. Sometimes the increase was made up by a variety of small sums from different sources. Thus the vicarage of Doddington was

¹ Lambeth Surveys, vol. xx.

² It is curious to note that not a few of the recommendations of the Parliamentary Commissioners as to rearrangement and readjustment of parishes have been carried out of late years by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, after an interval of more than two centuries. See the *Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society* (1894 and 1896).

³ Lambeth MSS. 966-1,020.

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slightly raised in value by contributions from the Northamptonshire rectories of Byfield, Stoke Doyle, Kilsby, and Ufford.

Each county had its own committees and trustees, but none of their actions, either in augmentations or ejection of scandalous ministers, were valid until confirmed in London. The services of the various county commissioners were given gratuitously, but they employed a small staff of paid officials. The council sanctioned in 1657, at the request of the 'Commissioners for ejection of scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient Ministers and Schoolmasters in Co. of Northampton,' the payment of £50 for a registrar, and £30 each for three agents. The financial work done in Northamptonshire by way of augmentation and readjustment of clerical stipends was considerably in advance of other counties of a like size.¹ From returns in the Public Record Office we find that the sale of lands of the deanery of Peterborough realized rentals of £658 3s. 3d., and that from this income grants were made to the Northamptonshire parishes, varying from £70 to Peterborough to £10 10s. to Rothwell.²

Throughout the Commonwealth period the churchwarden system was continued, as is witnessed by a great variety of county parochial accounts and registers; they were annually elected, and assessed rates yearly at Easter. The Presbyterians were just as anxious to maintain the church-rate and the tithe system as the Episcopalians whom they had superseded; but after a little time a strong agitation against tithes arose, which was afterwards vehemently maintained by the Quakers.

There was published in 1653 a pamphlet termed 'The Afflictions of the Afflicted, or the Unjust Actions of Tythe-mongers Discovered,'³ which took a violent anti-tithe view on Scriptural grounds, and gave instances of houses broken up, bodies imprisoned, and cattle and goods seized, 'pretended for tythes, that unjust gain of oppression.' Some Northamptonshire examples are cited—Richard Terry, of Houghton, prosecuted by Sir John Isham, impropiator of Lamport for tithe £2 19s. 6d., was forced to pay £15; and on another occasion £35, and treble damages 'for pretended tythes'; Thomas Roberts, of Overstone, imprisoned in 1646 by Sir R. Samwell and Mr. Ward, justices, for not recognizing Mr. Lyonel Goodrick as parson of Overstone, had to pay £10 for his redemption, and the parson afterwards took four of his cows and twenty-six sheep for 'pretended tythes'; and in the same year 'eight horses, three pairs of gears, and three hogs' were seized for a like purpose, 'which was an undoing to him, his wife, and children.' The Tithes Act of 1654 reaffirmed the approving ordinance of 1647. The anti-tithe feeling grew in strength, but the attempted legislation of 1657 in that direction was abortive; and that of 1659 ended in a resolution that, pending a better maintenance scheme for ministers, it should remain in force.

¹ The following parishes were dealt with by the commissioners, some of them on several occasions:—Adstone, Alderton, Aldwinkle, Ashley, Braybrooke, Brigstock, Brixworth, Long Buckby, Daventry, Desborough, Doddington, Elkington, Earls Barton, East Farndon, Guilsborough, Glapthorn, Grafton, Gretton, Haselbech, Halse, Helpston, Higham Ferrers, Holcot, Irthlingborough, Isham, Kilsby, Kingsthorpe, Laxton, Little Oakley, Marston St. Lawrence, Maxey, Mears Ashby, Moulton, Newton Bromswold, Northampton (all the parishes), Oundle, Paston, Paulerspury, Peterborough, Pilton, Polebrook, Plumpton, Pytchley, Raunds, Ringstead, Rothwell, Rushton (both churches), Sibbertoft, Southwick, Steane, Teeton, Thorpe Malsor, Thrapston, Titchmarsh, Towcester, Walton, Warmington, Weedon, Wellingborough, and Wilby.

² Audit Office, bdle. 367, roll 2.

³ B.M. Pamphlet, E 714. In the same year was published another pamphlet entitled 'Downfall of Tythes and Sacriedge' (B.M. Pamphlet as before).

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The clergy who were ejected from their benefices, at the very outset of the Puritan triumph, included the whole of the cathedral establishment, bishop, dean, six prebendaries, and eight minor canons. The dean¹ was John Cosin, one of the best known of the Caroline divines. He had been appointed to Peterborough by Charles I, (whose chaplain he was) in 1640. It will be shown, in the subsequent topographical section, that he was in attendance on his royal master during the time of his captivity at Holdenby. During the rest of the Commonwealth period, Dr. Cosin was chaplain to those of the English queen's household at Paris who belonged to the Church of England. Immediately after the Restoration, whilst other men were, as Pepys terms it, 'nibbling at Common Prayer,' he was the very first to use it openly in its entirety in the choir offices of the cathedral church of Peterborough. Dr. Cosin revived the ancient usage in July, 1660, but on 2 December of the same year he was consecrated bishop of Durham in Westminster Abbey.

A considerable number of the beneficed clergy speedily followed the cathedral staff, and when the Prayer Book was abolished, all save the small minority who held strong Puritan convictions, and a certain number who preferred to retain their incomes rather than their principles, were ejected.² The story of the treatment of the aged vicar of Wellingborough, and his being forced to ride part of the way to Northampton on a bear, has often been told. From the almost contemporary account in *Mercurius Rusticus*, it would appear that the series of brutalities to which he was exposed actually took place, but outrages of this description were undoubtedly quite exceptional.

The intolerance of the Presbyterians was effectually checked by Cromwell and the Independents in 1648;³ and owing to the personal desires of Cromwell and a few of his broader-minded supporters, a period of partial religious liberty ensued; but the new tolerance only meant freedom of worship for Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists; no such liberty was granted to Prelatists, Papists, Unitarians, or Quakers. It was, however, a great step in advance, and taken for the first time, when those in power admitted that there might be more than one way of looking at religious truths.

With regard to the Quakers it is only fair to recollect that the founders and early converts of that society did much to provoke hostility by their violent interruption of the public worship that was then conducted in our parish churches. There was no part of England where the Quakers were at this time so persistently opposed as in Northamptonshire.

Their 'sufferings'⁴ in this county are said to have begun at Wellingborough in 1654, when William Dewsbury, a Yorkshire man, went into the

¹ T. Smith, *Vita Joannis Cosini*.

² Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy* (1714), supplies lists of the more prominent cases in each county.

³ There was published in London, early in 1648, *The Testimony of Our Reverend Brethren Ministers of the Province of London to the truth of Jesus Christ and our Solemne League and Covenant, attested by other Ministers of Christ in the county of Northampton*. It is therein acknowledged that 'this kingdom is not yet formed into Provinces throughout as London is': mention is made of the grievous wolves of heresy that have already entered among them, threatening to make the solemn League and Covenant so lately sworn, invalid and out of date; and it is stated that the attestation is signed in favour of 'that learned, pious, orthodox and unparellel'd confession of Faith' drawn up by their reverend brethren at Westminster. Sixty-eight signed, who described themselves variously as 'ministers,' 'ministers of the Gospel,' 'ministers of God's Word,' 'pastors,' 'preachers,' or 'preachers of the Word' (B.M. Pamphlet, E 441, 29). We may take it for granted that this represented the strength of the vehement Presbyterians.

⁴ Besse, *Sufferings of the Quakers*, i, 518.

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'steeple house' and waited till the 'priest of that house,' Thomas Andrews, had done, and then spake to the people. Dewsbury was hauled out of the church into the churchyard, where he again preached to the people, till the high constable came and removed him to the market-place. On 28 December he was arrested on a warrant on a charge of blasphemy, and lodged in Northampton gaol, where he was kept 'tween steps underground with thieves and murderers' till quarter sessions on 10 January. The justices remanded Dewsbury and two other Quakers to the March assizes. At the assizes he was charged with going into the congregation at Wellingborough and disturbing the minister and congregation by standing with his hat on all the time of the sermon and prayer and for railing on the minister, calling him a hireling and making a great disturbance. The judges wished to deal leniently with him, and asked for a bond for his appearance at the next assize. Dewsbury and his companions refused, and were accordingly carried back to gaol. At the July assizes, they again refused to find bonds for good behaviour, and were again taken back to gaol, where they continued till January, 1656, when they were released by order of the Protector.¹

In 1657 one William Ireland went into Finedon 'steeple-house' and spake 'when the priest had done'; for which offence he was sent to Bridewell for six months, where he was so unmercifully whipped and so cruelly used that he became exceedingly weak, so that he hardly survived the time of his imprisonment, but presently after died.

Northamptonshire afforded shelter and hospitality during the Commonwealth to that learned and pious divine, Thomas Morton, successively bishop of Chester, Lichfield, and Durham. On the abolition of episcopacy £800 a year was assigned to the bishop of Durham, who was then of the age of fourscore. But this income he never received, and in 1648 he was driven from Durham House by the soldiery. When on horseback on his way to London he encountered Sir Christopher Yelverton, who, Puritan though he was, had compassion on the old man, and invited him to his seat at Easton Maudit. He so endeared himself to the family that the invitation lasted for his life. He died in 1659 at the age of 94, 'with perfect intellectuals and a cheerful heart.' During his long sojourn at Easton Maudit he helped to maintain the ministerial succession of the church by secret ordinations.² The celebrated divine and historian, Dr. Thomas Fuller, for some time in his poverty enjoyed the hospitality of the Montagus at Boughton. Archbishop Ussher also obtained sanctuary in the county during a part of this period.

¹ Besse tells us that the mayor of Northampton for that year 'was Peter Whaley, a man of an nasty and cholerick disposition, when one Walter Ferr came before him with his hat on, he threw it into the kennel.' *Sufferings of the Quakers*, i, 528. Other accounts, however, represent him as a man of peace esteemed for his public spirit. Cf. *Northampton Borough Records*, ii, 496.

² He was buried in the church of Easton Maudit on Michaelmas Day, 1659, and his funeral sermon preached by Dean Barwick. It was afterwards published with a brief 'Life.' Dr. Barwick boldly referred in the sermon to the bishop being faithful to his office to the very last gasp—'Witness his late ordinations of priests and deacons here among you, whereof some here present received the benefit, and many more can give the testimony. . . . Witness also his great care and earnest prayers that the sacred order and succession of bishops might never fail in this poor afflicted and distressed church.' That part of his will in which he made a solemn declaration of his faith was also read in the church at the time of his death, wherein he denied any lawful ordination through presbyteries, and asserted that if he had not believed that the succession of bishops in the Church of England had been legally derived from the Apostles, 'I had never entered into that high calling, much less continued in it thus long.'

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It was, however, a very hard time for all the less distinguished of the ejected clergy. As late as 1655 an edict was issued prohibiting any ejected minister from keeping a school, or acting as tutor; whilst the punishment for using the Book of Common Prayer, or performing any rite of the church, however privately, was banishment from the realm.

With 1660 came the restoration of the monarchy, and with it the re-establishment of episcopacy. The numerous ecclesiastical acts of the government of the interregnum were regarded as invalid, and not even honoured by any formal repeal. Northamptonshire had been one of the first counties to insist upon Parliament completing the reformation of religion by the abolition of the episcopacy; and now she was among the very first to present to Charles II an address begging for the restoration of episcopal government. On 20th June the brief address of the noblemen, gentlemen, and freeholders of the county of Northampton was presented to the king at Whitehall.¹

The bishops at once resumed the control of their dioceses without awaiting any specific request or injunction. But several of the ejected bishops had meanwhile died, including Bishop Tower, of Peterborough. Benjamin Laney, dean of Rochester, who had attended Charles II in exile, was consecrated as his successor.

The legal re-establishment of episcopacy proceeded apace, and the bishops took possession of the endowments of their sees without any fresh legislation. An Act of Parliament of 1660 restored those of the parish clergy who had been ousted from their livings during the Commonwealth, and in the following year the bishops were replaced in the House of Lords and a complete restoration was made to the Episcopalians of the church property held at the beginning of the Civil War.

The Savoy Conference failed to reunite the different schools of religious thought, and was not favoured by the bishops, the king, or Clarendon. The Prayer Book was revised, and the new Act of Uniformity, making it the only legal service book in England, became law in 1662. All ministers were obliged to use it in their churches after St. Bartholomew's Day, and at the same time to repudiate the covenant and to declare it unlawful to take up arms against the king. This led to the resignation or ejection of nearly 2,000 ministers on 24 August, 1662. The number was not so large as those who lost their livings in the Commonwealth period; but it excluded from the national church a large number of men of high character and attainments. Among the most prominent of those who resigned their benefices in this county rather than conform to the new Act were Vincent of Wilby, Cawdry of Little Billing, Maidwell of Kettering, and Whiting of Aldwinkle.² Here as elsewhere there were not a few clergy who passed from Episcopacy to Presbyterianism, and back again to Episcopacy as the times changed, and many others who, having been beneficed under the Commonwealth, now decided to conform, and hence, of course, had to submit to episcopal ordination.

The Acts promoted by militant support of Episcopacy which followed upon the Act of Uniformity with the object of stamping out those forms of

¹ Printed broadside, 669, fol. 25 (B.M.).

² For an account of the ejected ministers arranged in counties see Calamy, *Life of Baxter*, vol. ii (1713), and his volumes of the amended lists issued in 1727.

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Christianity which were beyond the pale of the Act (such as The Conventicle Act, 1664, the Five Mile Act, 1665, and the Test Act, 1673) all came into active operation in Northamptonshire.

With the passing of the Act of Uniformity the ecclesiastical history of Northamptonshire, like that of other counties, enters on its third stage. The constant theological and ecclesiastical ferment had ended by settling two questions. It was now certain that the whole nation could not be comprised in any one religious society, and it was clear that the special society recognized by the state as the Church of England should be an episcopalian body in communion neither with the Church of Rome nor with the non-episcopal bodies. In future there were to be three main divisions of Christianity in England, the Anglican, the Roman Catholic, and the Protestant Nonconformist, and the ecclesiastical history of the county from this time can best be outlined in three divisions corresponding to these three currents of opinion. But it should be noted that while before 1663, high religious fervour and spiritual power were often displayed at the same time by the three schools of thought now to be stereotyped as Roman Catholic, Anglican, or Nonconformist, after 1663 there is a curious alternation of spiritual energy which in this county as in others makes the importance of the several communities vary greatly from time to time.

First in regard to the Church of England, as already pointed out, there were many more Episcopalian clergy in Northamptonshire than those of Presbyterian or Independent principles, and since there were also a considerable number who acquiesced in the arrangements of the time whatever they were, it came about that an overwhelming majority of the beneficed clergy acceded to the Act of Uniformity and retained their livings. It is certain also that the bulk of the laity in the county took the same line. The country gentry who had supported Puritanism hardly ever followed it into the wilderness of dissent, and powerful though the anti-episcopal forces in the county had been for the previous three generations, the vast majority of the county adhered, with more or less cordiality, to the Church of England as now defined by the Act of Uniformity. This is strikingly shown by the religious census of 1676. The returns presented by the clergy to the bishop, which in Northamptonshire came in from all save twelve of the smallest parishes, show 83,970 Conformists, 1,972 Nonconformists, and only 102 Roman Catholics. This return shows a smaller percentage of Roman Catholics than any other county; there were practically none in the towns, the parishes with the largest number being Deene, thirty, and Welford, nineteen.¹ So large a proportion of the population having accepted the settlement, the history of the Church of England in the county during Charles II's reign, and for long after, is uneventful. Persecution still occurred here and there,² but there is no ground for thinking that it was frequent.

The first matter of consequence to note after the Restoration is the share of Northamptonshire clergy in the famous movement of the non-jurors. Bishop White, of Peterborough, was one of the famous seven bishops sent to the Tower by James II for refusing to sign his illegal Declaration of Indul-

¹ There are two copies of this return (which has hitherto been almost entirely ignored by statisticians and historians), namely at the William Salt Library, Stafford, and at the Bodleian, Tanner MS. No. 150. Derbyshire has 588 Papists to 47,151 Conformists, and Hants has 846 Papists to 70,640 Conformists.

² Coleman, *Hist. of Independent Churches in Northants.* (1853), 51.

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gence, and the same conscientious scruples led him to follow his metropolitan, Sancroft, in refusing to take the oath to William and Mary. Deprivation followed, and White of Peterborough, with five other bishops, and about 400 of the most learned of the beneficed clergy, with a few distinguished laymen, formed the body of non-jurors. Bishop White was one of the most active of them ; he joined in the circular of 1695 asking for help from the charitable for his dispossessed brethren, and was in consequence imprisoned for eight weeks while awaiting examination by the Privy Council, then under Whig influence. He attended Sir John Fenwick on the scaffold in January, 1697, to the scandal of all but the non-jurors, and he joined with the deprived bishops of Norwich and Ely in secretly consecrating suffragan bishops of Thetford and Ipswich in 1694, by which the succession of non-juring bishops was continued in a line which lasted for more than a century. The Northamptonshire clergy who became non-jurors were Bagshaw of Sibbertoft, Arnold of Deene, Coteler of Litchborough, Cuffe of Wicken, Bedford of Wittering, Ives of St. Giles', Northampton, Harvey of Braybrooke, and Hughes, minor canon of Peterborough. So late as the reign of George I the laity who refused the oath of allegiance in Northamptonshire were, though few, of considerable consequence.¹

The learning and piety of the non-jurors can find no better illustration than the life and work of William Law, the author of the *Serious Call to a Holy Life*.² Born at King's Cliffe in 1686,³ he was deprived of his Cambridge fellowship on the accession of George I, when the Abjuration Oath was strictly enforced. He retired to his native place, and there lived a life of devotion, alms-giving, and practical works of mercy, making indeed a companion idyll to that of Nicholas Ferrar in the previous century. Here Law died in 1761. His is by far the greatest name among the non-juring members of the Church of England in the county during the eighteenth century, and the effect of his writings and life both on the earlier and later Evangelical party, in and out of the church, and subsequently upon Newman and the Oxford movement, make him a landmark in English religious history. His tendency to mysticism alienated many of his contemporaries, and his great logical and literary merit and power have never been duly recognised except in the case of the *Serious Call*.⁴

Apart from William Law, the story of the Church of England in Northamptonshire during the eighteenth century is comparatively unimportant, the characteristics of the age in which a period of long religious strife was followed by a reaction against all enthusiasm being naturally felt and displayed more widely by the national Church than by the much smaller religious societies outside its pale. The failure of the Comprehension Bill had left the boundaries of the Church where the Act of Uniformity had placed them, while the Toleration Act strengthened dissent in Northamptonshire, as elsewhere, and facilitated the loss to the Church of earnest persons out of harmony with the lower spiritual tone of the age. The victory of Anglicanism in matters of church government and doctrine under Charles II was largely nullified in practice, though not in church organization, by the

¹ See *Names and Particulars of all England arranged into Counties*, printed in 1745 ; B.M. 1.401.

² See edition with preface and notes by J. H. Overton (1898).

³ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* XXXII, 236.

⁴ *Ibid.* XXXII, 238, 239.

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long rule of the Whigs, supported by latitudinarian bishops. This lasted for practically a century, broken only by the brief high-church triumph under Queen Anne. The loss of the non-jurors, who embodied fully the traditions of the great Caroline divines, further weakened the culture and spiritual efficiency of a church which had already suffered heavily by the religious controversies of the previous century ; while in the Georgian Age the best minds of the Church of England here, as elsewhere, were turned rather to apologetics against Rationalism than to vigorous parochial or evangelistic work. The suppression of Convocation in 1718 further checked the corporate energies of the clergy, and it is worth remembering that the learned and industrious antiquary, White Kennett, who became bishop of Peterborough in that year, refrained from publishing the materials he had collected towards the history of Convocation in order to please the Whig government. Bishop Kennett, though zealous in the management of his diocese after his own fashion, was very severe to any of his clergy suspected of Tory or Jacobite tendencies. In April, 1720, Richard Reynolds, then dean of Peterborough, writes from Northampton to Bishop Kennett: 'I find that the vicarage of Newbottle and Charlton has been void above six months. The benefice is not worth above £30 per annum, which may make the patron less careful to fill it, but as he is a professed Jacobite, and has formerly given much trouble by causing his domestic non-juring chaplain to read prayers commonly in his own form, so if your lordship is not otherwise engaged, it were to be wished you would take this opportunity to collate thereto an honest man well affected to the government.'¹

Bishop Kennett died in 1728, and the six successors who ruled the diocese to the end of the century were not men of special mark, and generally contented themselves with discountenancing 'enthusiasm.' There were during this time, of course, wide varieties of clerical type, as well as many different kinds of church laymen in Northamptonshire. The earlier evangelical movement had in the county one name once widely known. The Rev. James Hervey² (born 1714, died 1758, rector of Weston Favell, and Collingtree 1752-58), author of *The Meditations among the Tombs*, and a friend of Wesley and Doddridge, was a prominent example of that school which adhered to Episcopacy, yet professed Calvinistic theology, and united with it much emotional and evangelical fervour. Such people were congenial neither to the Whig bishops nor to many of the Tory clergy, and found among the dissenters most of such sympathy as they secured. Hervey is of historical consequence as a link in the chain of thought and feeling which maintained the Puritan spirit in the Church of England, and which connects the later evangelical revival with the seventeenth century types of piety. His saintly character compares with that of William Law, the great non-juror, but his books show the style of the period at its worst, and the laboured conceits and attenuated thought in his writings have long secured for them oblivion. Brief mention is also deserved by Thomas Hartley³ (1709 (?)–1784), for many years rector of Winwick, whose mystical temperament was in sharp contrast with that least mystical of ages, and

¹ Lansdowne MS. 1,028, fol. 238. Sackville Tufton, a son of the earl of Thanet, was at this time patron of the vicarage and lord of the manor of Newbottle. He presented Thomas Willis, M.A., to the living on 10 May, 1720.

² *Dict. Nat. Biog.* XXVI, 282.

³ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* XXV, 71.

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whose translation of some of the writings of his friend Emmanuel Swedenborg first revealed that remarkable genius to English readers.

In the later part of the century none of the well-known evangelical leaders within the church had any particular connexion with Northamptonshire, or any special influence upon it, nor is the ecclesiastical layman so prominent or important as in the preceding and succeeding centuries. In a word, this county reflected fully the general tendencies of the age.

The condition of the diocese of Peterborough strikingly illustrates the well-known change of social status and material resources of the parochial clergy in this century. Many reasons contributed to depress the social importance of the clergy at the end of the seventeenth century, though their actual position has been caricatured and exaggerated by Macaulay and others. The secularity of tone which set in from the Restoration period, and the losses already mentioned of non-jurors on one side and Puritans on the other, reduced the calibre of the county rector, and after the death of Queen Anne the Tory gentry being excluded from power, and the parochial clergy generally sharing their opinions, were both further from the centre of social life and culture than their predecessors had been. The next three generations saw a great change, and nowhere more than in Northamptonshire. Thrown together in opposition to the ruling powers, and living their lives side by side, the squire and parson formed an alliance which became a leading feature of rural England. The great families had in all ages given of their sons to the ministry of the church. Now that profession was the certain lot of the younger son of the smaller gentry, and to a large extent in rural districts that which had been specially a profession became in this century something like a caste. Another great cause of change was the economic condition of the great agricultural counties, of which Northampton was one. The steady and great rise in rents under Walpole, while it enriched the landowners, made just the difference to the clergy between struggle and ease. A careful observation of the parsonage houses in Northamptonshire shows that the largest and finest were built in the eighteenth century,¹ and in some places put upon new and better sites than the old rectory or vicarage. This shows most clearly where the landowner was patron, and the incumbent often a scion of the patron's family. The improved circumstances and territorial connexions of the parochial clergy have their weight in explaining that dislike of enthusiasm, that static rather than dynamic temper of mind, which marked most of them all through this period.

The transition to greater energy and order in matters ecclesiastical, if we omit Bishop Hinchcliff, 1769-94, who in 1786 secured the establishment of Sunday Schools,² is marked by the episcopate of Herbert Marsh, 1819-39, though in theological matters he was a strong partisan. A critical theologian himself, with strong anti-Calvinistic views, he did his best to purge the diocese of men of the evangelical school whose now modified Calvinism was the theological frame-work of much of the highest spiritual life of the time. He has incurred an unenviable immortality at the hands of Sydney Smith for the eighty-seven questions to which all curates seeking his licence had to submit, and which were familiarly known as 'A trap to catch

¹ e.g. Lamport, Edgcote, Orlingbury, Milton, and others.

² *Northampton Mercury*, 22 July, 1786.

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Calvinists.¹ Twice over in the House of Lords motions were made objecting to the enforcement of these questions, but on each occasion they were rejected after powerful speeches by the bishop. In other ways he was an admirable bishop, taking a new and necessary line in enforcing residence and discouraging pluralities, while to him is owing also the revival of the office of rural dean. From his day till the present, the Church of England in Northamptonshire has steadily increased in usefulness and influence, and this notwithstanding the loss in rural villages of much of those material resources which had so developed in the previous century ; while the actual area of the diocese has been largely extended by the detachment of Leicestershire from the see of Lincoln in 1839. The Oxford movement has left its deep impression here as elsewhere, and though no names of special distinction have any local tie, Sykes of Guilsborough and Crawley of Heyford, may be recalled as among the most vigorous and well equipped of its early supporters.

The successors of Bishop Marsh have been men of varied but great eminence. Bishop Davys' long episcopate, 1839-64, won him great and profound respect; that of Bishop Jeune, 1864-8, was not too short to reveal his brilliance and charm to the county; while in Bishop Magee, 1868-91, the church found an orator and ecclesiastical statesman with gifts amounting to genius ; and in Bishop Creighton, 1891-7, the most alert intellect and versatile scholar of his day. Early in the nineteenth century a determined effort was made to provide larger church accommodation for the county town. St. Katharine's church was erected in 1839, St. Andrew's in 1842, St. Edmund's in 1852, and St. James's in 1871. In 1875 Bishop Magee founded the Northampton Church Extension Society, which in fifteen years (at a cost of £38,000) inaugurated four new churches in Northampton—St. Laurence consecrated in 1878, St. Michael 1882, St. Mary (Far Cotton) 1885, and St. Paul's five years later. In 1885 the church of St. Crispin was erected in St. Sepulchre's parish, largely by the efforts of working men ; while St. Matthew's, the gift of a wealthy Northampton family (the Phipps) was opened in 1893.

Since 1890 the Church Extension Society has inaugurated three new (temporary) churches—St. Gabriel's (1894), Holy Trinity and Christchurch (1898). In June, 1904, the foundation stone of a permanent building for Christchurch was laid by Lady Mary Glyn, and the first section of the work was consecrated 31 May, 1906.

At Peterborough five new churches have been built—St. Mark's (1856), St. Mary's (1859), St. Paul's (1868), All Saints' (1886), and St. Barnabas' (1902) ; while at Kettering three new churches have been erected, and at Wellingborough two.

At the present time the county contains besides Peterborough Cathedral (the Right Rev. the Hon. E. C. Carr Glyn, Bishop ; the Very Rev. T. Barlow, Dean), 321 parish churches.

From the reign of Charles II to the nineteenth century, the Roman Catholic Church has in Northamptonshire little history, and the numbers of its adherents, as already seen in the religious census of 1676, were very few. The parish of Aston Le Walls, the property of the Plowdens since 1617, is

¹ *Edinburgh Review*, 1822, which contains Sydney Smith's article on 'Persecuting Bishops.'

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the only one which has remained in the possession of Roman Catholics continuously since the Civil Wars, and the Plowden family ceased to reside there when William Plowden, in the reign of William III, had his coach horses impounded at Banbury at the instigation of the local Whigs.¹ The Rev. Alban Butler, a relative of the Plowdens, born here in 1710, rose to eminence in the priesthood, became President of the English College of St. Omer, and wrote an important work on the lives of the Saints.² For many years he lived at Warkworth Castle, which was from the Restoration till 1804 by far the most important Roman Catholic centre in South Northamptonshire, being held first by the Holmans and later by their representatives, the Eyres. Most of the priests who served Warkworth were Franciscans. In 1806, two years after his sale of the estate, Francis Eyre built a chapel at Overthorpe for the Warkworth congregation, which remained in use till the erection of a church at Banbury, just across the Oxfordshire border, in 1838.³

In 1809-10 the services of the church were performed in a small chapel in the house of Mr. Jinks at Oundle.⁴ This was followed by the establishment of missions at Northampton, 1825, and Aston Le Walls, 1827. The Roman Catholics now possess, besides these, missions at Ashby St. Ledgers, Daventry, Great Harrowden, Great Billing, Hothorpe, Kettering, Peterborough, Rushden, Weedon and Wellingborough. The church at Northampton has now developed into the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin and St. Thomas of Canterbury, which was opened in 1864, and there is now in the town a second church, that of St. John. Very few religious orders are represented in the shire, but the Sisters of Nazareth and the Sisters of Notre Dame have convents at Northampton, and the Sisters of Charity a house at Peterborough. Northampton gives its name to a diocese of the Roman Catholic Church which comprises seven counties,⁵ and of which the Right Rev. Arthur Riddell is the present bishop.⁶

In Northamptonshire, as in England generally, the position of those who did not accept the episcopal form of Christianity was vastly altered by the Act of Uniformity. There had been some of these before, who had at no time claimed to be members of the Church of England, but the ministers ejected by the Act and the laity who adhered to them, removed from the national Church the most vigorous of those who had been striving for a century to make the recognized religion of the country more in accordance with Continental Protestantism and less like the pre-Reformation Church. Not that all of this type of thought left the Church of England at the Act of Uniformity. That measure, followed as it was by the severities of the Clarendon Code, made the position of a dissenter intolerable to any but men of strong conviction and iron will. Only the sterner spirits of the Puritan party and those who attached supreme consequence to the principles of church government went out into the wilderness. Among the conformists remained many who sympathized with dissenters, and the continued presence of a large anti-Catholic element in the Church of England was made the

¹ Baker, *Hist. of Northamptonshire*, i, 470.

² Whellan, *Northamptonshire* (1874), 444.

³ Mrs. Bryan Stapleton, *Hist. Cath. Missions in Oxfordshire* (1906), 39.

⁴ After being carried on for many years the services at Oundle have now ceased. The sisters of Notre Dame are a teaching order, and maintain large schools in Northampton.

⁵ These are Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Norfolk, and Suffolk.

⁶ Catholic Directory (1906).

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more possible by the relaxation of religious controversy in the succeeding age, and by the fact that till the Oxford movement, though the formularies and government of the Church remained Catholic, its voice was predominantly Protestant.

All this was true in Northamptonshire, where the type of mind which successively favoured Lollardism and Puritanism had been so persistent. The actual strength of Nonconformity here was greater than would appear from the return of the religious census already quoted, and in quality and *personnel* the dissenters were stronger than their numbers indicate. These remarks apply chiefly to the so-called 'three denominations,' Presbyterian, Independent, and Baptist, whose history in Northamptonshire is of importance. The Quakers were and remained apart. Under the Restoration government they suffered even more persecution than before, chiefly through their refusal to pay tithes and to take the oath of allegiance. In 1662 an Act was passed against them for refusing to take lawful oaths, and in the same year another Act prohibited their assembling for worship under a penalty of £5, with transportation for a third offence. Under this statute the Quakers were exported to Jamaica and Barbados, to become practically the slaves of the colonists for the term of their punishment, whilst the Conventicle Acts of 1664 and 1670 made things even worse, and under these statutes the Quakers of Northamptonshire were severely dealt with. In August, 1663,¹ a meeting of some two or three hundred Quakers in a private house at Muscott was broken in upon by a corporal and five soldiers with a justice's warrant and 'pistols cockt.' Eight persons were arrested and taken to Northampton; the next day the assizes were held, and the judge ordered the oath of allegiance to be administered, and the prisoners, on refusing to take it, were sent back to gaol. By the end of the year fever had broken out in the crowded prison, and seven of the Quakers died. At the April session, 1665, five Quakers were ordered² to Jamaica for the third offence in meeting together for religious worship. In February of the following year four others were transported. In May forty were captured at once by the constable and a 'rabble of assistants' in a meeting at Finedon.³ The justices fined them 40s. each, and on refusing to pay, the whole of them were sent for six weeks to gaol at Northampton. Justice Yelverton was the most active of the Northamptonshire magistrates in harrying the Quakers, boasting that he had signed the committals of eighty Quakers in a single year. The Quaker persecution in the county continued with fitful but almost unabated energy until James II came to the throne, when, even before the Declaration of Indulgence, the king's known intentions gave courage to the more humane in the county to protest. At the quarter sessions of 1685, various petitions were presented in favour of the release of particular imprisoned Quakers. A petition from Kingscliffe was headed by the rector,⁴ and was further signed by two of the justices. In the case of three Quakers from Aynho, the petition was signed by the two churchwardens, the two overseers, the parish constable and seventeen others, whilst a testimonial signed by two justices was also produced.⁵ A Whittlebury Quaker, in addition to the signatures of

¹ Besse, *op. cit.* i, 532.

³ *Ibid.* i, 534.

⁵ *Ibid.* i, 549.

² *Ibid.* i, 533.

⁴ *Ibid.* i, 548.

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all the parish officers, was fortunate enough to secure the testimony of three of the justices.¹

Northamptonshire attained to an unenviable notoriety in her dealings with the Society of Friends. In March, 1685, a return was made of the Quakers then in prison in each county; Northamptonshire, with fifty-nine, was the worst when its area and population are taken into consideration. Six other counties had a higher total, but they were all considerably larger than this midland shire.

After the passing of the Toleration Act the Quakers cease from prominence of any special kind in the county. The vigour and eccentric zeal of their early days passed into that special type of shrewd and kindly quietism which has marked them since. Their numbers declined, especially in the last three generations, and though they have always possessed in their ranks citizens of influence, they have now only four meeting houses: Northampton, Wellingborough, Finedon, and Kettering.

The newer dissenters, as those who were expelled by the Act of Uniformity may conveniently be called, were naturally drawn into closer touch with the older Nonconformists, who had never been in possession of the parish churches. Both the Independents and Baptists had separate communities in Northamptonshire before the Restoration. The influence of Browne of Thorpe Achurch, referred to already, had not died out, and there were several Independent meetings formed during the Commonwealth. That at Rothwell has an unbroken history from 1655,² and six others, including Northampton (Doddridge), which date from 1662, represent not only Presbyterians or Independents retiring from the parish churches after the Restoration after a brief period of occupation, but a strain of earlier and more individual dissent. So, too, with the Baptists, though to a less degree. The Queen's Street congregation, Peterborough, dates from 1653, and there are reasonable traditions of Baptist communities at Ravensthorpe and at St. James' End, Northampton, about the same date.

The actual cases of ejected ministers becoming the heads of Nonconformist congregations are very few.³ When the temporary and illegal Indulgence of Charles II was issued, in 1672, the Northamptonshire licences for preachers and teachers required by the edict included twenty-three Presbyterians, sixteen Independents, and five Baptists, while of houses licensed for regular services there were forty-three Presbyterian, twenty-five Independent, and two Baptist.⁴

In the next few reigns, the Presbyterians in the county gradually disappeared and were largely absorbed into the Independents, and there is some reason for thinking that there were some, though not nearly so great, leakages from the Independents to the Baptists. For example, College Lane, Northampton, only gradually became Baptist.⁵ The communities at North-

¹ Besse, *op. cit.* i, 550.

² Coleman, *Memo. of Independent Churches in Northants* (Chapter on Rothwell Church), p. 47.

³ The vicar of Desborough (Browning) became minister at Rothwell. Maidwell, rector of Kettering, became minister there. The tradition that the vicar of St. Giles's, Northampton, became minister in the town is unreliable.

⁴ S. P. Dom. Chas. II, Entry Book 38 A.

⁵ See the 'Church Book' of College Street Baptist Church and 'Church Book' of Baptists at Kettering whose origin was a secession in 1695 from the Independents there.

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ampton and Daventry, now known for generations as Independent, long contained traces of Presbyterianism,¹ and as late as 1780 the new Independent Chapel in King Street, Northampton, was styled by John Wesley the new 'Presbyterian Chapel.' Names, however, often survive realities, and it is certain that, at the succession of the House of Hanover, the Presbyterians of Northamptonshire were fast being absorbed, and that in spite of an increase in numbers of the dissenters which followed upon the Toleration Act. The influence of Doddridge did much to complete this movement. Precise analysis of early Nonconformist history is the more difficult from the want of fixity in their places of meeting. The dissenters at the end of the seventeenth century, and for long after, were mainly yeomen and farmers in the country districts, and largely tradesmen and superior artisans in the towns. The landed gentry, who in the time of Charles I were largely on the Puritan side, had hardly ever pushed their principles to the point of Nonconformity, and quiet tolerance and occasional help from such were all that dissenters could look for. Depending chiefly on yeomen and farmers, it happened in many cases that a particular church had several places of meeting, and those composing it met at different times in villages widely apart; hence the dates of meeting-houses in particular places reveal the undoubted existence of a dissenting community a long while before.² Yet in quality, if not in quantity, the reign of George I found dissenters in Northamptonshire at their lowest ebb in spite of the organizing power of Richard Davis, Independent minister of Rothwell, 1658-1714, whose energy and influence were remarkable. The ejected ministers had mainly been men of university training and solid attainments. Fifty years later the exclusion from the universities had told on the culture of the dissenters, and the old generation was dead. The type of their thought had lost width and tenderness in the isolation and depression of their lives. It might well have been expected that from the narrow teaching and restricted sympathies which prevailed among them there was little chance of developing a form of Christianity alternative to that offered by the National Church, and this in spite of their partial success in an earlier age and of the example of Scotland and Protestant Germany. The special importance of Northamptonshire Nonconformity lies in the fact that it was in this county, more perhaps than anywhere, that the forces showed themselves and the individuals arose to whom the development of such an alternative type of Christianity has been due. These forces were first seen prominently at work in the career of Doctor Philip Doddridge.

Philip Doddridge, D.D., Aberdeen, who was born 1702 and died 1751, was for twenty-two years the Independent minister at Castle Hill, Northampton, and his life-work is rightly associated with this pastorate and this county. When he came to Northampton he brought with him the academy of which he was principal, and which already represented the best theological teaching among the Nonconformists.³ In spite of life-long ill-health he found time for active citizenship, for the writing of books, and the composing of hymns, besides his duties as teacher and minister, and it is due as

¹ See 'Church Books' of Doddridge's Ordination, and his *Life*, by Stoughton, 1851.

² e.g. the 'Church Book' of the Baptist Church at Weston by Weedon shows that the church met at various villages 12 miles apart, and up to the present day the Congregationalists of Floore and Weedon Beck form one church.

³ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* XV, 160.

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much to his remarkable versatility as to his gifts of mind and character that he has left so deep a mark on religious history. Though versatile, his achievements were great; his academy numbered 200 students during the time he was at its head, and included some who, though placed with him, were intended for the ministry of the Church of England.¹ His well-known volume on *The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*² is second to Law's *Serious Call* alone as a manual of practical religion. His hymns of genuine though not transcendent merit have passed into permanent use in the English and Scotch churches as well as among dissenters. His *Free Thoughts on the Most Probable Way of Reviving the Dissenting Interest, by a Minister in the Country*, published in 1730, shows his attention was directed to the task of unifying and strengthening the then decadent nonconformity. The problem was to retain the liberal cultivated element without losing hold of the people; in this he was greatly successful. Through his uncle and guardian, who was steward to the duke of Bedford, he secured the friendship and support of some of the most influential Whigs, and in the life of Northampton he was a prominent citizen, helping among other things to found the county infirmary and to start a school for poor children and a society for distributing good literature among the poor.

Through the action of Wills, curate to Reynolds, rector of Kingsthorpe, Doddridge incurred the enmity of the local clergy. Vexatious proceedings were commenced against him in the Consistory Court, but the case was carried to Westminster and a valuable judgment obtained in his favour, while renewed proceedings were stopped by the intervention of the king.³ Henceforth dissenters were practically safe from similar interference.⁴ The width of Doddridge's sympathies were shown by his famous statement that he would lose his place and even his life rather than exclude from the Communion a real Christian on the ground of Arian tendencies. His pulpit was open alike to the Arminian Wesley and the Calvinist Whitfield, and it has been truly stated that he did more than any man in the century to obliterate old party lines and unite Nonconformists on a common religious ground. This was effected not only by his opinions being of that evangelical tendency tinged with moderate Calvinism which has been the dominant type of Nonconformist thought apart from Methodism, ever since, but by the singular fervour or charm of his nature. The man who corresponded with Archbishop Herring as to interchange of pulpits, and with Zinzendorf as to the duty of missions, and who was the friend alike of Warburton and Whitfield, was far ahead of the temper of his time; indeed his scheme laid before ministers in 1741 is the real beginning of Protestant missions, while his alertness of mind in another direction is shown by his being one of the first tutors to lecture in English instead of Latin. His method of controversy and endeavour in an age when intolerance almost everywhere accompanied religious zeal, comes out in his dictum

¹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* XV, 162.

² 1745, 8vo, afterwards translated into nine languages.

³ Cited to Consistory Court, 6 Nov. 1733; judgment at Westminster 31 Jan. 1734. Stanford, *Life of Doddridge*, 67; and *Correspondence*, iii, 108 et seq.

⁴ Though two years after, a mob at Brixworth broke up a meeting of dissenters and threatened the life of one of Doddridge's students, Risdon Darracott, afterwards a well-known minister called among dissenters 'The Star of the West.' Here again the energy of Doddridge secured the punishment of the rioters. See *Northampton Mercury*, 25 Oct. 1736.

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that bigotry 'may be attacked by sap more successfully than by storm.'¹ Such was the man who, from his centre at Northampton, revived once and for all the dissenting interest, and placed upon English Nonconformity a stamp which has lasted to the present day.

Nor was the county without a share in the labours of that still greater man, John Wesley. Wesley, it is well to recollect, lived and died a conforming churchman, but the certain tendency of his work, and the story of the society he founded will explain the mention of his labours in connexion with Nonconformity. Like so many, he owed much to Law's great book, and within six years of the founding of Methodism he was visiting Northamptonshire. The circuit he usually followed during his visit to this shire was Whittlebury, Towcester, and Northampton.² On his second visit to Northampton in 1745, he called on Dr. Doddridge and addressed the young men of his academy. In 1767, when visiting Weedon he was refused the use of the church, and preached in the Presbyterian (now Independent) meeting-house, and in the evening spoke in the riding-school at Northampton. At Harlestone in 1769 he preached in a malt room. As an example of his marvellous energy and of the eagerness of the people to hear him at any hour or on any day, the diary of his work from a Monday to a Saturday in October, 1770, may be cited. On Monday, 22 October, he started from London on horseback at 5 a.m. and preached both morning and evening at Whittlebury. On Tuesday at noon he preached at Towcester, and in the evening at Weedon. On Wednesday he preached at Weedon at 5 a.m., and about 9 a.m. at Kissingbury, where, from the largeness of the congregation, they had to adjourn to the open air. At noon he was at Harlestone, from whence he rode into Northampton, and preached in the old Presbyterian (Castle Hill Independent) chapel. Many of the townsmen assembled next morning at 5 o'clock to hear him preach again, and thence he went to Brington, where at 10 o'clock 'The multitude of the people constrained me to preach abroad.' About 2 o'clock he preached 'To a far greater multitude in a delightful meadow at Haddon.' 'Nor,' adds Wesley, 'did I find any want of strength when I concluded by preaching and meeting the Society at Northampton.' On Friday he was preaching at Bedford; on Saturday at noon at Hertford, and in the afternoon returned to London.³ The last visit to Northampton recorded in his journal was in 1780. Wesley encountered no active opposition or rioting in the county, but he met with little sympathy from the benefited clergy.

Methodism in Northamptonshire, though not at any time occupying a very dominant position, has met with considerable success. Its strength has lain chiefly in the shoemaking districts of East Northamptonshire, and in the large agricultural district in the south-west of the county which looks to Banbury as a centre.

During the first half of the eighteenth century the Baptists in Northamptonshire were becoming a more distinctive society. In two or three cases where a dissenting community had included Independents and Baptists,

¹ The chief authorities on Doddridge are *The Correspondence and Diary of P. Doddridge*, 1829-31, 8vo. 5 vols.; *Orton Memoirs*, 1766; *Philip Doddridge*, 1880, by Chas. Stanford, D.D.; and *P. Doddridge: A Centenary Memorial*, by Dr. J. S. Stoughton, 1851. See also *The Church Book of Castle Hill Chapel*, Coleman, op. cit. pp. 13-27, and *Dict. Nat. Biog.* article 'Doddridge, P.'

² All the incidents here referred to will be found in his journal under the several years.

³ *Journals*, pt. xvi, 11 et seq.

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the Baptist element ultimately prevailed.¹ Kettering was their stronghold, and from their church there had gone forth the once famous Doctor Gill, a learned and powerful controversialist in the now-forgotten discussions which absorbed the theologians of the time. The denominational spirit was vigorous among Baptists, and much of their strength was spent in the polemic between the Particular or Calvinistic and the Arminian or General Baptists, and in the quite different controversy as to whether other than Baptists should be admitted to the Communion. In 1759 the important Baptist Church of College Lane, Northampton, had dwindled to thirty members,² and the denomination throughout the county seemed to have but little future. This was changed by the Rev. John Ryland (born 1723, died 1792), who then commenced at Northampton a pastorate which lasted twenty-five years.³ The work done by Doddridge in uniting culture and piety among the Independents was now carried out among the Baptists by Ryland, a man of the seventeenth-century type, intensely earnest and a master of fervent rhetoric. He was equally devoted to evangelical orthodoxy and classical study. Both before and during his Northampton life he conducted a large and flourishing school in addition to his pastoral duties, and to him more than to any man of his day was due the preservation of sound scholarship and polite learning among the Baptist and other orthodox dissenters, at any rate in the Midlands. When he left Northampton in 1785, the Baptists of College Lane formed perhaps the most influential Nonconformist society in the county, a position they have generally maintained; while under the guidance of his erudite and sweet-natured son, Doctor Ryland, who succeeded him, the influence and numbers of the Baptists considerably increased in the central and southern part of the county. A similar work to that done by the Rylands for the culture of dissenters was done for dissenting theology by another Northamptonshire Baptist, Andrew Fuller (born 1754, died 1815),⁴ who became the minister at the Baptist church at Kettering in 1782, and remained there till his death. At that time the Calvinistic Baptists in Northamptonshire and in most parts of England were far more numerous than those who took their theology from Arminius; their type of religious thought, though not wanting in loftiness, was of a kind tending to restrict their sympathies and work to those whom they considered to be 'the elect.' Fuller did more than any other man to modify this theology in a liberal and evangelical direction. The well-known saying that 'Christ died for all men and not only for the elect,' has often been quoted as indicating Fuller's protest, and the services he rendered to Nonconformity in restoring to its teaching those evangelical ideas which it had largely lost, give him an assured place in the narrative of religion in England.⁵

It was not unnatural that Northamptonshire Nonconformity, which in Doddridge and Fuller had furnished leaders of thought and feeling in liberal and evangelical directions, was now to play a prominent part in the development of Protestant missions to the heathen. Doddridge had been in close sympathy with the United Brethren, popularly known as the Moravians,

¹ e.g. College Lane, though with 'open communion.'

² See 'Church Book' of Kettering and College St.

³ Dr. J. Culross, *The Three Rylands* (1897), which contains full bibliography.

⁴ Rose, *Biog. Dict.* (1857), vii, 461.

⁵ Fuller, *The Gospel worthy of all Acceptation*; J. W. Morris, *Memoir of Fuller* (1816); also article on Fuller by J. E. Ryland; *Encycl. Brit.* (7th ed.)

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which already had one settlement in Northamptonshire, at Culworth, in 1744. Later they settled at Northampton, 1769 (now extinct), Woodford 1787, and Eydon 1775. Their relations with the Independents and Baptists of the county were continuously friendly, and it was from a religious atmosphere in which their spirit must have counted for much that William Carey (born 1761, died 1834), the shoemaker of Paulerspury, afterwards Baptist minister, came forward, in spite of much opposition from older men, to found with Andrew Fuller and Dr. Ryland, in 1792, the Baptist Missionary Society. Missions have never been unknown to Catholic Christianity in any age, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had already for nearly a century been promoting Christianity in the English colonies and possessions,¹ but, with the exception of Moravian missions, general missionary enterprise was unknown to Protestant Christianity when Carey and his friends carried into practice the ideas hinted by Doddridge fifty years before.² Of Carey's valuable work as orientalist and missionary in India, where he laboured for forty years, it is beyond the scope of this chapter to speak. The ecclesiastical history of Northamptonshire is concerned only with the fact that the revival of modern Protestant missions began within its borders, and was due to the zeal and piety of dissenters from the Established Church, who found in Carey a representative of great power of mind and character.

Of the subsequent history of Nonconformity in the county little need be said. Dissenters had as early as 1785 established Sunday schools among themselves, and the early years of the nineteenth century saw a considerable increase in the numbers and places of worship of the Independents and Baptists. Presbyterianism, as distinct from Independency, had passed away by the end of the eighteenth century. Socinianism, which greatly affected dissent in other counties, has no history in Northamptonshire. Whether from the general type of Nonconformity or from the moderate and conciliating policy of Doddridge, there is no record of any Socinian or Unitarian Society being founded in the eighteenth century. A tradition, which speaks of Unitarians as being the first dissenters to hold religious services at Moulton, near Northampton, in George II's reign, cannot be verified, and the present Unitarian body at Northampton dates only from 1827. The Quakers, as already described, have steadily declined in numbers, and this has been especially the case within the last half century. The strict Calvinistic Baptists, who retain the older type of thought unaffected by the teaching of the Rylands and Fuller, have continued to exist in small numbers in three or four places,³ but otherwise the Independents, the more liberal Baptists, and the Methodists have been the actual representatives of Nonconformity in Northamptonshire during the nineteenth century. While their numbers and actual influence have considerably increased, their relative importance has diminished. The revival of spiritual life and earnestness in the Church of England begun in the Evan-

¹ In 1641 William C. Castell, rector of Courteenhall, Northants, had written a pamphlet petitioning Parliament to promote missions to the plantations and colonies.

² Ideas like these were then in the air, and the Baptists were only just first. So early as 1783 Venn, Thornton, Wilberforce and others were holding conferences which resulted in the founding of the Church Missionary Society in 1799. Mr. Haweis, the rector of Aldwinkle in this county, is said to have sent out two missionaries at his own cost before 1792. He was one of the founders of the London Missionary Society—an undenominational society, now chiefly supported by Congregationalists.

³ Providence Chapel, Northampton; the Tabernacle, Wellingborough; and Irthlingborough.

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gelical revival, and, strengthened by the Oxford movement, no longer allows dissenters to appear, as they did often in the eighteenth century, as the only conspicuous examples of religious zeal, while in the rural districts the extinction of the yeoman class and the rural exodus have in the last sixty years weakened Nonconformity more than any other form of religion. Although possessing a fair supply of earnest and adequate leaders for local purposes, the Nonconformity of the county has not produced within the last 100 years any man of wide repute beyond its border. The only name that merits mention in this chapter is that of the Rev. J. T. Brown, for fifty years the Baptist minister of College Street, Northampton, whose union of administrative powers with remarkable eloquence and literary feeling, recall to some extent the type of the great eighteenth-century leaders.

The Congregationalists have fifty-eight churches in Northamptonshire, the oldest are:—Rothwell, 1655; Crick, Kettering (now the 'Toller Church'), Kilsby, Northampton (Doddridge), Wellingborough, and Yardley-Hastings, 1662; Weedon and Floore, forming one congregation, 1668; Creaton, 1670; Daventry, 1672; Ashley, 1673; Oundle and Paulerspury, 1690; Welford, 1700. The Baptists have sixty-four churches in the county, the earliest of their foundations being:—Ravensthorpe, 1649, according to tradition; Queen Street, Peterborough, 1653; Weston-by-Welland, earlier than 1681; Kettering (now the 'Fuller Church'), 1696; College Street, Northampton, earlier than 1697; Braunston, 1710; and Ringstead, 1714.¹ The Methodist places of worship number 134, including Wesleyans, ninety-two: Primitive Methodists, thirty-one; Wesleyan Reformers, six; Free Methodists, three; and Independent Wesleyans, two.

APPENDIX

ECCLESIASTICAL DIVISIONS

The varying limits of the dioceses in which Northamptonshire has from time to time found a place have already been discussed. Not long after the Conquest we hear of the institution of permanent archdeaconries in the diocese of Lincoln, during the episcopate of Remigius. Henry of Huntingdon, who had special local knowledge, names in his *De Contemptu Mundi*² one Nigel as the first archdeacon of Northampton. His successor, he adds, was Robert, who in turn gave place to William, 'the excellent nephew of our Bishop Alexander.'

In the days before the great changes of the sixteenth century the archdeaconry of Northampton was often held by ecclesiastics of note, more than once by Roman cardinals, and for a short time by the celebrated William of Wykeham. Amongst several instances of this archdeaconry forming a stepping-stone to higher promotion may be remembered those of Robert Grossetête and John Buckingham, who both served in the practical exercise of their archidiaconal duties an apprenticeship to the higher responsibilities of the see of Lincoln. On the creation of the see of Peterborough it included only one archdeaconry, that of Northampton, which comprised Rutland as well as the shire which gave it a title. It was not until 1839 that the archdeaconry of Leicester was severed from the diocese of Lincoln and added to Peterborough, while in 1875,³ by a further change, the archdeaconry of Oakham was formed out of the old archdeaconry of Northampton, and comprises in our county the first and second deaneries of Peterborough, Oundle, Weldon, and Higham Ferrers.

¹ These dates of origin are derived from the various 'Church Books,' confirmed by Coleman op. cit. *passim*, as regards the Independents, and by the annual report of the County Association of Baptists-Independents (Congregationalists). The Methodists' returns are from their Year Books.

² (Rolls Ser.), 302.

³ *Peterborough Dioc. Cal.* (1906), 106.

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The precise occasion of the institution of rural deaneries within the shire cannot be exactly determined, but the first complete list¹ is furnished by the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas, which shows that in 1291 there were ten deaneries in the county of Northampton, then in the diocese of Lincoln, and these comprised according to the *Taxatio* altogether 250 parishes, viz. :—

Peterborough, containing the fourteen parishes of Barnack, Castor, Collyweston, Easton on the Hill, Etton, Helpston, Marholm, Maxey, Paston, Peakirk, Peterborough, Thornhaugh, Ufford, Wittering.

Northampton, containing the six parishes of All Saints, Northampton, Dallington, Duston, Hardingstone, St. Peter, Northampton, St. Sepulchre, Northampton.

Brackley, containing the forty parishes of Aston le Walls, Aynho, Blakesley, Boddington, Brackley, Bradden, Byfield, Chalcombe, Chipping Warden, Cold Higham, Croughton, Culworth, Edgcote, Evenley, Eydon, Farthinghoe, Gayton, Greatworth, Green's Norton, Helmdon, Hinton in the Hedges, Maidford, Marston St. Lawrence, Middleton Cheney, Moreton Pinkney, Newbottle, Pattishall, Plumpton, Slapton, Steane, Sulgrave, Syresham, Thenford, Thorpe Mandeville, Tiffield, Towcester, Wappenham, Lois Weedon, Whitfield, Woodford cum Membris.

Oundle, containing the twenty-seven parishes of Aldwinkle All Saints, Aldwinkle St. Peter, Barnwell All Saints, Barnwell St. Andrew, Benefield, Clapton, Cotterstock, Fotheringhay, Hemington, Islip, King's Cliffe, Lilford with Wigsthorpe, Lowick, Luddington, Nassington, Oundle, Pilton, Polebrook, Southwick, Stoke Doyle, Sudborough, Thorpe Achurch, Thrapston, Titchmarsh, Twywell, Wadenhoe, Warmington.

Higham, containing the twenty-three parishes of Barton Seagrave, Bozeat, Burton Latimer, Cranford St. Andrew, Cranford St. John, Denford, Easton Maudit, Finedon, Grafton, Underwood, Great Addington, Little Addington, Hargrave, Higham Ferrers, Irchester, Irthlingborough, Kettering, Newton, Raunds, Rushden, Stanwick, Warkton, Wollaston, Woodford.

Daventry, containing the eighteen parishes of Ashby St. Ledgers, Badby cum Newnham, Barby, Braunston, Catesby, Charwelton, Daventry, Dodford, Everdon, Farthingstone, Fawsley, Kilsby, Litchborough, Norton, Preston Capes, Staverton, Stow Nine Churches, Weedon Beck.

Preston, containing the twenty-five parishes of Blisworth, Brafield on the Green, Castle Ashby, Cogenhoe, Collingtree, Cosgrove, Courteenhall, Easton Neston, Grafton Regis, Grendon, Horton, Great Houghton, Little Houghton, Milton, Passenham, Paulerspury, Potterspury, Preston Deanery, Roade, Rothersthorpe, Stoke Bruerne, Wicken, Whiston, Wootton, Yardley Hastings.

Weldon, containing the twenty-one parishes of Ashley, Blatherwycke, Brampton Ash, Brigstock, Bulwick, Corby, Cottingham, Deene, Dingley, East Carlton, Geddington, Gretton, Harringworth, Laxton, Rockingham, Stoke Albany, Wakerley, Weekley, Great Weldon, Weston by Welland, Wilbarston.

Rothwell, containing the forty parishes of Arthingworth, Little Bowden, Braybrooke, Brixworth, Broughton, Clipston, Cransley, Desborough, Great Doddington, Draughton, Earls Barton, East Farndon, Ecton, Glendon, Hannington, Hardwick, Harrington, Great Harrowden, Haselbech, Holcot, Isham, Lampton, Loddington, Maidwell, Marston Trussell, Mears Ashby, Old, Orlingbury, Great Oxenden, Pytchley, Rothwell, Rushton All Saints, Rushton St. Peter, Scaldwell, Sibbertoft, Sywell, Thorpe Malsor, Walgrave, Wilby, Wellingborough.

Haddon, containing the thirty-six parishes of Abington, Great Billing, Little Billing, Broughton, Brington, Brockhall, Bugbrooke, Church Brampton, Claycoton, Cold Ashby, Cottesbrooke, Creaton, Crick, East Haddon, Floore, Harlestone, Harpole, Holdenby, Kislingbury, Lilbourne, Long Buckby, Moulton, Naseby, Overstone, Pitsford, Ravensthorpe, Spratton, Stanford, Thornby, Watford, Welford, West Haddon, Weston Favell, Whilton, Winwick, Yelvertoft.

In 1535 according to the list in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* the deaneries were the same, but the divisions in the deaneries had been slightly altered. The deanery of Peterborough then contained thirteen rectories and three vicarages; the rectory of Northborough is mentioned, and the vicarage of St. Martin, Stamford Baron, transferred from the deanery of Stamford in the county of Lincoln to this deanery.

In the deanery of Northampton five parishes appear which are not specifically mentioned in the *Taxatio*, St. Giles' Northampton, St. Michael's Northampton, St. Edmund's Northampton, St. Mary's Northampton, and St. Gregory's Northampton.

In the deanery of Brackley there was no change. In the deanery of Oundle three new parishes appear: the rectory of Tansor and vicarage of Slipton are mentioned, while the rectory of Lutton and Washingley had been transferred to this deanery from that of Yaxley in the county of Huntingdon.

In the deanery of Higham the rectory of Strixton appears.

In the deanery of Daventry the chapel of Welton had become a rectory.

¹ For earlier references to rural deans see Wilkins, *Concilia*, i, 537, Grosseteste, *Epistolae* (Rolls Ser.), 146, 266, 317.

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In the deanery of Preston the four rectories of Furtho, 'Wekhamon,' Quinton, Alderton and Ashton had been created.¹

In the deanery of Weldon the rectories of Great Oakley and Little Oakley had been created.

In the deanery of Rothwell there was no alteration.

In the deanery of Haddon the rectory of Heyford and vicarage of Guilsborough had been created.

In the later mediaeval period, even before the Reformation, the ruridecanal organization had lost vitality. Under the new establishment it generally disappeared altogether. Its revival in the diocese of Peterborough in 1820 was due to that strenuous disciplinarian Bishop Herbert Marsh, who had already restored this order of officers in his former see of Llandaff.²

The present archdeaconry³ of Northampton is divided into the following rural deaneries: Brackley First, Brackley Second, Brackley Third, Daventry, Haddon First, Haddon Second, Northampton, Preston First, Preston Second, Rothwell First, Rothwell Second, Rothwell Third, Weedon.

Brackley First Deanery includes the following parishes: ⁴ Adstone, Aston-le-Walls, Boddington, Byfield, Canons Ashby, Chipping Warden, Culworth, Edgcote, Eydon, Maidford, Moreton Pinkney, Plumpton, Sulgrave, Thorpe Mandeville, Wappenham, Woodford Halse cum Hinton and West Farndon.

Brackley Second Deanery includes Abthorpe, Blakesley, Bradden, Cold Higham, Gavton, Green's Norton, Helmdon, Lois Weedon, Pattishall, Slapton, Stuchbury,⁵ Syresham, Tiffeld, Towcester, Whittlebury cum Silverstone.

Brackley Third Deanery includes Aynho, Brackley St. James, Brackley St. Peter, Chalcombe, Croughton, Evenley, Farthinghoe, Greatworth, Hinton cum Steane, King's Sutton, Marston S. Lawrence cum Warkworth, Middleton Cheney, Newbottle, Radstone, Thenford, Whitfield.

Daventry Deanery includes Ashby St. Ledgers, Badby cum Newnham, Barby, Braunston, Catesby, Charwelton, Daventry cum St. James', Fawsley, Helidon, Kilsby, Norton, Preston Capes, Staverton, Welton, and Whilton.

Haddon First Deanery includes Long Buckby, Claycoton, Cold Ashby, Cottesbrooke, Creaton, Crick, Guilsborough, East Haddon, West Haddon, Hollowell, Lilbourne, Ravensthorpe, Stanford, Thornby, Watford, Welford, Winwick, Yelvertoft.

Haddon Second Deanery includes Abington, Great Billing, Little Billing, Boughton, Brington, Church Brampton, Harlestone, Holdenby, Moulton, Overstone, Pitsford, Spratton, Weston Favell.

Northampton Deanery includes Dallington, Duston, Hardingstone, Kingsthorpe (in Northampton), All Saints', St. Andrew's, St. Edmund's, St. Crispin's Christ Church, Holy Trinity, St. Gabriel's, St. Giles', St. James', St. Katherine's, St. Lawrence's, St. Mary's, St. Matthew's, St. Michael's, St. Paul's, St. Peter's cum Upton, St. Sepulchre's.

Preston First Deanery includes Castle Ashby, Cogenhoe, Collingtree, Courteenhall, Denton, Grendon, Horton cum Piddington, Great Houghton, Little Houghton cum Brafield, Preston Deanery, Quinton, Roade, Whiston, Wootton, Yardley Hastings.

Preston Second Deanery includes Ashton, Blisworth, Cosgrove, Easton Neston, Furtho, Grafton Regis cum Alderton, Hartwell, Milton Malzor, Passenham cum Denshanger, Paulerspury, Potterspury cum Yardley Gobion, Rothersthorpe, Stoke Bruerne, Wicken.

Rothwell First Deanery includes Broughton, Doddington, Earl's Barton, Ecton, Hannington, Hardwick, Great Harrowden, Little Harrowden, Isham, Mears Ashby, Orlingbury, Pytchley, Sywell, Walgrave, Wellingborough, All Hallows', Wellingborough, All Saints' and Wilby.

Rothwell Second Deanery includes Arthingworth, Little Bowden, Braybrooke, Cransley, Desborough, Glendon,⁶ Harrington, Kelmars, Loddington, Oxenden, Rothwell cum Orton, Rushton, Thorpe Malsor.

Rothwell Third Deanery includes Brixworth, Clipston, Draughton, East Farndon, Haselbech, Holcot, Lamport cum Faxton, Maidwell, Marston Trussell, Naseby, Old, Scaldwell, and Sibbertoft.

Weedon Deanery includes Brockhall, Bugbrooke, Dodford, Everdon, Farthingstone, Floore, Harpole, Heyford, Kislingbury, Litchborough, Stow Nine Churches, and Weedon.

The present archdeaconry of Oakham comprises in Northamptonshire the rural deaneries of Higham Ferrers First and Second, Oundle First and Second, Peterborough First and Second, Weldon First and Second.

¹ There is no return from Roade, which it is just possible was included under one of the other names.

² Charge at July visitation, 1823.

³ The following particulars are derived from the Peterborough Diocesan Calendar (1906).

⁴ In the case of a few of the names mentioned under the rural deaneries, especially in the towns, an ecclesiastical parish in the strict sense does not yet exist, but merely a church with a district attached.

⁵ There is no church here.

⁶ There is no church here.

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Higham Ferrers First Deanery includes Great Addington, Bozeat cum Strixton, Easton Maudit, Finedon, Higham Ferrers cum Chelveston, Irchester, Irthlingborough, Newton Bromswold, Rushden, Stanwick and Wollaston.

Higham Ferrers Second Deanery includes Aldwinkle, Brigstock cum Stanion, Denford cum Ringstead, Hargrave, Islip, Lowick cum Slipton, Raunds, Sudborough, Thrapston, Titchmarch, Twywell, and Woodford.

Oundle First Deanery includes Barnwell, Benefield, Cotterstock cum Glapthorn, Hemington cum Luddington, Lutton cum Washingley, Oundle cum Ashton, Pilton, Polebrook, Stoke Doyle, Tansor, Thorpe Achurch, Wadenhoe, Warmington.

Oundle Second Deanery includes Apethorpe cum Woodnewton, Blatherwycke, Bulwick, Deene, Duddington, Fotheringhay, Harringworth, King's Cliffe, Laxton, Nassington cum Yarwell, Southwick and Wakerley.

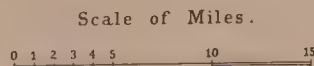
Peterborough First Deanery includes Castor cum Ailsworth, Eye, Longthorpe, Marholm, Newborough, Paston, Peterborough (All Saints', St. John Baptist's, St. Mark's, St. Mary's, St. Paul's), Sutton, Upton, and Werrington.

Peterborough Second Deanery includes Barnack, Collyweston, Easton on the Hill, Etton cum Helpstone, Glinton, Maxey cum Deeping Gate, Northborough, Peakirk, Stamford St. Martin, Thornhaugh cum Wansford, Ufford cum Bainton, Wittering.

Weldon First Deanery includes Ashley, Brampton Ash, East Carlton, Corby, Cottingham, Dingley, Gretton, Rockingham, Stoke Albany cum Wilbarston, Great Weldon cum Little Weldon, Weston by Welland cum Sutton Bassett.

Weldon Second Deanery includes Barton Seagrave, Burton Latimer, Cranford, St. Andrew and St. Johns, Geddington, Grafton Underwood, Kettering St. Andrew's, Kettering St. Mary's, Kettering All Saint's, Great Oakley, Little Oakley, Newton in the Willows, Warkton, and Weekley.

ECCLESIASTICAL MAP of NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.



Reference.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES.

BENEDICTINE MONKS.

1. Peterborough Abbey.
2. Luffield Priory.

BENEDICTINE NUNS.

3. Stamford, St Michael's Priory.
4. Wothorpe Priory

CLUNIAN MONKS.

5. Northampton, St Andrew's Priory.
6. Daventry, St. Augustine Priory.

CLUNIAN NUNS.

7. Northampton, Delapré Abbey.

CISTERCIAN MONKS.

8. Pipewell Abbey.

CISTERCIAN NUNS.

9. Catesby Priory.
10. Sewardsey Priory.

AUSTIN CANONS.

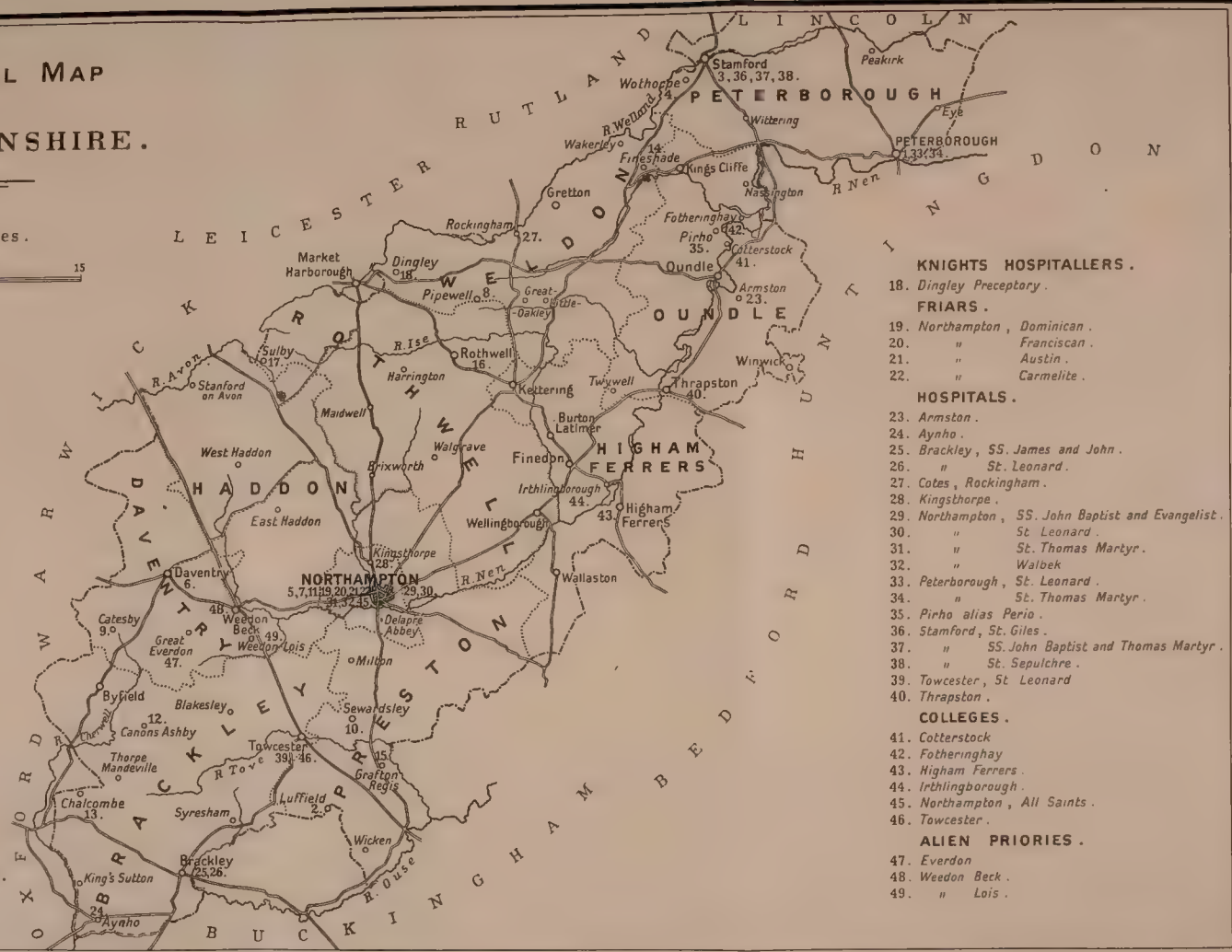
11. Northampton, St. James's Abbey.
12. Canons Ashby Priory.
13. Chalcombe Priory.
14. Fineshade Priory.
15. Grafton Regis Hermitage.

AUSTIN NUNS.

16. Rothwell Nunnery

PREMONSTRATENSIAN CANONS.

17. Sulby Abbey.



KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS.

18. Dingley Preceptory.

FRIARS.

19. Northampton, Dominican.
20. " Franciscan.
21. " Austin.
22. " Carmelite.

HOSPITALS.

23. Armston.
24. Aynho.
25. Brackley, SS. James and John.
26. " St. Leonard.
27. Cotes, Rockingham.
28. Kingsthorpe.
29. Northampton, SS. John Baptist and Evangelist.
30. " St. Leonard.
31. " St. Thomas Martyr.
32. " Walbek.
33. Peterborough, St. Leonard.
34. " St. Thomas Martyr.
35. Pirho alias Perio.
36. Stamford, St. Giles.
37. " SS. John Baptist and Thomas Martyr.
38. " St. Sepulchre.
39. Towcester, St. Leonard.
40. Thrapston.

COLLEGES.

41. Cotterstock.
42. Fotheringhay.
43. Higham Ferrers.
44. Irthlingborough.
45. Northampton, All Saints.
46. Towcester.

ALIEN PRIORIES.

47. Everdon.
48. Weedon Beck.
49. " Lois.

THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

INTRODUCTION

Northamptonshire was honourably distinguished for the number and variety of its monastic and other religious foundations. The Carthusian order was the only one of any considerable repute which was not represented, but English houses of that order were few.

The magnificent abbey of Peterborough was the one foundation that went back to pre-conquest days. It was a splendid representative of the great order of Black Monks of St. Benedict; to it pertained a neighbouring cell at Oxney, served by the parent house. A small Benedictine priory was founded *temp.* Henry I at Luffield in Whittlebury Forest. The buildings were in Buckinghamshire, but the church stood in Northamptonshire. It was suppressed by Henry VII, and the trifling revenues annexed to his foundation at Westminster. There were also other small Benedictine settlements in the county, off-shoots of the great abbeys of Normandy, but they were all suppressed before the days of Henry VIII. Such were the cells or small alien priories of Everdon, pertaining to the abbey of Bernay, of Weedon Pinkney to the abbey of St. Lucian, and of Weedon Beck to the abbey of Bec.

The Order of Cluny (reformed Benedictines) was founded in 912 at Cluny in Burgundy, by Berno, abbot of Gigny, with the co-operation of William duke of Aquitaine. The monks of the new order came to England in the following century and established their first house at Barnstaple.¹ Northamptonshire possessed two important priories of Cluniac foundation, and a nunnery of the order.

This order² was the first to obtain immunity from diocesan visitation; this coveted privilege being granted by Pope Gregory VII, who had himself been a monk of the order. But all the houses, whether abbeys, priories, or smaller cells, had to submit to visitation by commissioners of their own order. Two were selected for this duty for each ecclesiastical province (England and Scotland forming one) at the annual general chapter held at Cluny. The time for meeting was September, and the attendance of the superior of every house was compulsory; the priors, however, of England, Spain, Lombardy, and Germany were privileged, and not obliged to attend more than once in two years, a period afterwards extended to three, with occasional remissions up to seven years. The priors also of dependent houses

¹ Pignot, *Ordre de Cluni*, iii. 419. Lewes is generally named as the first English house, but this is an error.

² See tabulated list of affiliated foundations in England and Scotland, reproduced in Duckett, *Charters and Records of Cluni*, 196.

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or cells owed special allegiance to the parent house, and were expected, with some irregularity, to respond to a chapter summons.

None of their priors could be elected by their own convent, but were nominated by the mother-house beyond the seas, which almost invariably sent foreigners to this country. The majority of the monks until the time of Edward III were French, for novices could not be professed by the priors in England. During the wars with France these houses were not unnaturally treated as alien priories, and their revenues and patronage administered by the crown. Some few were altogether suppressed and transferred to other religious foundations, but the majority were gradually made denizen, and discharged from foreign subjection and obedience, while remaining under the discipline of the Order of Cluny. One or two, such as Daventry, took out new foundation charters and united themselves to the general chapter and congregation of the Benedictines; but even these usually styled themselves Cluniac, and the priors (thirty-two in number) at the time of the dissolution surrendered under that title. The great majority of the English houses, however, continued down to the dissolution to make considerable payments or annual pensions to Cluny, the abbot of Cluny drawing from this source an annual income of £2,000. But up to the time of the suppression of the alien houses, the whole income of the English cells or priories was subject to foreign administration, a certain portion only being reserved for local needs.

The Northamptonshire religious houses of Cluny are peculiarly interesting as illustrating the gradual way in which foreign rule was lost, and diocesan control substituted. The story, however, of St. Andrew's will be found to differ materially from that of Daventry; while the record of the convent of Delapré admits of no comparison, for it was one of the very few houses of Cluniac nuns in England.

The austere order of the Cistercians, another reformed Benedictine branch, was first established in England in 1128. In 1142 a colony of these white monks from Newminster in Northumberland (which was itself the eldest daughter of Fountains) established an abbey at Pipewell. This order generally sought out unreclaimed wastes or undrained valleys for their houses, but now and again they were content to settle in some thick-grown forest. The yet unwritten history, for which there is abundant material, of these monks of Rockingham Forest is full of exceptional interest.

The Austin or Black Canons, an order of conventual clergy following the rule of St. Augustine of Hippo, were next in numbers in this country to the Benedictines. The abbey of St. James, on the west side of Northampton, was their largest house in the county, and of some importance. They had three priories in Northamptonshire: at Canons Ashby, Chalcombe, and Fineshade. There was also a hermitage or small priory at Grafton Regis, the brethren of which, in its earlier days, probably followed the Austin rule. On the Northamptonshire side of Stamford there was a twelfth-century house of St. Sepulchre.

The Premonstratensian, or White Canons, a reformed order of canons regular, founded their first English house in 1140 at Newhouse, Lincolnshire; thence a colony established themselves at Sulby in 1155.

Four of the six chief orders of nuns found in England had houses within the county. The Benedictine nuns were at Stamford Baron and Wothorpe.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

The Austin nuns had a small settlement at Rothwell. The Cluniac nuns had a house of some importance, termed an abbey, at Delapré on the south side of Northampton. The most strictly cloistered order were the Cistercian nuns; they had a house, under exceptional rule, at Catesby, also a small convent of early foundation at Swardsley.

The two great orders of knights following the rule of St. Austin had each possessions in Northamptonshire. The Knights Hospitallers had a commandery at Dingley, founded *temp.* Stephen. The Knights Templars had three 'camerae' at Blakesley, Guilsborough, and Harrington, which were all transferred to the Hospitallers when the Templars were suppressed in 1312.

The strange and terrible suppression of the Templars occurred during the episcopate of the saintly Bishop Dalderby, who was nominated by the pope as one of the commissioners to try the accused in England. The bishop avoided acting with the other commissioners, but held a private inquiry, so far as his own diocese was concerned, in the Lincoln chapter-house, and subsequently declined to take any further part in the proceedings. From letters in his register, it is concluded that he believed in their innocence. When, however, the Provincial Synod of Canterbury passed sentence against the Templars in 1311, the bishop of Lincoln had to carry out the archbishop's sentence in consigning the knights to the various monasteries as prisoners to fulfil their penance. Seventeen of the order were sent to as many monasteries of the diocese. The monks of St. Andrew, Northampton, were ordered to receive William de Pocklington, but the monastery refused to receive him and sent a letter to that effect to the bishop. The bishop repeated his order in sterner tones, but the priory again refused obedience. Bishop Dalderby then took the grave step of writing to the rural dean of Northampton, bidding him to cause to be published in every church of the deanery the excommunication of the prior, sub-prior, precentor, cellarer, and sacristan of St. Andrew's. This apparently secured the desired result, for there is no further reference to the matter in the bishop's register.¹ There is no other incident in the jurisdiction of this great diocese during the fourteenth century that shows in such a marked way the strength of the episcopal power, for the priory of St. Andrew dominated the town of Northampton, and almost every church in the deanery was in their gift.

Those great evangelizers of the towns, the friars, who, theoretically at least, rejected endowments and lived on the alms of the faithful, naturally found their way with speed to Northampton, as one of the chief towns of the kingdom. The Franciscans established themselves in 1224, the very year of their first arrival in the kingdom, at Northampton, where they eventually had one of the largest and most handsome churches of any pertaining to the mendicant orders in England. They were closely followed by the Dominicans, whose friary at Northampton was subsequently chosen as the place for holding provincial chapters. Somewhat later in the century, the Carmelites and Austin Friars started houses in the same town, so that Northampton shared the distinction with eleven other boroughs of having settlements of all the four great orders of mendicant brethren. Stamford, on the northern verge of the county, was another of these twelve boroughs, so that the smaller towns and villages of Northamptonshire would speedily

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Dalderby, ff. 195 d, 198.

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be stirred by the earnest eloquence of these vagrant missionaries. Bishop Grossetête was a great patron of the friars, urging the parish clergy to give them ready access to their pulpits, and a free hand in the hearing of confessions. The impression that they made on the religious life of the shire in the thirteenth century could not fail to be considerable.

Among religious foundations must also be included the hospitals, for the church blended the spiritual with the corporal works of mercy. A hospital without a chapel and a priest was unknown, and the regular inmates were always vowed to certain religious observances. The terrible prevalence, even in this midland shire, of mediaeval leprosy, and the zeal of the church in providing for the victims, are testified by the founding, in the first half of the twelfth century, of eight lazaret-houses. Six of these, at Northampton, Peterborough, Towcester, Brackley, Thrapston, and in Rockingham Forest, were dedicated, as was usual with leper hospitals, in honour of St. Leonard; the seventh, at the Northamptonshire end of Stamford Bridge, was dedicated in honour of St. Giles; whilst the dedication of the eighth, by the north gate of Northampton, is unknown. In the same century the large hospital of St. John the Evangelist and St. John the Baptist was founded at Northampton; that of St. John and St. James at Brackley; that of St. John the Baptist and St. Thomas of Canterbury at Stamford Baron; that of St. Thomas of Canterbury at the abbey gate of Peterborough; and the well-endowed hospital of St. John and St. James at Aynho under episcopal institution. In the year 1200 another largely-endowed hospital, the masters of which were presented by the adjacent priory of St. Andrew to the bishop for institution, was founded at Kingsthorpe; to this foundation were attached two chapels, dedicated respectively to St. David and the Holy Trinity. A small hospital was also founded at Armston in the year 1232, and another at Pirho about the same time. All these hospitals were for the three-fold object, in varying degrees, of providing for the aged, the sick, and the wayfarer. Another hospital of some importance, that of St. Thomas of Canterbury, is said to have been founded in Northampton by the burgesses about 1450; but this was in all probability a revival of a far older foundation made soon after the canonization of Thomas à Becket.

Northamptonshire, like other counties, affords numerous examples of the gross diversion of those early hospital or almshouse establishments from their original purposes.

Monastic foundations had become so numerous throughout England that munificently-disposed people sought other channels for the disposal of their wealth. A method of doing this was suggested by the growing practice of establishing chantries for one or more priests. The custom became prevalent of turning parish churches into collegiate institutions. It has been pointed out by one of the most comprehensive writers on such subjects that these parochial colleges were really chantry chapels of a larger size; the chancel being usually allotted to the community as rectors, whilst the nave remained congregational under a vicar of their appointment.¹

The similarity of chantry to college is nowhere more strikingly illustrated than in the episcopal registers of the archdeaconry of Northampton. In 1327 Gilbert de Middleton, archdeacon of Northampton, founded a

¹ Mackenzie Walcott, *Engl. Minsters*, ii. 39.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

chantry in the church of Wappenham, in honour of the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin, and All Saints, for six priests, one of whom was to be termed the warden (*custos*), whose first duty it was to celebrate masses for the founder's family. This foundation is expressly termed a chantry; but in 1337 John Gifford, a canon of York, founded a 'college' at Cotterstock for a provost and twelve chaplains, endowing it with the manor and advowson of the church and other property. This is an exceptionally early instance of a parochial college. Northamptonshire, for its size, was rich in foundations of this nature; at Irthlingborough in 1373 there was a foundation of a dean and five canons; at Higham Ferrers, Archbishop Chicheley established his famous college of a master and seven canons in the year 1415; in the same year the royal college of Fotheringhay, with its master, eight clerks, and thirteen choristers, was established; whilst at Towcester in 1448, and at All Saints, Northampton, in 1459, colleges of much smaller dimensions were instituted. Though the distinctive feature of these colleges was, as a rule, that of large chantries for the repose of the soul of the founder or founders—a fact which secured their complete destruction under Edward VI—it will be found that the Northamptonshire examples afford evidence of their members being engaged in definite parochial work, in education, and in the care of the aged. Their numbers, too, enabled them (on the larger foundations) to provide for the parish and neighbourhood examples of the highest form of worship, such as could otherwise only be found in the cathedral churches.

Taken as a whole, the extant records of the visitations of the religious houses of the county bear no small testimony to the general morality and devout living of the inmates; the testimony in favour of the good works and moral lives of the inmates, as supplied by county gentlemen and others, immediately before the dissolution, is particularly strong in several cases, notably with regard to the abbeys of Pipewell and St. James's Northampton, and the nunnery of Catesby. As to their suppression, the main features of the dissolution in Northamptonshire have been already set forth, and certain other particulars are given under the respective houses.

HOUSES OF BENEDICTINE MONKS

1. THE ABBEY OF PETERBOROUGH¹

The monastery of Peterborough was originally known as that of Medeshamstede, a name derived from the meadows which lie on each side of the River Nen—'the home in the meadows.'

¹ The wealth of material for a history of this great monastic foundation is almost unprecedented; it is not a little surprising that no monograph has been attempted since Gunton's *Hist. of the Church of Peterborough*, set forth with a supplement by Dean Patrick in 1686. In addition to the large store of information to be found in Bede, in the Saxon Chron., and in later general annalists, there are several valuable local chronicles in print.

First among these comes the narrative of Hugh White or Candidus, who flourished under four successive abbots of the twelfth century, John, Henry, Martin, and William of Waterville. He wrote the

Here, on slightly rising ground, Saxulf, a monk of noble birth, in high favour with Penda, the idolatrous king of Mercia, and with his Christian son and successor Peada, erected the first church with the accompanying buildings for a mission station. The king in granting this great stretch

history of the house from its foundation to the time of his death. After his death another monk, Robert Swapham, took up Hugh's work, and carried on the chronicle from the rule of Abbot Benedict (1177–1194) to the end of that of Abbot Walter in 1245. This chronicle was printed by Joseph Sparke in 1723, in a folio entitled *Hist. Anglicanae Scriptores Varii*.

Walter Whittlesey's *Hist. Coenobii Burgensis* covers the period of 1246 to 1321, embracing the rule of six abbots. This is printed by Sparke, and extends from page 125 to 216. An anonymous continuation carries on this history over the next two abbots, down to 1353, and is paged from 217 to 237.

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of unreclaimed and swampy land for such a purpose did a great service to the district; for its Christian tenants deemed it an essential part of their duty to wage a relentless war with adverse nature in gradually redeeming the marshes by assiduous drainage and cultivation. In another respect the site was advantageous, for the quarries of that admirable building stone, the Barnack rag, were not far distant. Hugh White or Candidus, the early chronicler of Peterborough, tells us that some of the stones laid in the foundation were so huge (*immanissimi lapides*) that eight yoke of

The *Chronicon Angliæ Petriburgense*, from 654 to 1368, covers the first forty-five folios of Cott. MS. Claud. A.v. It is supposed to have been written by Abbot John of Caux up to his death in 1262, and afterwards continued for another century by Robert Boston, a monk of Spalding. This, too, was printed by Mr. Sparke in 1723, and forms the first division of his volume, and was again printed by Dr. Giles in 1845.

Folios 132 to 258 of the invaluable Peterborough MS. in the library of the Soc. of Antiq. are a chronicle extending from 1122 to 1294. Its author, as conclusively shown by Mr. Poole (*Diocesan Hist. of Peterborough*, p. 80), was Abbot William Woodford. From 1273 to the time when Woodford became abbot, this chronicle is full of detail as to the abbey. The chronicle was printed by the Camden Society in 1849.

Simon Gunton's *Hist. of Peterborough*, together with the long supplement supplied by Dr. Patrick, is in the main drawn from old chronicles and registers, but there are occasional details in Prebendary Gunton's accounts, the sources of which cannot now be traced.

The following are the more important MSS. relating to Peterborough Abbey which have not been printed:—

[A] Number lx of the manuscripts of the Soc. of Antiq. is a chartulary of the abbey known as the Black Book.

[B] The British Museum purchased in 1889 a diminutive chartulary of the abbey (Egerton MS. 2733).

[C] Cott. MS. Vesp. E. 21 is a register of the abbey, formerly belonging to Sir Christopher Hatton, compiled in 1324. It is clearly written and covers 106 vellum folios.

[D] Cott. MS. Vesp. E. 22 is an older register or chartulary of the same abbey, which also belonged to Sir Christopher Hatton.

[E] No. xxxviii. of the MSS. of the Soc. of Antiq. is a well-written and well-preserved chartulary of Peterborough.

[F] The British Museum purchased in 1863 the fine large quarto register of this abbey (Add. MS. 25,288), containing documents during the abbacies of William Genge and John Deeping (1396–1438).

[G] Cott. MS. Nero C. vii. contains a long well-written rental of Peterborough.

[H] Cott. MS. Vesp. A. xxiv. consists of 94 small paper folios, lettered *Computus Ecclesie Sancti Petri de Burgo*. It is a rough book of eleemosynary accounts, beginning in 1448 and extending for eighteen years.

[I] Three volumes of Bishop Kennett's Collections (58–60) among the Lansdowne MSS.

oxen could scarcely draw one of them.¹ Bede, as well as the Saxon Chronicle under the years 655–6, is emphatic as to Saxulf being the builder of the monastery.² At Peada's death, his brother Wulfere, who had at one time professed himself a Christian and married Ermenild, daughter of the Christian king of Kent, succeeded to the throne. The story of his two sons Wulfade and Rufine being slain by their father, after their conversion to Christianity by St. Chad (whose acquaintance they made when stag-hunting), and of Wulfere's subsequent attempt at expiation of the crime, was not only accepted in all its details by the monks of Peterborough, but they persuaded themselves that their monastery stood on the scene of part of the tragedy. In the midst of the cloister stood a well 'which common tradition would have to be that wherein St. Chad concealed Prince Wulfade's heart.'³ The nine windows of the west walk of the cloister, each of four compartments, were filled with glass illustrative of this story, and carried the narrative down to the revival of the abbey after its destruction by the Danes. Beneath each light of these windows was a rhymed couplet descriptive of the picture. These windows were destroyed in the Great Rebellion, but Gunton was able to give an account of the subjects and inscriptions.⁴

Saxulf presided over the monastery for twenty years; in 675 he was consecrated bishop of Mercia. During his rule the progress of the church was greatly aided by Ethelred, brother of Wulfere, and by Kyneburg and Kyneswyth their sisters.⁵ Cuthbald, a monk of Medeshamstede, succeeded Saxulf as abbot. He is described as being so singularly pious and prudent that the monks of monastic cells that had already sprung from Medeshamstede, such as Thorney, Lincolnshire, and Brixworth, Northamptonshire, desired that he would appoint their superiors.⁶ The date of Cuthbald's death and of his successor Egbald's appointment is not known; but it was before 716, for in that year Egbald was one of the witnesses to a royal charter granted to Crowland, if Ingulf in this instance may be trusted.⁷ Of

contain transcripts from several of the old chartularies and registers of the abbey. All these transcripts have been printed in the *Hist. Angliæ. Scriptor.* of Sparke, 1723.

[K] In the library of Lambeth Palace are two volumes of a MS. *Consuetudinarium* or Customary of Peterborough Abbey (Lambeth MSS. cxcviii. and cxcviii^b) of great interest.

¹ Sparke, *Hist. Anglicanæ Scriptores Varii*, p. 4.

² Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iv, cap. 6.

³ Gunton, *Hist. of Peterb.* p. 3.

⁴ *Ibid.* 104–112.

⁵ Sparke, *op. cit.* 7, 8; see also the early charters, Soc. of Antiq. MS. lx. and Egerton MS. 2,733 for the times of the Saxon abbots.

⁶ Sparke, *op. cit.* 8–13.

⁷ Ingulf, *Rerum Angliæ. Script.* p. 4.

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the three next abbots, Pusa, Beonna, and Ceolwer, nothing is known save the order of their succession.¹ The date of Hedda's succession to Ceolwer is also uncertain, Ingulf's charters of this period being far too doubtful in authenticity. The one certain fact about him is that he was abbot in 870 when the Danes so ruthlessly destroyed this great centre of Christianity, which had been for two centuries one of the chief, if not the most important, evangelizing agency of Southern Mercia. After sacking and firing the abbey of Crowland, the Danes marched on Medeshamstede. Abbot Hedda was slain with all his monks save one, the altars were broken down, monuments demolished, the library and charters destroyed, and the church and buildings fired. The fire, which lasted for fifteen days, completely blotted out the monastery. Ingulf's story of Abbot Godric of Crowland collecting the bodies of eighty-four monks and burying them in a common grave, which he visited year by year, saying mass in a tent erected on the site, is probably unreliable.²

The monastery lay absolutely desolate for nearly a century, but in the time of King Edgar, *circa* 966, its restoration was undertaken by Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester. The story of his dream, of his first seeking to establish a house at Oundle, and of the queen overhearing his prayers and becoming a great supporter of his scheme, is told with picturesque fullness by Hugh the chronicler. Eventually a church and conventual buildings were completed on the old site, and handed over to Adulf as abbot, by King Edgar, in the year 972. It may be well to cite Gunton's quaint version of Hugh's account of the events that led Adulf to become a monk: 'He being Chancellor to King Edgar, changed his Court life for a Monastical in this place; the reason of which change was this: He had one only son, whom he and his wife dearly loved, and they used to have him lie in bed betwixt them, but the parents having over-night drunk more wine than was convenient, their son betwixt them was smothered to death. Adulphus the father being sadly affected with this horrid mischance was resolved to visit St. Peter at Rome, after the manner of a penitent for absolution, imparting his intent to Bishop Athelwoldus, who dissuaded him from it, telling him it would be better if he would labour in the restoration of St. Peter's church in this place, and here visit him. Adulphus, approving this advice, came with King Edgar to Burgh, where in the presence of the King and the rest of that Convention, he offered all his wealth, put off his Courtly Robes, and put on the habit of a monk,

¹ Even Hugh can only give their names (Sparke, *op. cit.* p. 13), a fact which tends to make his earlier statements the more trustworthy.

² Sparke, *op. cit.* 14-16; Gunton, *Hist. of Peterb.* 7-9.

and ascended to the degree of Abbot in the year 972.'³

Adulf ruled here until 992, when he was consecrated archbishop of York. The whole soke of Peterborough in his days was a mere woody solitary swamp, but by degrees the abbot cleared it, built manor-houses and granges, and let the lands for certain rents. As yet there were no churches, and the people came to Peterborough for the sacraments and to pay their church dues. Gunton says that in the days of Abbot Thorold churches and chapels began to be built, but that it was not until the time of Abbot Ernulf, 1107-1114, that certain revenues were set aside for these parochial minsters.⁴

Kenulf, the ninth abbot, ruled for thirteen years, being consecrated bishop of Winchester in 1005.⁵ In his time the monastic precinct was surrounded by a wall, and as a result the name of the abbey was changed from Medeshamstede to Burgh,⁶ the walled or fortified place: afterwards to Goldenburgh, and finally Peterburgh. His successor, Elsin, was a most diligent collector of the relics of the saints, the most celebrated of which, the arm of St. Oswald, was brought to the monastery by one Wynegot from Bamburgh, Yorkshire. Hugh gives a most elaborate list of the various relics then obtained, as well as many details concerning the incorruptible arm of St. Oswald and its healing properties.⁷ In 1013 there was another Danish irruption under Sweyn, when the monastery and many of its manors suffered severely.⁸

Elsin ruled for longer than any other abbot of the house; he died in 1055, having been superior for half a century.⁹ He was succeeded by Ernwin, a monk of Peterborough, who resigned in the second year of his rule.¹⁰ Leofric at once succeeded, and held office until the Norman invasion, dying on 30 October, 1066. Leofric had been with the English army, but sickening he returned to Peterborough, and there died amid the greatest regret of both monks and laity, for he was much beloved.¹¹ Brand, a monk of Peterborough, was thereupon elected abbot. According to the Saxon Chronicle he applied to Edgar Clito to confirm the election, which greatly

³ *Ibid.* 10; Sparke, *op. cit.* p. 18. Edgar's charter (Sparke, *op. cit.* p. 20 and 22; Soc. of Antiq. lx. f. 62) granted on the occasion of the dedication of the revived monastery is printed in Dugdale, *Mon.* i. 382-3.

⁴ Gunton, *History of Peterb.* 11.

⁵ Sparke, *op. cit.* p. 31.

⁶ Will. of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontif.* (Rolls Ser.), 317.

⁷ Sparke, *op. cit.* pp. 34-6.

⁸ Ingulf, *Rerum Anglic. Script.* 56.

⁹ Abbot John's *Chron.* 43.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 44.

¹¹ Sparke, *op. cit.* p. 46. Gunton makes the singular mistake of giving only 3 years to this abbot's rule; but it is clear from Abbot John's *Chron.* that he succeeded in 1057.

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incensed King William. The Conqueror was not reconciled until a payment had been made of forty marks of gold.¹ Eventually William confirmed by charter the election of Brand, and granted the monastery all the privileges it held in the days of the Confessor.² Abbot Brand died on 30 November, 1069, and was succeeded by Thorold, a Norman, appointed by the Conqueror.³ This appointment was the cause of much disaster to the monastery. Gunton says, 'He, being a stranger, neither loved his monastery, nor his convent him.'⁴ He conferred sixty-two hides of church land on certain stipendiary knights that they might defend him against Hereward the Wake. At this time Osbern, a Danish chief or earl, had taken possession of the Isle of Ely. Hereward, indignant that the abbey had been bestowed upon a Norman, stirred up Osbern's forces to attack the monastery. Thorold was then absent at Stamford, but the monks made a strong resistance, and Hereward, to gain access, set fire to houses adjoining the gateway, with the result that the conventual buildings and all the town save one house were destroyed by fire. The abbey church escaped. The riches and relics, together with Prior Athelwold and some of the older monks, were carried off by the raiders to Ely. Athelwold, however, during a carouse of the Danes, managed to secure some of the principal relics, including the arm of St. Oswald, secreting them in the straw of his bed. A treaty being made between the Conqueror and Sweyn, the Danes left Ely, carrying with them many Peterborough relics. Some of them were lost at sea, but others were eventually recovered by one of the Peterborough monks who visited Denmark for the purpose.⁵

Thorold returned to his monastery with 140 Normans, and strongly fortified it; nevertheless, he was subsequently taken prisoner by Hereward, and only released on payment of a great ransom.⁶ During his thirty-eight years' government of the abbey, Thorold greatly impoverished its resources; he died in 1098. Hugh tells us that, on the death of Thorold, the monks gave the king 300 marks to recover their right of election, and appointed Godric, the brother of Brand, Thorold's predecessor, in 1099.⁷ The accounts of the brief rule of this abbot are most conflicting. He was certainly deposed, the chronicle of Abbot John says 'in the same year,'⁸ while Hugh says that

he was abbot 'only one year.'⁹ Both authorities agree that he was deposed by Anselm with several abbots who had been convicted of simony; that this was also his offence seems improbable from Hugh's reference to him as *probum virum*, and his statement that he was elected *quamvis invitum*; there is the further difficulty that all these depositions, including Godric's, are assigned by the best authorities to the year 1102.¹⁰

During this unsettled period robbers broke through a window of the church, over the altar of SS. Philip and James, and stole a great cross of gold studded with gems as well as two chalices with patens and two candlesticks of the same precious metal, the gift of Archbishop Elfric.¹¹ At last, on 21 October, 1103, Henry I filled up the vacancy by appointing Matthias, brother to Geoffrey, the king's justiciary, abbot of Peterborough. Exactly a year from that date he died, and was buried at Gloucester.¹² After another long vacancy Ernulf, prior of Canterbury, was recommended to the monks as their superior by a council held at London in 1107. He ruled strenuously and happily, and in 1114 was consecrated bishop of Rochester.¹³ John de Sééz, originally a monk of Sééz in Normandy—erroneously called by Gunton 'John of Salisbury'—was the next abbot. The second disastrous fire, which consumed almost the whole monastery, as well as the town, occurred in August, 1116. Hugh gives a vivid account of the disaster. He attributes its origin to Satanic agency, for Abbot John, in his impatience at a servant failing to kindle a fire, exclaimed, 'The Devil take it' (*Veni Diabole et insuffla ignem*), whereupon the flames instantly shot up to the very roof. During the remainder of his abbacy John prosecuted the rebuilding of the church and conventual buildings with much diligence. He died of dropsy in 1125.¹⁴

At the time of Abbot John's death the number of monks in the abbey was 60. There was, in addition, a considerable household. In the bakehouse there were two bakers who had the board allotted to one knight; also a winnower (*vannator*), who had the same; two other bakers, who had daily two white loaves and two brown loaves (*bisos*) with beer; two carriers (*caratores*) who had four brown loaves and beer; and two grinders (*servantes molantes*), who had also the daily supply of four brown loaves and beer. The other food (*mixtum*) allotted to these nine servants of the bakehouse amounted to 24s. 4d. a year. In the brewhouse there were six servants, whose food, in addition to bread and beer, cost 16s. 4d. a year. In the kitchen there was a master and an

¹ *A.S. Chron.* p. 337.

² Soc. of Antiq. MS. lx. f. 64. The incidence of the Conquest on the lands of the monastery, as shown by the Domesday Survey, has been fully discussed by Mr. Round, *V.C.H. Northants*, i. 282-4.

³ Sparke, *op. cit.* p. 48; Abbot John's *Chron.* 47.

⁴ Gunton, *Hist.* 17.

⁵ Sparke, *op. cit.* pp. 49-51. Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, iv. 335, 457-461.

⁶ Sparke, *op. cit.* p. 63; Gunton, *Hist.* 17.

⁷ Sparke, *op. cit.* pp. 64-5.

⁸ *Chron.* (ed. Sparke), 56.

⁹ Sparke, *op. cit.* 64.

¹⁰ Eadmer, *Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), 142; Will. of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontif.* (Rolls Ser.), 119. He is here said not to have been consecrated.

¹¹ Sparke, *op. cit.* p. 64. The *A.S. Chron.* (Rolls Ser. i, 366) gives the date of this robbery as Whitsuntide, 1102.

¹² Sparke, *op. cit.* p. 65.

¹³ *Ibid.* pp. 66-8.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 71-2.

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under cook, with five other servants, two of whom were wood carriers; their allowance amounted also to 16s. 4d. There were two servants of the church. In the tailory (*sartrinium*) there were two tailors, two washermen, a wood carrier, and a shoemaker. There were also servants attached to the infirmary, to the lazar house (13 lepers with 3 servants), two carriers of stone for the workers of the abbey, a mason, a curtiler, a swineherd, and a refectorian, making a total of forty servants.¹ The money rents of the abbey at this date, exclusive of payments in kind, amounted to £284 13s. 4d.

Henry de Angeli, who abandoned the bishopric of Soissons to become a monk and afterwards prior of Cluny, subsequently prior of Savigni and abbot of St. John Angeli, procured the abbey of Peterborough in 1128, through his kinship with the king, after another period of vacancy. He continued to hold at the same time his French abbey, but on an endeavour to unite Peterborough to Cluny in 1133 he was banished the realm.² Martin de Bec, prior of St. Neots, was joyfully received as abbot by the monks and people on St. Peter's Day, 1133. Hugh gives a particular account of the entry into the new presbytery ten years later, and of the miracles then wrought in connexion with the enshrined arm of St. Oswald. Abbot Martin materially increased the prosperity of the abbey, the chief benefaction being the town of Pilegate. He died 2 January, 1155. On the very day of his death, the monks, fearing to have a stranger thrust on them, met to select one of their own body as abbot. They deputed the choice to twelve senior and discreet brethren, who were sworn on the gospels and on the relics of the monastery not to be swayed in their choice by any personal affection or hatred. Hugh, the chronicler, was the first to take the oath, and went with the eleven others into the abbot's lodging, whilst the rest of the monks continued in prayer in the chapter-house. Each of the delegates communicated privately to Hugh the name God had put into their hearts, and their choice fell unanimously on William of Waterville. The king confirmed the election, the bishop gave his benediction, and on Sexagesima Sunday the new abbot was installed.³

William of Waterville added much to the abbey's possessions. He was the founder of the tributary nunnery of St. Michael's, Stamford. He settled a yearly maintenance on the church of St. John Baptist, Peterborough, ordering that the chaplain of that church should yearly at Michaelmas bring the church key to the sacrist of the monastery, as an acknowledgement of its dependency. After ruling the abbey with remarkable success for twenty years he incurred the dis-

pleasure of the king and was deposed in 1175.⁴ There is much confusion and contradiction among annalists as to the cause of his deposition; at all events he appealed to Pope Alexander, who confirmed the deposition, a judgement afterwards repeated by his successor Pope Urban.⁵

For two years after the deposition of Waterville, Henry II retained the abbey and its revenues in his own hands; but in 1177 Benedict, prior of Canterbury, was appointed abbot. 'Blessed in deed and name' (*re benedictus et nomine*) is the verdict pronounced on him by Swapham the chronicler, a verdict obviously based on personal knowledge. The manner in which he stamped his name on the fabric of the great church committed to his care will be dealt with elsewhere; but perhaps the chief claim to renown of Benedict rests on his connexion with St. Thomas of Canterbury, of whom he is the most distinguished biographer. He succeeded in liberating the monastery from the considerable debt of 1,500 marks with which he found it burdened on entering upon office. Benedict assisted at the coronation of Richard I., and from 1191 to the time of his death in 1193 was keeper of the great seal. He was genuinely attached to Richard, and was the first to suggest and carry out the sale of church plate to secure his ransom.⁶ Andrew, prior of Peterborough, and Acharius, prior of St. Albans, were the next two promotions to the abbacy; they ruled from 1194 to 1210. For about four years after the death of Abbot Acharius, King John kept the revenues of the monastery in his own hands; but at length, in 1214, Robert of Lindsey, then sacrist of the monastery, was elected to the vacant post. Swapham tells us that he paved the way for his preferment by the zealous discharge of his duty as sacrist. During that time he caused more than thirty windows of the church to be glazed, which had previously been stuffed up with reeds and straw. He also supplied a glazed window to the parlour, another to the chapter-house, nine to the dormitory, and three to the chapel of St. Nicholas. Full details of his vigorous administration of the abbey property, and of the improvements he made in the conventual and other buildings, are set forth by the same chronicler. He attended the fourth Lateran Council at Rome, 1215. His death occurred on 25 October, 1222.⁷ About the most precious MS. possessed by the Society of Antiquaries is the psalter of Robert of Lindsey.⁸ It consists of 256 vellum leaves, small folio, is exquisitely written, and contains several superb illuminations, the gold backgrounds of which retain their original brightness. In the margin of the calendar are the obits of the abbots of

¹ Soc. of Antiq. MS. lx. ff. 13, 14.

² Sparke, op. cit. pp. 73-5.

³ Ibid. pp. 75-91.

⁴ Ibid. 91-94; 97-100.

⁵ Gunton, *Hist. of Peterb.* 24, 284.

⁶ Sparke, op. cit. pp. 101-3.

⁷ Ibid. pp. 107-114.

⁸ No. lix.

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Peterborough, the latest insertion being that of William of Woodford, who died in 1299. Of Robert's successor, Alexander of Holderness, who ruled for four years, there is nothing of particular importance to chronicle. In 1227 Henry III. granted the abbey a weekly Friday market at Kettering, and a yearly fair at Peterborough on the second Sunday in Lent and seven following days.¹

In 1231, during the rule of Martin of Ramsey, the monastery was visited by the bishop of Lincoln, when various ordinations were laid down and accepted. The abbot was not henceforth to borrow money on usury from either Jews or Christians without the consent of the chapter, nor in that case ever to pledge the monastery or its goods of any kind. Another injunction was to the effect that the sacrist should have the horses and arms with the bodies of deceased knights (on the abbey estates); but if the horse of a deceased knight was worth more than four marks, the abbot should have it; the arms, or the price of them, were to be laid up in some safe place for the defence of the country and the peace of the church, and their money equivalent used for the repair and provision of arms.² Pope Gregory IX., during Martin's abbacy, granted to the abbey the privilege of holding divine service during any general interdict, but without bell-ringing and with closed doors.³

Swapham leaves it on record that when Walter of Bury St. Edmunds was installed as abbot, in 1233, he offered a pall covered with peacocks, and a splendid cope of red samite embroidered with representations of the apostles and their martyrdoms. The same chronicler gives an extended account of his various benefactions to the abbey, and of his boldness in giving the church of Castor in accordance with the king's order and in defiance of the pope. In 1237 the church of Peterborough was solemnly dedicated by Bishop Grossetête and his suffragan.⁴ The next abbot, William of Hotoft, after holding office for about three years, resigned in 1249, on the complaint of the monks to the bishop of Lincoln that he was enriching his kindred at the expense of the monastery.⁵ John de Caux, prior of St. Swithin's, Winchester, was elected abbot in 1251, and ruled the monastery with success for twelve years. In the year of his appointment, Pope Innocent IV. granted leave to the monks to have their heads hooded at the quire offices during the winter months, a not uncommon favour in English monasteries.⁶ He was appointed papal chaplain in 1260 by Alexander IV.⁷

¹ Chart. II. Hen. III. pt. 1. m. 19.

² Gunton, *Hist. of Peterb.* Suppl. 301-2.

³ Ibid. 30.

⁴ Sparke, *Hist. Coenobii Burgensis*, 117-122. Matth. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 517.

⁵ Matthew Paris, op. cit. v. 84.

⁶ Gunton, *Hist. of Peterb.* 35.

⁷ *Cal. of Papal L.* i. 374.

In the diminutive thirteenth-century chartulary is an interesting and detailed entry of the payments in kind due to the monastery about the middle of the thirteenth century from the various manors at certain feasts, such as Easter, Christmas, All Saints, and SS. Peter and Paul. The manors making such customary payments are entered in the following order:—Peterborough, Eye, Thorpe, Walton, Wittering, Glington, Castor, Cottingham, Kettering, Irthlingborough, Stanwick, Oundle, Ashton, Warmington, Alwalton, Etton, Tinwell, and Pilsgate. Some manors only yielded eggs, and egg payments were always made at Easter; others only two or three sheep; but several supplied specified numbers of each of the six sorts of payments in kind. The totals amounted to 62½ sheep (*multones*), 117 ells of cloths; 85 disci,⁸ 6,360 eggs, 53 hens, and 600 loaves of bread.⁹

Abbot Robert of Sutton, elected in March, 1262, joined with the barons two years later in holding the town of Northampton against the king. Whittlesey says that when the king and his son saw the abbey's banner on the walls, they vowed the destruction of the monastery. On gaining the victory, however, over the barons, Henry was content to forgive the abbot on payment of a fine of 300 marks to the king, £20 to the queen, £60 to Prince Edward, and £6 13s. 4d. to Lord Zouch. The abbey also gave pledges to take the part of the king; but the battle of Lewes, when the king and Prince Edward were taken prisoner, brought about renewed heavy fining of the abbey by the barons. Simon de Montfort and his colleagues received from the monks the sum of £186 14s. 8d. During the whole period of the struggle, the abbey gates remained open, and the partisans of either the king or the barons found the tables of the refectory well provided for their needs. This wise policy, as Whittlesey remarks, had the result of saving their manors in many places from fire and other evils.¹⁰ After the battle of Evesham in 1265, when the crown gained so complete a victory, the unfortunate abbey was again heavily mulcted in fines that considerably exceeded £1,000. Indeed, Whittlesey in enumerating the various sums paid by the abbot to Henry, over a term of several years, ere he recovered the king's favour, totals them up to £4,324 18s. 3d. In 1273 Abbot Robert was summoned by Gregory X. to the Council of Lyons. He died on the return journey; his body was buried in a monastery near Bologna, but his heart was brought back to Peterborough in a silver cup and interred before the altar of

⁸ 'Discus' may mean (1) a dish or wooden trencher, (2) the meat or food placed on a dish or platter, and (3) a measure of ale or wine; it probably here has the second signification.

⁹ Egerton MS. 2733, ff. 177-8.

¹⁰ Sparke, op. cit. pp. 134-7.

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St. Oswald.¹ Owing to the alternate heavy fining of the abbey by king and barons, Abbot Robert left the temporal affairs of his monastery in dire confusion. On his death becoming known at Peterborough, brother William of Woodford, a monk of much shrewdness, was dispatched to court, to try to secure the custody of their temporalities during the vacancy. The king was abroad, but an arrangement was made with the council by which the temporalities were secured on payment of a fine of 300 marks. On the return of Edward I. from the Holy Land in 1274, Richard of London, the prior of the monastery, was elected abbot by his brethren. By his prudence and economy he considerably retrieved the fortunes of the abbey, which he found in debt to the amount of 3,000 marks. He retired for some time, after doing homage on his appointment, to the Isle of Wight, in order to avoid the extravagance of an inaugural feast. The chronicle, which may safely be assigned to his successor, William of Woodford, gives full details of the various law-suits in which Abbot Richard was engaged for nearly the whole of the twenty years of his rule—suits in which the monastery was almost invariably successful.² Among other numerous legal triumphs, he established his right to the tithe of all venison killed within the royal forests of Northamptonshire, and succeeded in putting down the hand-mills used by the townsfolk of Oundle as constituting an injury to the lord's mill. The king himself was defeated when trying to resist the abbey's claims to have a prison at Peterborough, and to hold various hundred courts involving the right to the chattels of felons and fugitives. In those days, when capital punishment was frequent, and when those who obtained sanctuary had eventually to submit to perpetual banishment, the right to the chattels of felons, outlaws, and fugitives was one of considerable importance and value. In this way the large sum for those days of £37 15s. 1d. was received by the monastery.³

Woodford chronicles three visitations of the abbey during the rule of Richard of London, and we may perhaps assume from the brevity of the entries that the visitors found nothing material to redress. On 17 June, 1283, the monastery was formally visited by Bishop Oliver Sutton; and on 5 September of the same year the bishop made a second surprise visitation (*nulla pre-munitione facta*). Archbishop Peckham visited the abbey on 6 October, 1284, and it is merely recorded that he received 4 marks as procuration fees.⁴ Abbot Richard died in 1295, having liquidated the debt of his predecessor by 2,000 marks. The convent elected William of Woodford, the late abbot's legal adviser, who was then

sacrist. For two years William had acted as coadjutor abbot, on the appointment of the bishop of Lincoln, owing to Richard's infirmities. After four years of careful rule, Abbot William died on 2 September, 1299.⁵ Godfrey of Crowland, who was cellarer at the time of his appointment, was abbot from 1299 to 1321. Of him Gunton writes that he was 'so famous for worthy actions that there was scarce his like, either before him or after.'⁶ In the first year of his rule certain persons fled for sanctuary into the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr at the gate of the monastery, whither they were pursued and illegally dragged out, blood being shed during the struggle. Bishop Dalderby put the chapel under an interdict, until the fugitives had been restored to the liberty of the place. Eventually the fugitives were brought back, and the bishop authorized the abbot to cleanse the chapel with holy water, and to restore it to divine use.⁷

In 1313, the same bishop, in connexion with the purgation of a charge brought against Godfrey of Crowland, of incontinence, licensed that abbot to go on a pilgrimage to the shrines of the Blessed Edmund of Pontigny, and of St. Thomas of Hereford.⁸ In the same year the bishop issued an inhibition of the veneration of the place of burial, in the hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr for the sick at Peterborough, of the body of Lawrence of Oxford, who had been hung on account of his evil crimes, and where miracles were supposed to take place. A further inhibition was issued later in the year, accompanied by a prohibition to the monks of accepting the offerings of those flocking there.⁹ A visitation of the abbey made by the bishop whilst this strange veneration of a criminal's remains was in progress, caused much dissension among the monks, some of them encouraging folk to visit the grave. Those who took this course were, however, excommunicated, and the bishop issued a third stern inhibition.¹⁰

The church of Warmington was appropriated to Peterborough Abbey in 1316. In their petition to the bishop for sanction, the monks stated that they had become impoverished and in debt, (1) by reason of their nearness to an important highway, which necessitated much hospitality, (2) by the wars in those parts, and (3) by divers oppressions, exactions, and expenses.¹¹ The second of these reasons referred to the resistance of the barons to the evil favourites of Edward II., notably Piers Gaveston. When Piers visited Peterborough at an earlier date with Edward II.,

⁵ Sparke, op. cit. pp. 151-2.

⁶ Gunton, *Hist. of Peterb.* 39.

⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Dalderby, f. 22.

⁸ Ibid. f. 245. St. Edmund Rich, Abp. of Canterbury, died at Pontigny in 1242, and was there enshrined.

⁹ Ibid. ff. 246b, 249. We have not been able to ascertain anything further respecting Lawrence.

¹⁰ Ibid. ff. 250, 263b.

¹¹ Ibid. f. 335.

¹ Sparke, op. cit. pp. 139-140.

² Soc. of Antiq. MS. lx. ff. 80-132.

³ Ibid. ff. 116-117.

⁴ Ibid. ff. 95, 107, 108.

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then Prince of Wales, the abbot sent the prince a present of an embroidered robe, but he declined to receive it unless a like one was sent to Piers. A single entertainment of Edward II. and his courtiers is said to have cost the abbey £1,543 13s. 4d. in provisions and presents.

Bishop Burghersh, in 1321, granted an indulgence to all penitents hearing mass at the Lady altar, the high altar, and the altar of All Saints in the guest-house chapel of Peterborough monastery.¹

On Godfrey's death there was an extent of the lands of the abbey. Whittlesey sets out the full particulars of each manor. The annual sum produced by the Northamptonshire manors amounted to £409 10s. 2½d., and that from their manors in Lincoln, Nottingham, Leicester, and Rutland to £212 6s. 0½d., making a total of £621 16s. 3¼d.² But this did not by any means represent the total of the abbey's income at that date, for the return took no account of the spiritualities in appropriated churches and pensions, or of the tithes of venison, or of the rents from certain tenements and detached plots of land, or of the average return of forfeited chattels, or of the very considerable offerings of the faithful.

Adam de Boothby's rule, 1321-1330, was chiefly remarkable for his frequent and costly entertainment of the king and royal family. In 1332 Edward III., with the queen-mother, the king's sisters, three bishops, and the whole court, kept Easter at the monastery, making a stay of ten days. The consequent expenditure of the abbot, including presents, was £487 6s. 5d. On six subsequent occasions during this abbacy there were prolonged royal visits to Peterborough.³ The rule of the next four abbots was not marked by any particularly noteworthy incidents. Only a few points need be here noticed. A curious example of a mixed rental in money and kind accruing to the abbey occurs at this period. In 1342 licence was granted to John Edgar to alienate to Peterborough monastery 2 messuages, 20½ acres of land, 4½ acres of meadow, 9s. 10d. of rent, and a rent of two cloths, four geese, three cocks, fourteen hens, and sixty eggs in Glinton and Peterborough, of the united yearly value of 40s. 2½d.⁴

The loss of half the monks during the Black Death of 1349-50 has been already mentioned, the total being reduced from 64 to 32.⁵ In 1353 Bishop Gynwell absolved Hugh de Spalding from the excommunication he had incurred for breaking locks and gates on the monastic property, for hunting in the woods, for felling trees, and for fishing in the waters of the Nen without the

abbot's licence.⁶ The prior of Peterborough was empowered by Bishop Gynwell in 1360 to absolve some of his brother monks who had been excommunicated for laying violent hands on certain secular clerks.⁷

William Genge, the fortieth abbot of Peterborough, succeeded in 1396 and became the first mitred abbot. In November, 1402, he obtained licence from Pope Boniface IX. for himself and his successors to wear anywhere the mitre, ring, pastoral staff, and other pontifical insignia; to give in the monastery and subject priories, and in their parish and other churches, solemn benediction after mass, vespers, and matins, and at their table, provided that no bishop nor legate were present; to consecrate churches, such as the churches, oratories, and chapels of their monasteries and priories, together with the altars, vestments, and chalices therein; and to reconcile the same and the cemeteries of such churches.⁸

A detailed schedule of the taxation of the abbey drawn up in 1401-2 shows that the total value of the temporalities and spiritualities at that time amounted to £1,218 15s. 5¾d. Out of this the sum of £60 1s. 2d. was definitely assigned for alms. In the same register where the taxation return is entered, many folios are devoted to the full receipts of the abbey for the same year.⁹ The register or act book of William Genge and of his successor, John Deeping (1410-38), gives evidence of the energetic administration of both these abbots. One of its more interesting features is the record of three gaol deliveries, for the prison of Peterborough belonged to the great abbey. At Michaelmas, 1400, the gaol delivery of Peterborough before William Thirnyng, John Coraunt, and their fellow justices, is entered in the abbey register. The prisoners included four who were *notorii latrones*, nine horse stealers, one sheep stealer, two stealers of goods, one utterer of forged money, nine suspected of robbery, one case of serious wounding, four guilty of murder or manslaughter, and one case of sheltering a murderer.¹⁰ The gaol delivery of Michaelmas, 1425, is entered in the same register. There were twenty-seven prisoners, of whom several were acquitted and five hung. The capital sentences were for horse and cattle stealing. The gaol delivery of 1434 also finds a place in the abbot's register; on that occasion there was only one capital sentence.¹¹

Bishop Repingdon, by mandate dated 10 March, 1413, gave notice to the abbot of his intention to visit Peterborough Abbey on 14 April, *tam in capite quam in membris*. The abbot acknowledged

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Burghersh, f. 28b.

² Sparke, op. cit. 175-216.

³ Sparke, *Hist. Coenobii Burgensis* (Anonymous cont.), 217-233.

⁴ Pat. 15 Edw. III. pt. iii. m. 3.

⁵ Vide supra, *Eccles. Hist.* p. 26.

⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Bokyngham, f. 46.

⁷ Ibid. Memo. of Gynwell, f. 132.

⁸ *Cal. of Papal L.* v. 548.

⁹ Add. MS. 25,288, ff. 91-2, 93-104.

¹⁰ Ibid. ff. 114-116.

¹¹ Ibid. ff. 131-4, 154-5.

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the letter, and forwarded the required schedule of the names of the monks on 26 March.¹

In January, 1418-19, Henry V., having brought the siege of Rouen to a successful issue, found time to write as follows, asking a favour of Abbot Deeping:—

'Trusty and wellbeloved yn God. We grete you wel and we wol and prey you as we have praide you by oure other lettres afore thys tyme that ye wol have atte reverence of us our wel-beloved servant and clerk of our chapelle, Alayse Kyrketon, specially recommended unto the next benefice yat shal voide longyng to youre gifte. And yat ye thenke hereupon yat hit be doon as we trust to you. Notwythstandyng any instance or prayere made or to be made to you to ye contrarye. So yat we may have cause to give you thanks therefore. And yat ye certifie us by youre lettres of youre wille and entent in yis mater in al goodely haste. And God have you in his keepyng. Geven under oure signet in oure hoose afore Roan ye first day of Janner.'

To this request the abbot and chapter returned a favourable answer also in English, stating in grandiloquent terms their readiness to do their sovereign's will, and thus concluding their letter, which was dated 16 February: 'And furthermore we devoutly pray almighty God for his endeles mercy to sende you the victory of al your enemyes and to bryng you and al your trewe lieges in saufte hom to us ageyne into Ingelond.'²

Bishop Gray, 1431-6, visited the abbey, and issued subsequent injunctions which were for the most part of the usual form, enforcing silence, prohibiting entrance of women, etc. They were ordered not to cut down the wood nor pawn the jewels. Within the cloister there were only to be two places for refection, namely, the refectory and 'ley miserycord alias vocat ley Seyny.' Before Michaelmas they were to obtain an instructor who was to instruct the monks in grammar, and this under the penalty of £10 to be applied to the alms of the lord abbot.³

In September, 1454, Abbot Richard executed a deed, entered in the diocesan register, binding himself to give the administration of temporalities and spiritualities for six years into the hands of Richard Harleston and William Ufford, saving the government of the quire and of regular observances; sums in arrears for pensions of scholars to be paid to the abbot, also £10 annually coming from the sacristan for the wine of the convent, and the money called 'jalez silver,'⁴ and the rent of one mark yearly of the chamber of each brother and priest, and the rent of 10s. yearly for the chamber of each brother not being a priest. The

abbot is to dine with the monks. Separate places to be provided for inmates of the infirmary, and for strangers coming to the abbey.⁵

Richard Ashton, the third of the mitred abbots, ruled from 1438 to 1471. Many small points of interest in connexion with the inner life of the monastery can be gleaned from the rough memorandum and account book of William Morton, the almoner of the abbey, which extends from 1448 to 1466. Among minor expenses of the first of these years is 15s. 4d. for wax for making two torches, 6d. given to strolling players, 4d. for washing towels, 6d. for carpenter's work on the rood loft (of the hospital church), 5s. for mending the church windows, and 1d. for thread for mending vestments.⁶ There are many entries relative to repairs on the manors of Maxey, Warmington, and Sutton. In 1459, 3s. 9d. was spent for 3½ gallons of wine given to the convent at Pentecost, and 3s. 6½d. for 4½ gallons of wine for the convent at the feast of the Assumption.⁷

In 1462 Edward IV. granted to Abbot Richard and the convent, goods of felons, fugitives, and outlaws within their hundreds of Nassaburg, Polebrook, Huxloe, and Navisford, and all other their hundreds, manors, and possessions in Northampton, Huntingdon, Lincoln, Leicester, Nottingham, and Rutland, deodands, wreck of sea, treasure trove, evasions and escapes, fines, forfeitures, and amercements, and all other liberties granted by former kings. They were also to have the delivery of the king's gaol at Peterborough, provided one of the justices of the peace for the county of Northampton, or a person skilled in the law, be one of the commissioners appointed by them.⁸ In the following year the king granted to the abbey the custody of all its temporalities during voidance, on their rendering to the Exchequer £40 for each voidance.⁹

William Ramsey was abbot from 1471 to 1496. During his rule in 1477 licence was obtained for the appropriating of the church of Oundle to the monastery, provided a vicarage was sufficiently endowed, and a competent sum of money distributed yearly among the poor. The royal assent was given to this in consideration of the abbey having granted to the king 84 acres of land and wood in Cottingham parish.¹⁰ The appropriation was not completed till 1481. Another appropriation was made to the monastery in 1486, when a long-standing contention with the neighbouring abbey of Crowland was compromised by the yielding to Peterborough of the church of Bringhurst, Leicestershire.¹¹

⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Chedworth, f. 47b.

⁶ Cott. MS. Vesp. A. xxiv. f. 3b.

⁷ Ibid. f. 72b.

⁸ Pat. 2 Edw. IV. pt. 1, m. 10.

⁹ Ibid. 3 Edw. IV. pt. 1, m. 3.

¹⁰ Ibid. 17 Edw. IV. pt. 1, m. 8.

¹¹ Gunton, *Hist. of Peterb.* p. 55.

¹ Add. MS. 25,288, ff. 59b, 60.

² Ibid. f. 106.

³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Gray, f. 198d. No date.

⁴ *i.e.* gaol payments at so much a prisoner, the Peterborough gaol being in the hands of the abbot.

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Robert Kirton, a monk of Peterborough, was elected abbot in 1496. Three years later the church of North Collingham was appropriated to the monastery. On 8 July, 1515, the Bishop of Lincoln visited the abbey, when various irregularities were brought to light and punished. The most serious offender was brother John Walpole, who had stolen certain jewels from the shrine containing St. Oswald's arm, and given them to women in the town. Some of the monks haunted a tavern near the abbey, and sang and danced in the dormitory till ten or eleven o'clock at night, to the disturbance of the rest.¹

While Wolsey was busy about his new college at Oxford in 1526, he deputed the Bishop of Lincoln to obtain the fulfilment of an alleged promise of a contribution from this abbey. The abbot was visited by his diocesan on 30 July, and the bishop forwarded a long account of their interview. From this letter it would seem that Kirton had rashly promised a contribution of 2,000 marks, which he did not see his way to fulfil. The bishop wrote that if he thus 'swerve and warble' in his words, he should be made to resign before Michaelmas on a reasonable pension. Writing again a few days later, the bishop said that no dependence could be placed on the abbot, that his poor offer of £400 was now reduced to one of 400 or 500 marks.² At last, in March, 1528, Kirton yielded to the strong pressure brought on him to resign, on the understanding that either brother Francis or one Boston, monks of the abbey, would succeed him. He wrote to Wolsey to that effect, saying that if the election were left to the convent they would undoubtedly choose brother Francis, who was a good religious man, and of gentle birth.³ The imperious Wolsey had, however, succeeded in enforcing his will on the convent, who granted him the right of nominating the next abbot; whereupon he withdrew from the promises made by his agents, and immediately nominated John Browne (*alias* Chambers) as superior of the monastery. The royal assent to this decision was given on 23 March, 1528.⁴

On 27 July, 1534, Abbot John Chambers, Prior John Walpole, and forty of the monks signed the declaration as to Henry VIII.'s supremacy.⁵

The Valor of 1535 gives the clear annual value of this wealthy monastery as £1,679 15s. 8½d.⁶ Certain rents and estates pertained, as in all large monasteries, to particular officials or obedientaries. Among them, the cellarer, sacrist, sub-sacrist, almoner, treasurer, chamberlain,

pittancer, guestmaster, master of the works, refectorian, precentor, as well as the warden of the cell of Oxney are particularized. The various wind, water, and horse mills brought in an income of £40 16s. 8d.; tolls and market dues at Peterborough, Thorpe, and Oundle, £5 19s.; certain fines, with *le pye silver et virida cera*, in different lordships and manors, £7 2s. 7¾d.;⁷ and manorial court fees, £19 19s. 3¾d. A considerable share of the income came from the appropriated rectories of Oundle, Warmington, Gunthorpe, and Peterborough, Northamptonshire; Eston, Leicestershire; and North Collingham, Nottinghamshire. The amount that was bound to be spent in alms yearly, apart from all general distribution and hospitality, was £57 16s.

Katherine of Arragon, Henry's first wife, was buried in the quire of the church, with much pomp, in January, 1535.⁸

An accusation of papistry was made against one of the monks in June, 1538, and the particulars forwarded to the council. Ambrose Caster was charged with saying *Domine salvum (sic) fac ecclesiam*, instead of *Domine salvum fac Regem*, and for saying in the canon of high mass *pro Papa nostro*, although erased from the book. The charge was made by brother Richard Deeping to Prior Walpole, and the parties were examined by the abbot in the presence of three servants of the king and seven officials of the convent. Caster denied the charge, saying it was pure malice. Deeping could produce no witnesses, but the abbot committed Caster to ward until the king's pleasure was known.⁹ The accused monk must eventually have been discharged, for he is found among the pensioners of the following year.

In March, 1538, William Parre, one of the monastic visitors under Cromwell, was at Peterborough, and set forth at length the conversation he had with Abbot Chambers in a letter to his master. The abbot offered, if his house might stand, to give the king a whole year's rent of all their lands, amounting to about 2,500 marks, and beyond that 'to gratifie your lordship (Cromwell) to bee good lorde to hym with the some as I suppose of three hundred pounds.'¹⁰ Eventually this ancient monastery was surrendered to the crown agents on 29 November, 1539. The inmates were divided into two lists, those appointed to remain, to form part of the staff of the projected cathedral staff, and those who were at once to depart. The first list was headed by the abbot, to whom was assigned the large pension of £266 13s. 4d., in addition to a yearly allowance of a hundred loads of wood; £14 a year was assigned to Prior Walpole; a pension

¹ Gunton, *Hist. of Peterb.* pp. 56-6.

² *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* iv. pt. ii. 2378, 2391.

³ *Ibid.* 4056.

⁴ *Ibid.* 4092, 4097.

⁵ Rymer, *Foedera*, xiv. 502.

⁶ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 279-284.

⁷ *i.e.* various estreats and amercements in the Exchequer.

⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* x. 284.

⁹ *Ibid.* xiii. pt. 1, 1159.

¹⁰ Cott. MS. Cleop. E. iv. f. 205.

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of £12 each to two monks who were bachelors of divinity; and pensions of £8 to two other monks; of £7 to one; and of £6 to ten. Among those pensioned and ordered to depart was Edward Berney, warden of the cell of Oxney, and another, at £10; another at £8; William Thornton, sub-prior, at £7; three at £6 13s. 4d.; and fourteen at £6 each.¹

On the day after the surrender an inventory of the considerable treasure of the church and of the furniture, stores, and stock of the abbey was drafted.² A return made in December, 1539, of the plate out of certain abbeys, names 70 oz. of gold and 5,081 oz. of silver as taken from Peterborough.³

On the dissolution of the abbey, the king made a tripartite division of its revenues (valued at £1,979 7s. 5½d. a year), assigning a third to himself, a third to the newly appointed bishop, and the remaining third to the dean and chapter.⁴ The new see of Peterborough was founded on 4 September, 1541, to consist of a bishop, dean, and six prebendaries; the diocese to consist of the counties of Northampton and Rutland; the abbey church to be changed into a cathedral; and the abbot's lodging into the bishop's palace.⁵ John Chambers, the last abbot, was rewarded for his complacency over the surrender by being appointed the first bishop.

ABBOTS OF PETERBOROUGH⁶

Saxulf, 654
Cuthbald, 675
Egbalð, before 716
Pusa
Beonna
Ceolver
Hedda, 870
Adulf (archbishop of York, 992), 972-992
Kenulf (bishop of Winchester, 1005), 992-1005
Elsin, 1006-1055
Ernwin, 1055-1057
Leofric, 1057-1066
Brand, 1066-1069
Thorold de Fécamp, 1069-1098
Godric, 4 days abbot, 1099
Matthias, 1103-1104
Ernulf (bishop of Rochester, 1115), 1107-1114
John de Sééz, 1114-1125
Henry de Angeli (banished 1133), 1128-1133

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiv. pt. 2, 602.

² It has been printed in full by Gunton, Stevens, and Dugdale.

³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiv. pt. 2, 777.

⁴ Gunton, *Hist. of Peterb.* 66.

⁵ Lansd. MS. 988, f. 120b.

⁶ This list has been drawn up after careful collation of the various manuscript and printed authorities named in the first introductory note.

Martin de Bec, 1133-1155
William of Waterville, 1155-1175
Benedict, 1177-1194
Andrew, 1194-1199
Acharius, 1200-1210
Robert of Lindsey, 1214-1222
Alexander of Holderness, 1222-1226
Martin of Ramsey, 1226-1233
Walter of Bury St. Edmunds, 1233-1245
William of Hotoft, 1246-1249
John de Caux, 1250-1262
Robert of Sutton, 1262-1273
Richard of London, 1274-1295
William of Woodford, 1295-1299
Godfrey of Crowland, 1299-1321
Adam of Boothby, 1321-1338
Henry of Morcot, 1338-1353
Robert of Ramsey, 1353-1361
Henry of Overton, 1361-1391
Nicholas of Elmstow, 1391-1396
William Genge, 1397-1408
John Deeping, 1409-1439
Richard Ashton, 1439-1471
William Ramsey, 1471-1496
Robert Kirton, 1496-1528
John Chambers, 1528-1539

DEANS⁷

Francis Alree or Abree *alias* Leycester, last prior of St. Andrew's, Northampton, 1541
Gerard Carleton occurs 1543, died 1549
James Coorthopp or Curthopp 1549, died 1557
John Boxall 1557, deprived 1559-60
William Latymer 1560, died 1583
Richard Fletcher 1583, bishop of Bristol 1589
Thomas Nevil 1590-1, dean of Canterbury 1597
John Palmer 1597, died 1607
Richard Clayton 1607, died 1612
George Meriton 1612, dean of York 1617
Henry Beaumont 1616-7, dean of Windsor 1622
William Pierse 1622, raised to the see 1630
John Towers 1630, raised to the see 1639
Thomas Jackson 1638-9, died 1640
John Cosin 1640, bishop of Durham 1660
Edward Rainbow 1660-1, bishop of Carlisle 1664
James Duport 1664, died 1679
Simon Patrick 1679, bishop of Chichester 1689
Richard Kidder 1689, bishop of Bangor 1721
Samuel Freeman 1691, died 1707
White Kennet 1707-8, raised to the see 1718
Richard Reynolds 1718, bishop of Bath and Wells 1691

⁷ The list of deans up to 1842 is taken from Le Neve's *Fasti Eccl. Anglic.* corrected and continued by T. Duffus Hardy, ii. 538.

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Edward Gee 1721, dean of Lincoln 1722
 John Mandeville 1722, died 1724-5
 Francis Lockier 1724-5, died 1740
 John Thomas 1740, bishop of St. Asaph 1743
 Robert Lambe 1744, raised to the see 1764
 Charles Tarrant 1764, died 1791
 Charles Mannors Sutton 1791, bishop of
 Norwich 1792
 Peter Peckard 1792, died 1798
 Thomas Kipling 1798, died 1822
 James Henry Monk 1822, bishop of Gloucester
 1830
 Thomas Turton 1830, resigned 1842
 George Butler 1842
 A. P. Sanders 1853
 John James Stewart Perowne 1878, bishop
 of Worcester 1890
 M. Argles 1890
 William Clavell Ingram 1892
 William Hagger Barlow 1901

Of the first known seal, twelfth century, there is a cast at the British Museum.¹ The obverse represents the abbey church, under the square-headed arch of the central tower, St. Peter with nimbus is seated, holding in his right hand two keys, in his left hand a book, a hand of blessing is issuing in the upper left-hand corner. In a niche or chapel on the left a saint, with a cross on the tympanum of the arch; on the right a porch with door thrown open.

The legend has been destroyed.

The reverse, a smaller round counterseal, represents a boat on waves with St. Paul holding a sword, standing between St. Oswald on the left and St. Peter with key on the right, each under a dome-shaped canopy with round-headed arch. The centre canopy has two pinnacles; in the field two estoiles.

Legend: [— SI]GNVM BVRGENSE CRVCE LAVE
 REFLVGET ET ENSE.

A fine fragment, creamy white in colour, similar in design to above is attached to a charter of about 1200.² Attached to it also is the seal of Abbot A. (Abbot Andrew 1194-1199 or Abbot Acharius 1200-1210), very imperfect and indistinct, representing the abbot full length, in his right hand a pastoral staff curved outwards, in his left hand a book.

The second seal of the abbey, thirteenth century, is round, light brown in colour, and fine.³ The obverse represents a boat on waves, the figure head of an animal at each end, St. Paul standing, in his right hand a sword erect by the point, in his left hand a book; on the left St. Andrew with a cross saltire, on the right St. Peter with keys and book. Each saint under

a canopy with trefoiled arch pinnaced and crocheted. In the field on the left and over the roof the letter R twice repeated, on the right the letter F twice repeated.

Legend: + SIGNVM : BVRGENS : CRVC : CLAVE :
 FVLGET : ET : ENSE

The reverse represents St. Peter with tiara, seated on a carved throne in a canopied niche with ogee arch pinnaced and crocheted, holding in his right hand a key, in his left hand a long cross, an animal under his feet, close by on the left a king's head. On the left, in a similar but smaller niche, an altar with a chalice covered with a corporale, and a triangular lamp or bell suspended over it; on the right an abbot, full length, in his right hand a pastoral staff, in his left hand a book, overhead the initial letter O. Outside on each side a masonry buttress. Over the roof on each side a shield of arms, two keys in saltire for Peterborough Abbey. The base ornamented with a cusped corbel table and below it a row of small quatrefoils.

Legend: TV : PRO : ME : NAVEM : LIQUISTI :
 SVSCIPIT : CLAVEM :

A dark bronze-green, very fine and sharp, but imperfect example of the above thirteenth-century seal is applied by plaited cords of red and green silk to a charter of 1304.⁴ The dark bronze-green pointed oval seal of Abbot Godfrey of Crowland, 1299-1321, is attached to the same deed; it represents the abbot with embroidered vestments standing on a carved corbel under a canopy with trefoiled arch pinnaced and crocheted, supported on two slender shafts; in his right hand he holds a pastoral staff, in his left hand a book. Background diapered lozengy, with a small rose in each space.

Legend: s GODEFRIDI DEI GRA . . . DE
 BVRCO . . . RI . .

Another example of the thirteenth-century seal, light-brown in colour, much injured at bottom by pressure, is attached to a charter bearing date 1538.⁵

There is a cast at the British Museum of the pointed oval seal of Abbot Robert of Sutton 1262-1274,⁶ representing the abbot full length, in his right hand a book, in his left hand a pastoral staff.

Legend: SIGILL' ROBER I PETRI

A cast of the seal of Abbot Richard Ashton (?) is also at the museum;⁷ it is very small, and the

⁴ Ibid. xv. 18.

⁵ Egert. Chart. 482. Another fine impression is attached to the Acknowledgement of Supremacy, No. 102**

⁶ B. M. lxix. 96.

⁷ Ibid. lxix. 99.

¹ B. M. xl. 6.

² Add. Chart. 5,360.

³ Cott. Chart. xvi. 5c.



PETERBOROUGH ABBEY (*Obverse*)



PETERBOROUGH ABBEY (*Reverse*)



PETERBOROUGH ABBEY



VICAR-GENERAL, PETERBOROUGH

NORTHAMPTON MONASTIC SEALS, PLATE I

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impression, which is indistinct, represents a shield of arms with two keys in saltire for Peterborough Abbey. Over the shield is a crowned head as in the second seal of the abbey reverse.

All that remains of the legend are the letters

AB LLVES ES.

The seal of perhaps Robert Kirton is taken from another cast¹ with very imperfect impression representing a saint, perhaps St. Peter, turned to the right, holding a book and keys, an ecclesiastic kneeling before him. The legend is destroyed.

The pointed oval seal of Abbot John Deeping is taken from another cast representing St. Peter with tiara and nimbus seated in a carved and canopied niche, lifting up the right hand in benediction, in his left hand a book and two keys, between St. Paul with sword on the left and St. Andrew with nimbus on the right in two smaller niches. In base, which is much chipped, under a round-headed arch the abbot mitred between two shields of arms, both very indistinct and one almost entirely broken away.

Legend : s' : DÑI : IOH'IS : ABBATIS DE : BYRGO :
SCI : PETRI

2. THE PRIORY OF LUFFIELD

Robert Bossu, earl of Leicester, in the reign of Henry I.² founded a small priory of Benedictine monks at Luffield within the forest of Whittlebury. The conventual buildings and offices were situated chiefly in the parish of Lillingstone Dayrell (Bucks), but the church stood in Northamptonshire, and from this fact the establishment was usually reckoned as pertaining to that county.³ The new foundation, dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Virgin, and built, according to the charter of the founder, for the good of the soul of William, king of the English, and Matilda his wife, as well as of the founder and his family, obtained charters of royal favour and protection from Henry. I and Queen Maud, but from the outset was only poorly endowed. In 1171 the monks obtained a bull from Alexander III.⁴ confirming their possessions, among which was reckoned the church of Dodford with other gifts. At the time of the Taxation of 1291 the prior and convent held the churches of Thornborough and Padbury, Evershawe and

Steeple Claydon in Bucks, with a pension of 10s. from the church of Mursley.⁵ Their temporalities amounted to £24 19s. 7½d., of which £13 19s. 8d. was derived from lands in the archdeaconry of Bucks, and £10 6s. 3½d. from the archdeaconry of Northampton.⁶

Little is known of the early history of the priory. In 1230 Henry III. granted a licence for the brethren to hold a yearly fair at Luffield commencing on the vigil of the Exaltation of Holy Cross and lasting three days.⁷ The king showed much practical sympathy with the little community on the occasion of an outrage at the priory which occurred in the autumn of 1244. A band of twenty-five robbers broke into the monastery and stripped it of all on which they could lay hands, including gold and silver vessels and even the ornaments of the church.⁸ The king, on hearing of their misfortune, ordered that three chalices and ornaments for three chaplains should be supplied to the brethren, together with £15 in money.⁹

Of the internal condition of the houses no hint is given till the year 1280. Early in that year the visit of Archbishop Peckham brought about the resignation of the prior, William de Esteneston, who had succeeded to the rule of the house on the resignation of Ralf of Silverston in June 1275.¹⁰ On 17 March, 1279-90, the archbishop wrote to Oliver Sutton, bishop-elect of Lincoln,¹¹ setting forth the deplorable excesses of the late prior and his perverse misbehaviour, even on the very day of the archbishop's departure from the priory and in defiance of his injunction.¹² The latter forbade women to frequent the cloister, and desired that no pension or portion should be assigned to the late superior, unless indeed the bishop should think fit to send him elsewhere to do penance for his offences. In that case the cost of his maintenance was left to the bishop's discretion lest another house should become chargeable. In the course of a year or two, however, the ex-prior prevailed on his diocesan to grant him the usual privileges of a retired superior, and a special chamber in the infirmary, together with certain liberties, was assigned to him with episcopal sanction so long as he should behave honestly and regularly. The archbishop visited this forest priory 14 November, 1284, and on the following day issued his decree

⁵ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), pp. 32b, 33b.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 45b, 46, 47, 47b, 54.

⁷ Close, 14 Hen. III. m. 15.

⁸ Similar robberies are recorded in other districts in England at this time.

⁹ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 165.

¹⁰ Pat. 3 Edw. I. m. 19.

¹¹ *Reg. of Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), i. 101-2.

¹² That is to say, the prior, convicted of grave immorality, together with other monks in the course of Peckham's visitation, was wasting the goods of the house on women who were being entertained in the cloister of the monastery. *Ibid.*

¹ B. M. lxix. 98.

² Tanner gives the year 1124. *Notitia*, Northants, xxii.

³ A proof of this may be found in the fact that the bishop's mandate for the induction of priors was always directed to the archdeacon of Northampton, and royal writs respecting the temporalities of the priory to the escheator of that county.

⁴ Bull of Alex. III. Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 348.

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to the prior and convent with regard to their former superior, who was found to have grossly abused his privileges. Brother William of Esteneston, so ran the archbishop's order, was to be deprived of his chamber, which should be restored to the use of the sick as before; he should have his meals with the brethren in the frater and partake of the same diet, and should sleep in the common dorter; unless obviously ill he should attend all the night and day offices in the church, and in the event of sickness or infirmity should receive the same treatment as the ordinary brothers in the infirmary. His servant should lodge with the other servants of the monastery and not in the cloister.¹ Peckham also ordered that the door from the chamber occupied by the late prior, which led into the orchard, should be locked and the key kept by the prior until a wall had been built round the orchard. After that the sick should be allowed to go freely in and out of the orchard until sunset, when the door should be locked and the key given into the immediate custody of the prior. If the ex-prior refused to comply with these regulations he should be separated from the community and kept in seclusion, as their rule provided, until he yielded humble obedience. If he showed signs of apostasy or attempted to renew his former sinful career he was to be at once placed in close custody (*in arcto carcere*).²

It was not, however, easy to obviate the consequences of the evil example of such a superior, and William of Esteneston seems to have inaugurated a period of discord combined with irresolution and feebleness of purpose that apparently affected the whole house. On the resignation of Adam de Hanred in December, 1284, the monks, having obtained licence to elect, chose William of Brackley, one of their number, who received the royal assent to his election.³ The bishop, however, on the ground of internal discords at the time, annulled the choice of the convent and suspended their power to elect, with the intention of providing himself to the house. He found none fit for the rule save brother Adam, whom he straightway reappointed, not without protest from the king, who pointed out that for this second choice no licence had been asked or obtained; nevertheless, pitying the state of the house, by his special grace he directed the escheator of the county to restore the temporalities to the said Adam till the time of the next Parliament, when the matter should be finally settled.⁴ Adam, thus reappointed, remained in office till 1287, but in the meantime the financial affairs of the house became embarrassed and the burden of debt so serious that the king interfered and appointed Richard de Rothewell, a royal clerk, to the custody of the temporalities during his

pleasure, describing the house as being of the king's immediate patronage.⁵ On the resignation of Prior Adam in 1287 Richard of Silveston was elected,⁶ but the vacillating policy of the house showed itself, and on the same day that the king notified his assent to the bishop of Lincoln a messenger arrived from the priory bearing the resignation of the newly-elected prior.⁷ Having obtained another '*congé d'élire*' the convent this time wisely went outside their own ranks and elected John of Houton, a monk of the Cluniac house of Daventry.⁸ But in less than two years the office was again vacant, Prior John having resigned to join the Friars Minor. It seems difficult to credit the lack of steady purpose that characterized the community at this period, but no sooner had the royal assent been obtained to the election of Gilbert de Merse than the newly-elected head decided to resign.⁹ Eventually choice was made of Peter of Suldeston or Shalstone, but he only retained office for four years, and was deposed by the diocesan in October, 1284, for disobedience to canonical injunctions for the rule of the house.¹⁰ William of Brackley, whose election ten years previously had been annulled by the bishop, now succeeded,¹¹ and the priory entered on a period of greater quiet and security, as the prior retained his office for twenty-two years.

As has been previously mentioned, this priory was regarded as of royal patronage, and the king exercised the right of imposing pensioners, as in cases of other houses of royal foundation. On 20 August, 1316, following the recent election of John of Westbury, John de Ditton, clerk, was sent to the prior and convent of Luffield to receive the pension they were bound to give to one of the king's clerks by reason of the new creation of a prior.¹² In 1334 Robert de la Chapelle was sent to the priory to receive such maintenance as John Cloer had enjoyed at the request of Edward I.¹³

This house suffered severely under the visitation of the Black Death in 1349; the prior and all the monks are said to have died,¹⁴ and the rental of the house was declared inadequate for its support. The benefactions of Sir Henry Greene are recorded during the rule of Prior William of Horwood, who succeeded in 1349. Among other gifts he gave 100 marks to re-roof the choir of the church with lead; in return for his kindness the monks promised to celebrate

⁵ Pat. 14 Edw. I. m. 4.

⁶ Ibid. 15 Edw. I. m. 11.

⁷ Ibid. m. 9.

⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Sutton.

⁹ Pat. 17 Edw. I. m. 18.

¹⁰ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Sutton, f. 111.

¹¹ Pat. 23 Edw. I. m. 18.

¹² Close, 10 Edw. II. m. 27d.

¹³ Ibid. 8 Edw. III. m. 35d.

¹⁴ Gasquet, *The Black Death*, p. 137.

¹ *Reg. of Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 854-5.

² Ibid. ³ Pat. 13 Edw. I. m. 29.

⁴ *Abbrev. Rot. Orig.* (Rec. Com.), i. 49.

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for him and his family.¹ The priory, however, never attained to any degree of prosperity, and at the request of Henry VII. in 1494 Alexander VI. issued a bull for its annexation to the college and hospital of St. George's, Windsor.² The bull stated that the priory being of the patronage of the kings of England, founded in a desert place, and for a long time now only able to support a prior with two monks who had not been professed in the house, was with the church and buildings now in a ruinous condition. The pope stipulated that licence should be obtained from the diocesan for its union, and that the prior and monks should be transferred to other houses with a fit pension from the issues of this foundation.³ The execution of the bull was stayed till after the death of the prior in 1504 at Abingdon, whither he had become transferred, and died as lord abbot.⁴ Immediately after Henry VII. procured another bull from Pope Julius II. cancelling the previous grant to Windsor in favour of the king's chapel at Westminster Abbey, which was carried out.⁵

PRIORS OF LUFFIELD

Mauger⁶ occurs before 1133

William⁷ occurs 1151

Ralph⁸ occurs 1174

John⁹

William¹⁰ occurs before 1218

Roger¹¹ died 1231

William of Brackley¹² elected 1231

Ralf of Silverston¹³ elected 1263, resigned 1275

William of Esteneston¹⁴ elected 1275, resigned 1279-80

¹ Browne Willis, *Hist. of Mitred Abbies*, ii. 26. John Horwood, who eventually succeeded to the rule of the house, is said to have been admitted as a monk on the recommendation of the said benefactor. Ibid.

² Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 352. ³ Ibid.

⁴ Browne Willis, *Hist. of Mitred Abbies*, ii. 27.

⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 352. An entry under date 1399 in the *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v. 199, is perhaps worthy of mention. John Lillingston, a monk of Luffield, received a dispensation from Boniface IX. permitting him while suffering from a rupture caused by a strain during his work in the priory and imperfectly healed, to absent himself from the choir and visit friends and relatives without requiring the licence of his superior. The injured man is described as zealous in religion and of good life and morals.

⁶ Foundation Chart. Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 346.

⁷ Bull of Eugenius III. Ibid.

⁸ Bull of Alexander III. Ibid.

⁹ Browne Willis, *Hist. of Mitred Abbies*, ii. 25.

¹⁰ Ibid. ¹¹ Pat. 15 Hen. III. m. 2.

¹² Ibid. ¹³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Gravesend.

¹⁴ Ibid. and Pat. 3 Edw. I. m. 19.

Adam de Hanred, Henred or Heured¹⁵ elected 1279-80, resigned 1284

William of Brackley¹⁶ elected 1284-5, election annulled

Adam de Hanred, Henred or Heured reappointed 1285,¹⁷ resigned 1287

Richard of Silveston¹⁸ elected 1287, resigned same time

John of Houghton¹⁹ elected 1287, resigned 1289

Gilbert de Merse²⁰ elected 1289, resigned same time

Peter of Saldeston or Shalstone²¹ elected 1289, deposed 1294

William of Brackley²² elected 1294, resigned 1316

John of Westbury²³ elected 1316, died 1344

William of Skelton²⁴ elected 1344, died 1349

William of Horwood²⁵ elected 1349, resigned 1383

John Pirye²⁶ elected 1383

John Horwood²⁷ elected 1396

John Hals²⁸ elected 1420, died 1444

John Pinchbeck²⁹ elected 1444, resigned 1468

William Rogers³⁰ elected 1468, resigned 1488

Thomas Rowland³¹ elected 1488, resigned³² 1494

Pointed oval seal of the thirteenth century taken from a cast at the British Museum,³³ represents the Virgin seated on a throne under a trefoiled arch with church-like canopy which is supported on two columns, in her right hand a sceptre fleur-de-lizé, on the left knee the Holy Child with cruciform nimbus lifting the right hand in benediction, in the left hand a book. In base a prior kneeling in prayer.

Legend: s' : COMMVNIS : SANCTE : MARIE : D' LVFFEILT.

¹⁵ Ibid. 8 Edw. I. m. 21.

¹⁶ Ibid. 13 Edw. I. m. 29.

¹⁷ Ibid. m. 23 and Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Sutton

¹⁸ Pat. 15 Edw. I. m. 9.

¹⁹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Sutton.

²⁰ Pat. 17 Edw. I. m. 18.

²¹ Ibid. ²² Ibid. 23 Edw. I. m. 18.

²³ Ibid. 9 Edw. II. m. 15.

²⁴ Ibid. 18 Edw. III. pt. 2, m. 15.

²⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Gynwell, f. 240d.

²⁶ Ibid. Inst. of Bokyngham, i. 230.

²⁷ Ibid. ii. 184.

²⁸ Ibid. Inst. of Fleming, f. 49d.

²⁹ Ibid. Inst. of Alnwick, f. 131.

³⁰ Ibid. Inst. of Chadworth, f. 72d.

³¹ Ibid. Inst. of Russell, f. 63.

³² Browne Willis, *Hist. of Mitred Abbies*, ii. 27.

³³ Brit. Mus. lxix. 77.

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HOUSES OF BENEDICTINE NUNS

3. THE PRIORY OF ST. MICHAEL, STAMFORD

On the south-east side of Stamford, at the Northamptonshire end of the bridge over the Welland, lies that part of the town which is called Stamford Baron or Stamford St. Martin's. In this quarter about the year 1155 a Benedictine nunnery, dedicated to St. Michael, was founded by William of Waterville, abbot of Peterborough. The convent was originally designed on a large scale for the support of forty nuns.¹ The founder assigned to them the church of St. Martin, out of the profits of which they were to make an annual payment of half a mark to the chanter of Peterborough Abbey and 10s. to the sacrist.² Subsequent abbots conferred on the nuns the churches of Thurlby, and of St. Clement, All Saints, and St. Andrew, in the Lincolnshire portion of Stamford. Moieties of the church of Corby and the chapel of Upton were granted in the reign of Henry II. by Ascelina de Waterville and Maud de Diva, her sister, the daughters of Geoffrey de Waterville.³ These and other gifts were from time to time sanctioned by the crown. An elaborate inspeximus and confirmation was granted to the convent by Edward IV. in 1464 recording previous confirmations by Henry II., John, Henry III., Edward I., and Richard II.⁴ According to the Taxation of 1291 the temporalities and spiritualities of the priory within the diocese of Lincoln amounted to £66 13s. 4d.⁵

This priory was from the earliest time subject to the abbey of Peterborough to a remarkable extent. It was the custom on the morrow of the feast of St. Michael, when the convent paid an annual pension of a silver mark to the abbot, for the prioress in the name of her chapter to make formal recognition of their subjection, which was usually done under their common seal.⁶ The consent of the abbot was necessary to the election of each successive prioress, and to him also pertained the right of receiving the profession of the sisters; on St. James's Day, 1298, we read that Abbot William of Woodford received the profession of Joan, daughter of Sir Waleran Mortimer, at Peterborough, as a sister of St. Michael's

Priory, and wrote to the prior at Stamford to give her the veil (*quod conferret habitum*). The admission is entered in the abbey register and witnessed by several of the monks.⁷ The abbot also had the appointment and removal at pleasure of a custos or warden, occasionally termed canon and sometimes prior. The diocesan claimed the right of instituting the warden from time to time and occasionally he was duly presented. A. de Boby 1221, Richard de Scoter 1223, Henry de Silkeston 1224, Serlo de Burgo 1230, Henry de Overton 1271, Wairin 1295, Stephen de Burgh 1302, and Thomas de Stanford and William de Gretford 1334, were successively presented at Lincoln as warden of St. Michael's Priory.⁸ The warden acted as senior chaplain in the conventual church, heard the confession of the nuns, and had certain powers of supervision over the temporalities.

About the year 1230 the sisters employed a clerk to solicit a confirmation of their privileges at the Roman Court, and by their actions embroiled themselves with the abbey. Their agent in his zeal exceeded (as they alleged) his instructions, and obtained the insertion of certain articles abrogating the necessity of the abbot's sanction for the election of a prioress, and annulling the payment of pensions from several churches that had been assigned to them. The abbot and monks in consequence proceeded to take action against the nuns, who, being aware of the unfair advantage taken by their proctor, sent the prioress with the charters of their house to lay the matter before the archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans, asking for their intervention to restore to them the friendship of their powerful neighbours, and renouncing all claim to the papal privileges that had been thus unduly obtained.⁹ On the death of the prioress Alice about 1240, the nuns elected Petronilla of Stamford as their superior, the appointment being confirmed by Bishop Grossetête 'saving the rights of the abbey.'¹⁰

In 1270 Bishop Gravesend sanctioned the personal visitation of this house once a year by the abbot and two or three of the monks with power to correct and reform.¹¹ The abbot usually visited the convent in person at the feast of St. Michael. The register of the abbey shows that Abbot William of Woodford was there on 29 September, 1297. On that occasion the visitor absolved from the greater excommunication

¹ Dugdale gives an account of the foundation, and cites various charters of the founder from the register of the abbey of Peterborough *penes* John Selden, etc. *Mon.* iv. 260-1.

² The half-mark to be paid at Michaelmas was originally assigned to the abbey library, 'ad liborum emendacionem.' *Soc. of Antiq. MS.* lx. 150.

³ These and other gifts are recorded in charters cited in full by Dugdale. *Mon.* iv. 260-3.

⁴ *Pat.* 3 Edw. IV. pt. 2, m. 6.

⁵ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 74b.

⁶ *Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xxii. f. 39d*; *Cleop. C. i. f. 130*.

⁷ *Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xxii. f. 7*.

⁸ Peck, *Annals of Stamford*; *Linc. Epis. Regs. passim*.

⁹ *Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xxii. f. 39d*; Peck, *Annals of Stamford*, lib. viii. 13-14.

¹⁰ *Soc. of Antiq. MS. lx. f. 205*.

¹¹ *Ibid. f. 150*.

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three of the nuns, Alexandra de Langtoft, Cecilia Fleming, and Margery Arkeld; the offences of the two first are not named, but Margery is said to have been excommunicated for laying violent hands upon Emma, a novice, the daughter of Matthew de Eston, who had been recently admitted to the priory.¹ Abbot Godfrey de Crowland formally visited the priory on 20 July, 1300.² The result was probably *omne bene*, otherwise visitation injunctions and decrees would have been recorded in the register; the like seems to have been the case with another visitation held by the same abbot on Wednesday after the Purification, 1303.³ Shortly before this Abbot Godfrey detected some mismanagement of the revenues of the priory, and appointed Thomas of Salisbury, a monk of Peterborough, special warden for a season, with full powers over the temporalities and of adjudicating and ordering all temporal matters both within and without the convent as he should think profitable, reserving to the prior and prioress the spiritual disposition of all things concerning their house.⁴

Abbot Adam of Boothby visited the priory in the autumn of 1323. His mandate for an impending visitation, dated 6 October, was directed to the prior, prioress, and convent, and bade the prior issue visitation summonses for the Monday before the feast of St. Luke. On the appointed day the prior and prioress, with all the nuns, brethren, and lay sisters who by right or custom were obliged to be present at the visitation, assembled in the conventual church of St. Michael. The lord abbot, who had associated with himself for visitation purposes two of his fellow monks, Hugh of Stukely and Robert of Tanser, began his inquiries touching the state of the monastery, the life and conversation of the prior and prioress, as also of the nuns and other persons there abiding. The reality of the visitation, which included private interrogation of each member of the house, is evident from the fact that the inquiry extended over the whole of Monday and Tuesday, so that it was found necessary to adjourn the visitation of the hospital of St. Thomas and the lazar-house of St. Giles of Stamford Baron, which were also under the abbot's jurisdiction, until the Wednesday.⁵

The sad story of Sister Agnes of this house, extending over nine years, so far as it can be gleaned from the episcopal registers, affords striking evidence of the zeal and painstaking determination of Bishop Dalderby. In 1309 the bishop excommunicated Agnes de Flixthorp (*alias* de Wissenden), nun of the house of St. Michael without Stamford, for apostasy in leaving the monastery and leading a secular life, and warned all persons not to receive her into their houses

nor give her aid or counsel, and that any who did so should be cited to appear before the bishop.⁶ In 1310 the bishop sent a letter to the crown authorities asking for the arrest of Agnes, an apostate. She was then living at Nottingham, and the archdeacon was instructed to warn her to return to her monastery, resume the habit, and submit to discipline.⁷ In the same year the bishop caused it to be generally proclaimed that Agnes de Flixthorp, a nun of this house, was leading a worldly life, and lay under excommunication. He also addressed a letter to the abbot of Peterborough to see to her being taken back to her monastery, and there shut up and guarded by persons whom he could trust, forbidding all the sisters of the house to go to her, except for the health of her soul, under pain of excommunication. The defaulter was then secured and returned to Stamford. Her imprisonment was to be very rigid, for a further letter to the prioress of St. Michael's ordered that Agnes should be confined in a chamber with stone walls, and that each leg (*utramque tibiam*) should be shackled with fetters until she consented to resume her habit.⁸ In March, 1311, the bishop sent a letter to Ada, sister of William de Helewell, instructing her to take the custody of Agnes, the apostate nun of St. Michael's without Stamford. In August of the same year the bishop issued his mandate to the official of the archdeacon of Lincoln, the rector of Barnack, and another, to go to the convent of St. Michael, and there to inquire, by the confession of Agnes and others, into the truth of the matter of her apostasy; for Agnes had declared that she was never professed, as she was married to one whose name she refused to give before she entered religion, and still continued in her obstinacy.⁹ The report of this commission is not entered in the diocesan register, but the substance of it can be gathered from a letter addressed by the bishop of Lincoln to the bishop of Exeter in November of the same year. In that letter it was stated that Agnes Flixthorp, after having been a professed nun of St. Michael's for twenty years, left the house and was found wearing a man's gilt embroidered gown; that she was brought back to her house, excommunicated, and kept in solitude; and that she remained obstinate and refused to put on her religious habit. The bishop, thinking it desirable that she should be removed from the diocese for a time, prayed his brother of Exeter that she might be received into the house of Cornworthy,¹⁰ there to undergo penance, and to be kept in safe custody away from all the sisters. A mandate was at the same time sent to the prioress of St. Michael's to deliver Agnes to Peter de Helewell, clerk, to be

⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Dalderby, f. 137.

⁷ Ibid. f. 152.

⁸ Ibid. ff. 161, 167b, 168.

⁹ Ibid. ff. 180d, 199.

¹⁰ Cornworthy was a Devonshire priory of Austin nuns.

¹ Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xxii. f. 33.

² Ibid. f. 53.

³ Ibid. f. 57d.

⁴ Ibid. f. 78d.

⁵ Ibid. f. 54.

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conveyed to Cornworthy.¹ In December, 1312, the poor woman declared her penitence, and the bishop of Exeter was commissioned to absolve her;² but there must have been a relapse, for the unhappy Agnes remained in solitary confinement at Cornworthy until August, 1314, when Peter de Helewell was commissioned to bring her back to Stamford.³ The register of Bishop Dalderby contains yet one more entry relative to the 'apostate,' who in truth was probably a lunatic. In September, 1318, a letter was addressed to the prioress, wherein it was recited that Agnes Flixthorp had three times left her order and assumed a secular habit, and had then for two years remained in the world; the prioress was ordered, under pain of excommunication, and without any dissimulation, to find Agnes and bring her back to the convent as an obstinate apostate, and to keep her in safe custody at her peril. She was to be kept in solitude, to receive no letter or messages, and to undergo the discipline.⁴ There is no further information as to Agnes; Bishop Dalderby died about a year after this injunction, and it is but charitable to hope that no further steps were taken to secure the poor woman.

This house, in common with most religious foundations in Northamptonshire, suffered severely in the visitation of the plague in 1349. The small adjacent nunnery of Wothorpe was united in 1354 with the larger house of St. Michael, as described in the account of the former. Bishop Gynwell in his confirmation of the union speaks in the warmest terms of St. Michael's, and states that the amalgamation was granted at the express petition of the prioress and convent, setting forth the losses they had incurred through the recent epidemic, and in order that hospitality might be maintained.⁵ The bishop in 1359 granted the nuns a licence to beg alms in order to assist them in their poverty.⁶ Some years later the diocesan issued an inhibition to the prioress and convent forbidding the residence of any secular persons within the precincts of the priory, as being prejudicial to religion.⁷

Entries relating to this priory in the fifteenth century are rare. The prioress, Agnes Leek, appointed in 1413, resigned on 12 August, 1429, as set forth at some length in the register of Abbot John Deeping. The declaration of the prioress is entered in English. She describes herself as 'perioresse of ye nunnes of ye pryorye of Seynt Michel by syde Stamford of ye order of Cistewes of ye diocye of Lincoln'; her resignation was not brought about by constraint, 'nor by strength, drede, nor decyt induced bot purely wyllfully sympylly and absolutely and by myne own fre and greable wytte.' Licence was at once granted

by the abbot to the nuns to choose a successor.⁸ This reference to the priory being of the Cistercian order is, we believe, an error of either Prioress Agnes or the scribe. The house is elsewhere expressly described as Benedictine, and as it was founded by a Benedictine abbot, it is scarcely likely that it would have followed the reformed rule of Cîteaux. In January, 1457-8, the bishop of Lincoln granted the prioress and nuns a licence to lease out and dispose of the fruits and revenues of any of their appropriated churches.⁹

Margaret Stainbarn was prioress on 29 September, 1528, when she executed on behalf of her convent a curious lease, which in view of the storms at that time gathering between the king and Rome was certainly a shrewd bargain. In return for a yearly rental of £6 13s. 4d. she made a lease for two years to Isaac Mychell of Blandford, Dorset, of 'all the comoditeys profetts and advantageys that by the Reyson or occasyon off all Indulgencies, pardons, and faculteys, be gyffen to the seyd Monastery by divers Holy Fathers, Popes of Rome. . . . So that yt shalbe lafull to the seyd Isaac and to hys lafull assignes, in the Dyocese of Salysbury, Wynchester, Bathe, Excetter, Saint Davyd, London, and Canterbury, to declare the seyd Pryvylegeys and pardons, and to gedder the Brotherhed and Devocion of good Crystyn people, to hys best advantage and profet.' Payment was to be made at four yearly terms at the 'Crosse Aultar in the hye quere of the seyd Monastery,' beginning on Christmas Day next.¹⁰

The value of the house was declared in the Valor of 1535 at £65 19s. 9d.¹¹; it was suppressed with other houses of a less yearly value than £200 yearly.¹² Isabel Savage, the last prioress elected shortly before the suppression, obtained a pension of £8.¹³ The site and demesne lands of the priory were granted by Henry VIII. to Richard Cecil 'of the Household.'¹⁴ Francis Peck, who published the *Annals of Stamford* in 1727, says:— 'Nothing of the monastery or church is now standing, but the site is well known, and at this day called the Nunns in St. Martin's. There are divers traditions both of the beauty of the church and the stately remains pulled down in the memory of man; these last not without the loss of his life who threw down the first stone and the leg of another labourer miserably broken.'¹⁵

PRIORESSES OF STAMFORD

Alice,¹⁶ died about 1240
 Petronilla of Stamford,¹⁷ elected about 1240
 Mabel le Venur,¹⁸ appointed 1306, resigned
 1337

⁸ Add. MSS. 25,288, ff. 14, 141b-142.

⁹ Madox, *Form. Anglic.* dxc.

¹⁰ Ibid. ccli.

¹¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 140-1.

¹² *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiii. pt. 2, 1195.

¹³ Ibid. xiii. pt. 1, 575.

¹⁴ Ibid. p. 580.

¹⁵ Lib. v. p. 7. ¹⁶ Soc. of Antiq. MS. lx. f. 205.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xxii. f. 50.

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Dalderby, f. 206.

² Ibid. f. 235. ³ Ibid. f. 272. ⁴ Ibid. f. 274b.

⁵ The sanction is given in full in the *Monasticon*, iv. 268.

⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Gynwell, f. 117.

⁷ Ibid. Memo. of Bokyngham, ii. 357.

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Mabel de Reyby,¹ elected 1337
 Agnes de Brakenburgh,² elected 1359
 Isabel of Maltby, occurs 1370
 Agnes Leek,³ appointed 1413, resigned 1429
 Margaret de Gudchepe,⁴ occurs 1486
 Margaret Stainbarn,⁵ occurs 1528
 Isabel Savage,⁶ occurs 1538

The small round seal of the priory, of which there is a cast at the British Museum,⁷ represents St. Michael in conflict with the dragon; on the right is a figure kneeling in prayer. Legend:—
 O IOH' EST' MICHAEL ME PTEGE PESTE

4. THE PRIORY OF WOTHORPE⁸

It is impossible to ascertain with certainty when and by whom this small Benedictine nunnery, dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Mary, was founded. According to the pseudo-Ingulf, a foundation existed here as early as the reign of Henry I.⁹ The earls of Kent were the patrons of the convent, and its superiors, chosen by the community and approved by the patron, received confirmation from the bishop on their appointment. The names of different prioresses are entered in the Lincoln episcopal registers.

The priory itself was situated at Great Wothorpe on the hill, and the only endowment that it appears to have possessed was the rectory of the adjacent parish church of Wothorpe which has long since disappeared.¹⁰ A vicarage was formally ordained and the rest of the proceeds assigned to the nuns in accordance with the decrees of the third Lateran Council of 1215. The bishop in 1292 granted an indulgence to all penitents who should contribute alms towards the repair of the buildings of the prioress and nuns, then in a ruinous condition.¹¹ In 1323 Bishop Burghersh ordered an inquiry to be made into certain irregularities within the priory caused by discords raised among the nuns by sister Joan de Bonnwyche.¹²

All the inmates of this house, save one, died or were dispersed after the Black Death of 1349, and so disastrous was the effect of this terrible visitation on the finances of the priory that on

11th March, 1353-4, Sir Thomas Holland and Joan his wife, daughter of Edward of Woodstock earl of Kent, the patrons, obtained from the king a licence for the bishop to unite this slenderly endowed foundation with the adjacent nunnery of St. Michael, Stamford, making over to the latter the appropriation of the church of Wothorpe, together with all other possessions of the deserted house.¹³ The bishop of Lincoln, who seems to have made the surviving nun of Wothorpe, Agnes Bowes, prioress, in order to maintain that convent's rights, sanctioned the union on 11 June, 1354, to take place so soon as the prioress should die, resign, or be removed,¹⁴ the prioress and convent of St. Michael in their petition for the annexation setting forth the losses they had sustained and the difficulty of maintaining accustomed hospitality. The diocesan stipulated that the proceeds of the priory, with the rectory of Wothorpe, should be applied to the support of the infirmary and kitchen of St. Michael's, and that the prioress and convent should maintain a chaplain in the parish church of Wothorpe to celebrate daily and to minister to the spiritual needs of the parishioners there day and night.¹⁵

At the dissolution the manor, rectory, and advowson of the vicarage of Wothorpe were granted by the crown to Richard Cecil.¹⁶

PRIORESSES OF WOTHORPE

Denise of Caldwell,¹⁷ 1224
 Maud of Glington,¹⁸ died 1290
 Isoda or Isolda of Wyrthorp,¹⁹ elected 1290, died 1313
 Emma of Pinchbeck,²⁰ elected 1313
 Agnes Bowes,²¹ collated 1349

¹³ The king's licence states that 'the convent, being poorly endowed, was, by the pestilence which lately prevailed, reduced to such poverty that all the nuns but one, on account of their penury, had dispersed.' Pat. 28 Edw. III. pt. 1, m. 16.

¹⁴ This same Agnes deserted the convent of St. Michael in 1359; a commission was appointed to inquire and bring her back. Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Gynwell, f. 117.

¹⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Gynwell, cited by Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 268.

¹⁶ Pat. 32 Hen. VIII. pt. 7.

¹⁷ She was a nun of St. Michael, Stamford. Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Wells.

¹⁸ Ibid. Roll of Sutton.
¹⁹ Ibid. Bridges (*Hist. of Northants*, ii. 593) states that Isoda was probably succeeded by Ascelina, who through levity of mind resigned her office; but the register of Bishop Sutton with two entries desiring the prioress and convent to receive back sister Ascelina, who 'through levity of mind and irreligiousness went out of the monastery,' does not state that she held office. Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Sutton, f. 154, and Inst. of Sutton, f. 218.

²⁰ Ibid. Inst. of Dalderby, f. 122d. Bridges in his list makes her to be preceded by another Isolda, but this is probably the same Isolda who was elected in 1290. *Hist. of Northants*, ii. 953.

²¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 267.

¹ Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xxii. f. 106.

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Gynwell, f. 112d.

³ Add. MSS. 25,288, ff. 14, 141d-142.

⁴ Lansd. MS. 825, f. 52. ⁵ Madox, *Form. Anglic.* cl.

⁶ She received a pension in that year as last prioress, *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiii. pt. 1, p. 575.

⁷ B. M. lv. ii. 37.

⁸ There are considerable varieties in the early spelling of this township of the parish of St. Martin's, Stamford: Wyrthorp, Wirthorp, Wrythorp, Wridthorp, Wridtorp, Wulsthorp, Worthorp, and Wothorp are all found in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

⁹ Gale, *Rerum Anglic. Script.* 115.

¹⁰ Peck, *Annals of Stamford*, lib. xi. 51.

¹¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Sutton f. 13.

¹² Ibid. Memo. of Burghersh, f. 103d.

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HOUSES OF CLUNIAC MONKS

5. THE PRIORY OF ST. ANDREW, NORTHAMPTON

The priory of St. Andrew, Northampton, was founded between 1093 and 1100 by Simon de St. Liz, earl of Northampton.¹ According to an account given in the chartulary of the monastery,² Simon was the younger of two brothers—*strenuissimi milites*—who accompanied the Conqueror to England in 1066. The elder, Garnerius le Ryche, on the death of their father returned to France to claim the paternal inheritance; Simon remained to take his chance as a soldier of fortune. On the disgrace and death of Waltheof, earl of Huntingdon, the king bestowed his eldest daughter Maud in marriage on the favourite together with the honour of Huntingdon,³ and Simon de St. Liz became the first earl of Northampton of that name. In 1084 he is said to have founded the priory, which is described by Leland⁴ as situated on the north-west side of Northampton, abutting on the town walls and bordering on the river Nen, and planted there monks from the powerful priory of St. Mary de Caritate or La Charité-sur-Loire, France, to which it was henceforth a cell.

During the reign of Henry I. the earl of Northampton died on his homeward journey from the Holy Land at La Charité and was buried there. His heir, Simon the younger, was placed in the custody of David, brother of the king of Scotland, to whom the king granted the hand of the widowed countess. Both he and Simon the third earl were buried in the priory church.⁵

The new foundation was largely endowed by the noble founder and his descendants.⁶ Simon the first earl in conjunction with Maud his wife confirmed to the monks of Caritate the

possession of their own church and the gift of all the other churches of Northampton.⁷ Simon the younger, his son bestowed on them a tenth of his profits from the fairs of All Saints, Northampton,⁸ and confirmed the gift by Maud de Mandeville of the manor and church of Sywell.⁹ Simon the third earl signified to Robert, bishop of Lincoln, that he had granted the church of Potton to the monks of St. Andrew for the good of his soul and for the souls of his father and mother,¹⁰ and 'on the day of the burial of Simon my son' he bestowed the advowson of the church of Whissendine, in pure and perpetual alms on the brethren.¹¹ Among other benefactions Henry I. gave to the monks the church of St. Sepulchre with four acres of his demesne for the soul of his father and mother,¹² as well as the church of St. Giles,¹³ and confirmed all gifts granted by the first earl Simon with an annual rent charge of 40s. out of the town of Bedford, the gift of the Countess Maud.¹⁴ Hugh of Wells, bishop of Lincoln, 1209–1235, at the request of the monks, confirmed the following churches in their possession: All Saints, St. Giles, St. Michael, St. Sepulchre, St. Mary, St. Gregory, St. Peter with its appurtenances the church of Kingsthorpe and chapel of Upton, St. Edmund, St. Bartholomew, and the chapel of St. Thomas; the churches of Ryhall and Exton (Rutland), 'Newenton' (Newton), Sywell, Moulton, Brafield, Preston, Billing, Horton, Quinton, Hardingstone, 'Stotesbyry,' Sulgrave, and Potton.¹⁵ According to the Taxation of 1291, the priory held spiritualities in the diocese of Lincoln amounting to £30 12s., their temporalities in the same amounted to £54 16s. 8d.¹⁶

The position of this Cluniac house thus largely endowed, and in the possession of all the churches of Northampton, was one from the first of great importance and influence. One of the earliest

¹ No importance can be attached to the statement of Ingulf that in 1076 he found at Crowland two monks who had been professed at St. Andrew's. *Ingulf* (Gale ed.), 76. The usually accepted date for the foundation of this priory is 1084, but Mr. Round (*V. C. H. Northants*, i. 293) has shown that it is probably about ten years later.

² Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xvii. f. 1.

³ Ingulf states that the Conqueror first offered Judith the widow, but that she refused Simon on account of his lameness. *Ingulf* (Gale ed.), 72–3. Dugdale, *Baronage*, i. 56, 58.

⁴ Leland, *Itin.* (Herne ed.), i. 9.

⁵ Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xvii. f. 9.

⁶ In the fine chartulary of the monks of St. Andrew's containing innumerable grants to this wealthy house appear the names of different kings of England as benefactors, as well as of David, earl of Huntingdon, brother of the king of Scotland, who afterwards ascended the Scotch throne; Malcolm, king of Scotland; Henry, son of the king of Scotland; and William, king of Scotland.

⁷ Royal MS. 11 B. ix. f. 55d.

⁸ Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xvii. f. 3.

⁹ Ibid. f. 3d.

¹⁰ Ibid. f. 4.

¹¹ Ibid. f. 6.

¹² Ibid. f. 13.

¹³ Ibid. f. 14d.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ *Pope Nich. Tax.* The entries relating to this priory have been extracted by Dugdale, *Mon.* v. 186, note c. An entry in the chartulary of the monks states that Prior Canon on his preferment to the house in 1320 found the priory, according to an old document (*veteri papiro*) of Prior Guichard de Kariloco 1316, seised of the following churches in 'proprios usus': All Saints, St. Sepulchre, St. Giles, St. Edmund extra Northampton, Exton, Ryhall, Moulton, Brafield, Horton, Preston, Hardingstone and Sulgrave, and that the monks had the patronage of the churches of Potton, 'Newenton in Kesteyn,' Sywell, Weston Favell, Little Billing, Quinton, 'Stotesbyry,' as well as the churches of St. Gregory, St. Michael, St. Mary, St. Bartholomew, and the hospital of St. David of Kingsthorpe. Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xvii. f. 263.

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references we have to the house is contained in a letter of Peter the Venerable, ninth abbot of Cluny, and friend of St. Bernard, whose rule from 1122 to 1157 raised the order to the summit of fame and prosperity. It was addressed to the brethren *dilectis filiis et fratribus de Norantone*, and stated with great affection that, though it was unlikely the writer would ever visit their house in bodily presence, they were daily, nay, continually, in his thoughts. The fame of their good conversation, and particularly of Thomas, their prior, who was personally dear to him, had reached him. Thomas was an intimate friend and most beloved in Christ, and therefore nothing could be more grateful to him than to receive their gifts with others from the Cluniac houses in England. The brethren should not regret the prior's absence, for their coming together would be to the profit of all.¹

Notwithstanding its size and importance,² the priory of St. Andrew's was at times anything but popular. The priors, according to the policy of centralized government initiated by the order, were appointed by the mother house and not by the chapter. Hence the superiors were almost invariably foreigners, and were usually promoted from some smaller French house. Even then several of them spent more time on the continent than in the priory, as may be gathered from the leave of absence so frequently noted in the patent rolls. In the case of Cluniac houses, the withdrawal of a superior by the parent house was generally quite arbitrary, and *ad interim* appointments frequent.³ For the discipline and management of the monastery the sub-priors must have been very largely responsible.

The jealousy displayed by the town of Northampton towards the ecclesiastical jurisdiction exercised by this foreign priory at their very gates appears to have been shared by many of the parochial clergy, who though nominated by the prior and convent founded, or permitted the laity to found, chapels for divine offices outside the control of the priory. The brethren, however, brought this infringement of their privileges before the Roman Court, and Innocent III. in 1202 issued a mandate to the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of London and Ely (the see of Lincoln being then vacant) strictly

prohibiting this independent action of the Northampton clergy.⁴ This was not the only dispute in which the priory engaged. In 1186 Robert, then prior of St. Andrew's, entered into a solemn agreement with Vivyan, abbot of Aunay, whereby the tithes of Mears Ashby were granted to the monks of Aunay on payment annually at Michaelmas of six loads of wheat, according to the king's great measure at Northampton, in the barn at Ashby.⁵ The dispute of the prior and convent with the prior of the Knights Templars respecting the church of Hardwick was brought before the king's court in the octave of All Saints, 1199.⁶ In 1233 a quarrel between the prior and convent of St. Andrew's and Philip son of Robert de Northampton, for the advowson of the hospital of St. David's without Northampton, was settled by arbitration to the effect that the prior should have the right of patronage in the said hospital, and that Philip should present two among the brethren to the hospital, one lay and one clerical, so that the total number be not increased.⁷

Various encroachments and withdrawals of ancient service or custom are recorded against the priory in the Hundred Rolls, among others that the prior and convent, who were bound to find a chaplain to celebrate annually in the chapel of St. Martin, Northampton, for the souls of all the kings of England, had so neglected the chantry that the chapel had become ruinous, to the loss of the king and his ancestors of five marks a year and more.⁸ That they had encroached on the king's highway by the west gate of the town, had enclosed a spring called 'Nonnewoll,' with a piece of land adjoining, to the injury of the whole commonalty, and had appropriated to themselves under the wall of the town all the holmes once pertaining to the townfolk with a garden adjoining, from the holm of Giles to the water, and had enclosed a common way under the wall of the town.⁹ Another instance of the unpopularity of this alien house may be found in the account of the siege of Northampton by the king in 1264, given in the 'Annals of Dunstable,' wherein it is stated that the town which was being held by the citizens for the barons was betrayed to the royalists by a ruse of Guy, the prior of Northampton.¹⁰

The priory received various grants of royal favour from time to time. In March, 1208-9, King John signified that he had taken under his

¹ *Petri Ven. Abb. Clun. Epistolæ*, lib. ii. 8.

² Mention has already been made in the Ecclesiastical Section, p. 8 of the ever-memorable escape of Thomas à Becket from St. Andrew's, and of the holding of Parliament within its walls. On Ascension Day, 12 May, 1338, the Great Seal was delivered to the king in a chapel of the priory, who forthwith delivered it to the bishop of Lincoln for custody. In January of the following year the bishop waited on the king in a chamber of St. Andrew's Priory, wherein Queen Isabella was then lodging, and in the presence of the earls of Surrey and March delivered the seal to the king in a sealed bag.

³ See Bermondsey, *V.C.H. Surrey*.

⁴ Bodleian Charters, Northants, ch. 7.

⁵ For the due observance of this charter six priests signed as witnesses, three on one side and three on the other. *Cal. of Doc. France*, 187-8.

⁶ *Rot. Cur. Regis*, ed. by Palgrave, ii. 118.

⁷ *Cal. Anct. D.* (P.R.O.) ii. C 2280.

⁸ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 2.

⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 2, 3.

¹⁰ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.) iii. 229.

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protection the monks of St. Andrew of Northampton and their nuncios sent to preach for their church, and that they were to be protected and assisted with alms in the work of building.¹ Henry III. on 1 January, 1223-4, issued an order for the prior of St. Andrew to be allowed timber (*fusta*) for beams to build the tower of his church.² In connexion with this tower we read that on the vigil of St. Clement, 22 November, 1237, there was a vehement storm of wind and rain, and, as the chronicler describes, something wonderful, if not actually miraculous, happened at the monastery of the Blessed Andrew. As the monks were serving God in the quire, the pinnacles round the great central tower (*turres quæ circumbant turrim magnam ultra chorum*) fell with a crash, breaking through into the church after a piteous fashion; nevertheless, through divine mercy, all escaped unhurt.³ In the first year of the reign of Edward I. an order was sent to acquit the prior of St. Andrew's, Northampton, of the sum of £13 6s. 8d. in which the sub-prior and convent made fine with the late king for the custody of their houses in time of voidance, the said sum having been paid by the prior to the keeper of the wardrobe on Thursday after the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr (7 July), 1270, unless they had already received acquittance thereof by writ of the late king.⁴ The prior and convent were requested with other religious houses to aid the king with victuals for the Scotch expedition in 1310,⁵ they were summoned in 1322 to raise as many men-at-arms and foot soldiers as they could to march against the earl of Lancaster and his adherents, and to muster at Coventry on the first Sunday in Lent.⁶

In addition to other incidents of aid and subsidy the crown exercised to the full the royal prerogative of imposing pensioners as on houses of royal foundation or patronage. In April, 1311, Benedict de Watford, who had long served the

late and present king, was sent to the priory to receive food and clothing and other accessories in the house according to his estate, and to have a suitable chamber within the precincts.⁷ In October, 1316, Roger de Scardeburgh was sent to receive the allowance that John de Pycherhous, deceased, had had in the house.⁸ In September of the same year, John de Ditton, clerk, had letters to the prior and convent to receive the pension due from them to one of the king's clerks by reason of the new creation of a prior.⁹ On the appointment of a superior in 1320, Peter de Pulford, clerk, obtained royal letters for a similar pension.¹⁰ On the death of Benedict le Sejourner, Richard Swyn, the king's envoy, was sent to take his place, 12 October, 1325,¹¹ and in 1335 John Swyn, who had long served the king and his father, was sent to receive from the convent such maintenance as Richard Swyn, deceased, had had by the late king's request.¹² This last order was repeated in November, 1338,¹³ and some confusion seems to have arisen, probably owing to the fact that the grant to John Swyn was made before the death of Richard had actually occurred. The prior and convent received a request in February, 1338-9, to admit Robert de la Chapelle into the house, in place of Richard Swyn, deceased,¹⁴ and in March, 1339-40, they were peremptorily summoned to comply with the order;¹⁵ the monks having proved that they had admitted the said John Swyn by reason of a like grant long before Richard's death, the order was revoked.¹⁶

The frequent absence of its head,¹⁷ with the usual accompaniment of slack government, and other causes soon plunged even this well-endowed house into debt and difficulty. In April, 1338, Thomas, then prior, addressed a letter to the abbot of Cluny in which he stated in pitiful terms that his house was gravely burdened with debt from the defective harvests of the last two years, from the payment of royal dues, and from the heavy exactions of the papal legate, with the frequent reception of guests. He claimed that though his house was directly subject to the house of La Charité, yet all priors of their order ought to turn for aid to the great mother church of Cluny when in distress, and with considerable shrewdness pleaded that if their seriously indebted

¹ Pat. 10 John, m. 1.

² Close, 8 Henry III. m. 15.

³ Corpus Christi Coll. Camb. MS. cclxxxii. *sub anno*. This MS. is termed a Chronicle of St. Andrew's, but is in reality a chronicle of general history extending from A.D. 901 to 1339; the early part is a transcript of the Melrose Chronicle. A note in the volume says that it belonged at one time to Burton Abbey, but is evidently the work of a Northampton monk. In the latter part there are a very few entries of local interest of which the above is the most original and valuable.

⁴ Close, 1 Edw. I. m. 8. On 21 January, 1383-4, the prior and convent received acquittance of five marks paid for the temporalities during the last voidance. Close, 12 Edw. I. m. 9.

⁵ Ibid. 3 Edw. II. m. 5d.

⁶ *Parl. Writs* (Rec. Com.), ii. div. III, 1230. They were returned in 1297 from the county of Northampton as holding lands and rent to the value of £20 yearly and upwards, and as such summoned under general writ to perform military service beyond the seas. Ibid. i. 762.

⁷ Close, 4 Edw. ii. m. 7d.

⁸ Ibid. 10 Edw. II. m. 23.

⁹ Ibid. m. 25d.

¹⁰ Ibid. 13 Edw. II. m. 4d.

¹¹ Ibid. 19 Edw. II. m. 25d.

¹² Ibid. 9 Edw. III. m. 6.

¹³ Ibid. 12 Edw. III. pt. iii. m. 22d.

¹⁴ Ibid. 13 Edw. III. pt. 1, m. 14.

¹⁵ Ibid. 14 Edw. III. pt. 1, m. 34.

¹⁶ Pat. 14 Edw. III. pt. 1, m. 23.

¹⁷ Not only was attendance at the general chapter of the order compulsory, but each superior on being appointed appears to have obtained leave of absence for a period, sometimes extending to a year or even eighteen months, while he visited the mother house.

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condition came to the ears of the bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grossetête, he would instantly take into his hands all their goods. The bishop, he added, had shown such rancour towards their order, and was in particular so badly affected towards their house of Daventry, that not one of them dared to go personally before him to acquaint him with their condition.¹ The letter was forwarded by the hands of William, one of the Northampton monks, who was commended to the kindness of the abbot. The financial condition of the priory at this particular date was probably brought to a head by the papal grant of 'three years' tenths' on all ecclesiastical benefices, though, perhaps wisely, the prior refrained from so definite a statement.

Although exempt by papal authority from visitation and supervision by the ordinary, it is evident that St. Andrew's, like other houses of the order, was subject to a certain amount of control or interference by the bishop. In 1228 Bishop Wells received a letter from Stephen, prior of La Charité, asking for confirmation of Thomas de Longa Villa, as prior of St. Andrew's, in place of Ralph, former prior.² In 1258 Guy was admitted prior by Bishop Gravesend, though not without letters of protest from the mother house.³ The confirmation of several succeeding priors is recorded in the diocesan registers. The chronicle of St. Andrew states that in the year 1285 Prior Bernard de Kariloco left the house on the first Sunday in Lent and crossed the seas; and about Easter, with the common consent of their brethren, ten of the monks went to the king and represented that the prior had left them, that they were as sheep without a shepherd, and their house was desolate.⁴ In May, 1285, the temporalities of the priory were restored to Odo or Eudo, formerly prior of Longueville, on the presentation of the mother house of La Charité.⁵ According to the diocesan registers, however, Odo was not admitted prior till 1288, when Bernard, the former prior, is said to have deserted the house.⁶ The probable explanation is that the latter represents the date when formal episcopal sanction was obtained, but that Odo had acted previously on royal authority. During

the absence of Prior Odo at a general chapter in 1292,⁷ the monks obtained a new water supply by an underground conduit from a spring to the north-east of the town.⁸ Prior Bartholomew, who succeeded to the rule in 1298,⁹ together with the sub-prior, cellarer, and sacrist, was excommunicated by Bishop Dalderby in 1311 for refusing to receive William de Pocklington, a Templar, to do penance within the priory.¹⁰

The diligence of Sir G. F. Duckett in collecting the original records of the Cluniac order in the National Library of France enables us to give various extracts from the visitations of this priory, mostly of an early date. These visitations were undertaken not merely for the sake of promoting uniformity in discipline, but also for the purpose of maintaining temporal rights against encroachments, and the prevention of waste and dilapidation. The priory was visited in 1262 by priors John and Henry, of Gassicourt and Bermondsey, under the authority of the twenty-fifth abbot of Cluny. They found that the house had a debt of 272½ marks, that all divine and solemn offices were duly celebrated, that all necessities for the use of the community were sufficiently provided, and all obligations rightly carried out. In addition to this satisfactory report, it was stated that the number of the brethren was thirty-four.¹¹ During the rule of Prior Bernard de Kariloco, 1272-85, St. Andrew's was honoured by a short visit of Ivo, lord abbot of Cluny; he arrived on 17 July, 1277, and left on the following day.¹² In 1275-6 the visitation of the English Cluniac houses was undertaken by John, prior of Wenlock, and Arnulf, equerry to the abbot of Cluny. They arrived at Northampton 6 January, and found at the priory thirty brethren and a debt of 700 marks. As the priory had been visited just previously by visitors on behalf of the prior of La Charité, who had corrected everything that required amending, they forbore to make a further report.¹³ The priory was next visited in the year 1279 by the prior of Montdidier, in France, and by the prior of the English house of Lenton. The

¹ Duckett, *Chart. and Rec. of Cluny*, ii. 110, 1. In 1243 Pope Innocent IV. issued a mandate to the prior of St. Andrew's to annul whatever was done by the bishops or prelates of England to the prejudice of the Cistercian monasteries during the voidance of the apostolic see. *Cal. of Papal L.* i. 204.

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Wells.

³ Ibid. Roll of Gravesend.

⁴ Corpus Christi Coll. Camb. MS. cclxxxi. sub anno.

⁵ Pat. 13 Edw. I. m. 18.

⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Sutton, f. 14. It is here stated that admission to the house was always made by the bishop, as appeared from the registers of Bishops Wells, Grossetête, Lexington, and Gravesend, which were then extant.

⁷ In 1287 Odo absented himself beyond the seas from July to Martinmas, and from July, 1290, until the following Easter. On 26th August, 1292, he obtained safe conduct to go beyond the seas to attend a general chapter of Cluny and La Charité. Pat. 15 Edw. I. m. 6; 18 Edw. I. m. 16; 19 Edw. I. m. 25; 20 Edw. I. ms. 5, 8.

⁸ Ibid. 20 Edw. I. m. 1.

⁹ Pat. 26 Edw. I. m. 8.

¹⁰ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Dalderby, ff. 195, 198.

¹¹ Duckett, *Visitation of English Cluniac Foundations*, p. 13.

¹² Corpus Christi Coll. Camb. MS. cclxxxi. sub anno.

¹³ Duckett, *Visitation of English Cluniac Foundations*, p. 16.

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visitors arrived at St. Andrew's on 10 July, and found there twenty-five resident monks, which they reported to be about the average number. They further stated that the prior rendered all due obedience to his diocesan, and acknowledged his jurisdiction, and this had been the case for the last sixty years; that the brethren kept their rule, and all sacred and devotional services were properly celebrated; that there was a sufficiency of grain and stock up to the time of the next harvest; that the prior had taken over the house in 1272 from John, prior of Wenlock, with an ostensible debt of 272 marks, but that he found the debt was at least 100 marks more; that the present obligations were 200 marks, but that prior Bernard had leased the estate of Eastby for five years to one of the creditors, Walter de Sham, that he had made over to the said Walter for a large sum of money the living or benefice of Easton, Northants, which was worth £60, that other transactions must be explained verbally, as it would take too long to explain in writing; and that the buildings were in good repair. The visitors condemned the administration of the late prior as most objectionable and negligent. Prior Bernard, they stated, truly pleaded that when first appointed he was but a boy and somewhat careless (*aliquantulum puer et minus diligens*), but that now by God's help he carried out his duties well, honestly, and with diligence.¹ In 1314 it was reported at the general chapter that sufficient provision was not made for the infirm at the Northampton house on account of the loss of rents pertaining to the infirmary, and that the customary alms had not been distributed because the almoner, for thirty or more years, had been wrongfully deprived of twenty-five quarters of wheat, as assigned by the late Prior Odo. The prior of La Charité was ordered to see at once to the correction of these evils.² At the general chapter of 1317 the English visitors reported that brother Hugh of St. Margaret, sub-prior of Northampton, had refused to carry out the mandates of the visitors; it was ordered that the English province should see to his due punishment.³ In 1331, Conon, who was appointed prior of St. Andrews in 1320, was deputed by the abbot of Cluny to visit as his proctor all the English houses of the order.⁴ The English visitors in 1321 reported to the chapter-general at Cluny that they had received unseemly and irreverent treatment at Northampton Priory, that the prior had refused to pay according to custom their necessary expenses in moving from place to place, and that a monition proving of no avail, they had pronounced excommunication. It was decided to confirm this statement, and to

insist upon the sub-prior publishing it in chapter on certain days.⁵

On the outbreak of the war with France Edward III. seized the lands of all alien priories into his hands; but, at the petition of their superiors, in July, 1337, he granted the custody of the same to them for the payment of a yearly ferm. From that date throughout the reign we find numerous presentations by the crown to Northamptonshire and other livings pertaining to the priory duly recorded in the patent rolls. In 1337 the king appointed John de Grandisson, sub-prior, and Stephen de Bruggenorth, monk of St. Andrew's, to the custody of the priory at an annual rent of 200 marks; the custody was soon afterwards transferred to William de Thonville, prior of Newton Longville. It came, however, to the king's ears that William was managing badly, and staying at St. Andrew's with a large and costly household.⁶ The crown therefore in July, 1339, reappointed Stephen de Bruggenorth to the wardenship.⁷ This office was held by him (the post of prior being in suspension) until May, 1342, when a mandate was issued by the king to deliver up the temporalities to brother Francis, a monk of La Charité, nominated by the prior of that house to be prior of St. Andrew's. It is explained in the mandate that although the prior of La Charité was of parts then at war with England, the king had admitted the appointment because Francis was a native of Flanders, and had taken his fealty on condition that the ferm of the priory should be answered to the king during the war with Philip of Valois.⁸ In July of the same year Thomas de Pabenharn and four other of the king's sergeants-at-arms, in conjunction with Simon de Hoghton, were appointed to collect rents and pensions pertaining to the priory of St. Andrew's, many of which were in arrears, so that the prior was unable to pay his ferm.⁹ The recently appointed prior

⁵ Duckett, *Visitations and Chapters-General of Cluny*, p. 326.

⁶ Under date of 1347 it is stated in the Patent Rolls that the king had lately, at the request of Robert de Ufford, earl of Suffolk, committed to brother William de Thonville the keeping of the alien priory of St. Andrew's, so long as the priory should remain in his hands on account of the war with France, at a rent of 200 marks yearly; that the said William had afterwards petitioned to be relieved of this custody, and his prayer was granted; and that now, fearing lest he should be prosecuted in time to come by his enemies for trespasses or waste done during his custody, he prayed that he might be pardoned such possible offences by the king, as he had paid his ferm during the whole time he had the custody. A certificate to this effect was granted. Pat. 21 Edw. III. pt. 1, m. 7.

⁷ Ibid. 13 Edw. III. pt. 2, m. 26. The king assigned in December, 1341, 156 marks yearly during pleasure out of the ferm of the priory to Robert de Artoys. Ibid. 15 Edw. II. pt. 2, m. 20.

⁸ Ibid. 16 Edw. III. pt. 1, m. 1.

⁹ Ibid. pt. 2, m. 24d.

¹ Duckett, *Visitation of English Cluniac Foundations*, pp. 22, 23.

² Ibid. p. 303.

³ Ibid. p. 317.

⁴ Pat. 5 Edw. III. pt. 2, m. 28.

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obtained a grant of protection and safe conduct on 26th January, 1342-3, to last until Whitsuntide, on his departure to visit the bishops of Palestine and Frascati, cardinal-envoys from Rome to France, on business affecting himself.¹ On the resignation of Prior Francis in 1345 the prior of Wenlock, as commissary of the prior of La Charité, collated Thomas de Synarcleus to the vacant post, praying the king by letters patent to admit him. The presentee had to produce sureties that he would pay the £100 ferm for the custody, that he would act well and faithfully by the king and his subjects, and would not convey apport beyond seas.²

On the conclusion of a peace with France restitution was made 16 February, 1360-1, of the alien priories taken into the king's hand, the priory of St. Andrew's, Northampton, being included in the list.³ In February, 1385-6, when it had again devolved into the hands of the crown owing to the war, the abbot of St. James, Northampton, with the sheriff and others was appointed by Richard II. to visit and examine the condition of the house, to correct any defects that might be found, and to report thereon.⁴ The king in December, 1396, granted the custody of the priory to Thomas More and John Everdon, clerks, for as long as the war should last.⁵

In the first year of his reign Henry IV. restored the alien priories, stipulating only that they should pay to the crown as long as the war lasted the ancient apport due in time of peace to their superiors across the seas, that they should maintain monks and others to the number of the first foundation, and should join with the other clergy of the realm in all charges and subsidies due from the spirituality to the king.⁶ The priory of St. Andrew's, Northampton, was committed to Richard Napton, and the king confirmed to him and his convent the grant that he and his successors would only demand the apport in time of war; the amount is stated here to be 20s.⁷ Prior Napton in 1407 successfully maintained his right to present to the hospital of Kingsthorpe against the crown, and the king formally revoked his former presentation.⁸

That the priory had suffered greatly from the heavy war indemnity and from a constant succession of custodians appears in the charter of denization granted by Henry IV. in May, 1405. The deed recites that the house was in such ruins, and the estates of the monks had been alienated

for such long periods, that there was neither enough to maintain the convent and keep up the divine offices nor to pay the ferm which had been imposed on them. The king therefore, for the glory of God and for the souls of his progenitors, in augmentation of the divine offices and for the relief of the priory, granted, in return for the sum of £100 paid by the prior and convent, that the said house should in future be indigenous, and that the temporalities should not be seized into the king's hand in the occasion of any future war, or any tax or subsidy imposed on them as on an alien house. The community should have the right of free election, and no one should be prior unless he were English and of English birth; both prior and convent should be of English nationality, and have as much freedom as the prior and monks of Thetford or any other priory in England.⁹ Henry VI. confirmed this charter of denization, and signified that for the payment of £20 the prior and convent were henceforth free and quit of anything that might pertain to the king and his successors by reason of a vacancy in the house.¹⁰

A roll of receipts of the priory for 1455-6 by Simon Dunstall, receiver of the priory, gives details as to the property of the monks. The total amounted to £210 17s. 9½d., but after the payment of all dues, allocations, tithes, and other necessary expenses had been made, there was only a clear balance left of £89 3s. 2½d.¹¹ In November, 1469, during the rule of William Hammond, a commission was issued to the mayor of Northampton and others to arrest and bring before the king John Hamerton and Thomas Grove, monks of St. Andrew's, who had put off their religious habits, and with other evildoers had so threatened William Hammond and his fellow monks that they were unable to fulfil their monastic duties. The arrest of the offenders was not at that time effected, and in 1472 a further mandate was issued to all sheriffs, mayors, etc., to arrest these refractory monks who had spurned religion and to deliver them to the superiors of the Cluniac order for chastisement.¹² A fifteenth-century compilation of various visitation reports of English Cluniac foundations describes the priory of St. Andrew as a cell directly subject to La Charité. The number of monks, it states, varied from twenty-five to thirty; there were five daily masses, of which three were with music. The ordinary monks' loaves ought to weigh 52 pounds, and a tenth part of what was baked for conventual purposes was given to the poor.¹³

⁹ Pat. 6 Hen. IV. pt. 2, m. 25. Cited in the chartulary, Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xvii. f. 25.

¹⁰ Pat. 16 Hen. VI. pt. 2, m. 12.

¹¹ Harl. Rolls, K. 7. See also Harl. Rolls, K. 8.

¹² Pat. 12 Edw. IV. pt. 2, m. 32.

¹³ Duckett, *Visitations of English Cluniac Foundations*, p. 41.

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On the resignation of Prior Hammond in December, 1473, the choice of the convent, licence to elect having previously been obtained, fell on Thomas Sudbury, monk of St. Saviour's, Bermondsey, to whom the temporalities were restored, his election having been confirmed by the prior of Lewes as vicar and commissary of the abbot of Cluny.¹ In August, 1480, Philibert, prior of La Charité, accepted the appointment of William Brecknock, monk of St. Andrew's, void by the death of John Holder, as prior of that house; the crown granted him a licence to hold the temporalities according to the rule of the Cluniac order, saving to the king fealty; and at the same time he was appointed by the prior of La Charité proctor of all his English cells, viz., Bermondsey, Wenlock, Northampton, Pontefract, and Daventry.²

In 1488 the priory of St. Andrew's was claimed by Thomas Sudbury and William Brecknock.³ The dispute probably arose through some clash of authority between the crown and Cluny. Both claimants were cited to appear before the archbishop of Canterbury in February, 1488, but the immediate result is not recorded.⁴ However, on 11 February, 1491, William Brecknock appeared in Lambeth Palace chapel and resigned the priorship, and on the same day the archbishop re-admitted Thomas Sudbury.⁵

Thomas Yorke, *alias* Skit or Shere, became prior in 1503. He was presented by papal dispensation in 1509 to the vicarage of St. Bartholomew's, Northampton, and in 1512 to the neighbouring rectory of Holdenby.⁶ He was elected abbot of Whitby in 1517. The last prior of St. Andrew's, Francis Abree or Leicester, is given in the Valor of 1535.⁷ The clear annual value of the priory, after the many outgoings and pensions had been paid, amounted only to £263 7s. 1½d.⁸

An account of the surrender of this house 2 March, 1538, to Dr. Layton, and of the pensions granted, with the promotion of the prior to be the first dean of Peterborough, has been already given.⁹ Layton reported that the house

¹ Pat. 13 Edw. IV. pt. 2, ms. 14, 16.

² Ibid. 20 Edw. IV. pt. 1, m. 3.

³ In April, 1487, the temporalities of Wenlock were restored to Thomas Sudbury, appointed by Prior Brecknock as proctor of La Charité. Ibid. 22 Edw. IV. pt. 1, m. 22.

⁴ Lambeth Registers, Morton, f. 8.

⁵ Ibid. f. 29. The convent petitioned Henry VII. that whereas in 'late yeres past' there had been great trouble between one Thomas Sudbury 'pretending' to be prior and William Brecknock 'pretending' to be likewise, and the goods of the house had been greatly wasted and annuities granted away recklessly, he would annul all such grants, leases, and obligations except such as were approved by the chancellor and the bishop of Lincoln and another. R. of Parl. vi. 434.

⁶ Browne Willis, *Hist. of Mitred Abbies*, II, 159.

⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 313-15.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ See *Eccl. Hist.* above.

was greatly in debt, many lands sold or heavily mortgaged, and the actual walls ruinous. The site seems to have been speedily cleared of its buildings. A year after the dissolution Leland wrote after visiting Northampton: 'St. Andreas, the late monastery of blake monkes, stode yn the north parte of the toun, hard by the north gate. Simon Saincteliz the first beying erle of Northampton and Huntendone made this house: but he is not buried there; for he dyed in France and there buried. But Erle Simon the seconde and Erle Simon the 3, sunne to the seconde, were both buried in S. Andreas. There was also buried under a flat stone in the quier an archbishop.¹⁰ There was buried also one Varney that was made knight at the field of Northampton.'¹¹

It is a somewhat curious and not a little interesting fact in the history of the fabric of St. Andrew's Priory, used from time to time for so many purposes of a non-monastic character, that the Cluniac prior made no difficulty about finding the considerable accommodation required for the general chapter of the Benedictine order. Northampton was, no doubt, one of the most convenient centres in England for such a gathering; thus in 1246 when the Benedictine chapter had been summoned at Oxford on St. Matthew's Day, it was proposed that it should be adjourned to Northampton in consequence of the paucity of members, and was shortly after held there. The Benedictines had no house of their own in Northampton or the neighbourhood, and were doubtless glad to avail themselves of the accommodation provided at St. Andrew's. It is known that the general Benedictine chapter was held in this Cluniac house in 1225 (when the abbots of Westminster and Reading presided) in 1246, 1292, 1426, 1429, 1432, 1435, 1471, and in 1473 and 1481, and doubtless on other occasions that have not been recorded.¹²

PRIORS OF ST. ANDREW, NORTHAMPTON

Thomas,¹³ *temp.* Stephen
Robert Trianel,¹⁴ made abbot of Ramsey 1180
Robert¹⁵ occurs 1186
Henry¹⁶ occurs 1192
Walter¹⁷ occurs 1200
Samson¹⁸ occurs about 1220

¹⁰ The archbishop of Treves, who died while attending the council at Pipewell.

¹¹ Leland, *Itin.* (Hearne ed.), i. 9.

¹² From information kindly supplied by Mr. E. Bishop.

¹³ *Epistolae Petri Ven. Abb. Clun.* lib. ii. 8.

¹⁴ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 241.

¹⁵ *Cal. of Doc. France*, i. 187-8.

¹⁶ Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xvii. ff. 80, 82.

¹⁷ Harl. MS. 6952, f. 208.

¹⁸ Reg. of St. Andrew's, '*penes* Joh. Theyer de Coupershill *juxta* Gloucester,' f. 20, as cited in the original *Mon.* This register cannot now be traced.

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Ralf¹ resigned 1228.
 Thomas de Longa Villa² appointed 1228
 Walter³ occurs 1238
 Arnulf⁴ occurs 1246
 Ralf⁵ occurs about 1250
 Robert of Winchester⁶ occurs about 1255
 William de Fonville⁷ appointed 1256, resigned 1258-9
 Guy appointed 1258-9,⁸ resigned 1270
 John of Thetford⁹ appointed 1270, resigned 1272
 Bernard de Kariloco¹⁰ appointed 1272
 Odo¹¹ appointed 1285, died 1292-3
 Robert Darcy¹² appointed 1293, resigned 1298-9
 Bartholomew Wood¹³ appointed 1298-9, resigned 1316
 Guichard de Kariloco¹⁴ appointed 1316, resigned 1320
 William Conon¹⁵ appointed 1320
 Francis de Bruges¹⁶ appointed 1342
 Thomas de Synarcleus¹⁷ appointed 1346
 Guy¹⁸ appointed 1359
 John Dokesworth¹⁹ appointed 1387
 Thomas Culverdon²⁰ appointed 1309-10
 John of Tudenham²¹ appointed 1391
 Richard Napton²² occurs 1399
 Henry Braybrook²³ occurs 1446
 William Hammond²⁴ occurs 1469, resigned 1473
 Thomas Sudbury²⁵ elected 1473
 John Holder²⁶ died 1480
 William Brecknock²⁷ elected 1480, resigned 1491
 Thomas Sudbury²⁸ re-admitted 1491

Thomas Roche²⁹ elected 1491
 Thomas Yorke *alias* Skit or Shere³⁰ succeeded 1503
 William Rekner³¹ elected 1518
 Francis Abree *alias* Leicester³² occurs 1535, made first dean of Peterborough.

The first seal of the priory of St. Andrew is twelfth century³³ and represents the apostle seated lifting up the right hand, in his left hand a book, his feet resting on a foot board. Legend :

SIGI . . . ANCTI . A . . . DREE APOSTO . . . I DE
 NORHA

Another seal, 1259-1262, attached to a Harleian charter³⁴ is very imperfect. The obverse:

. . . . NO

Reverse : A smaller pointed oval counterseal with an eagle displayed. Legend :

+ TESTIMONIUM : CONVENTVS

Seal of Prior William de Fonville, 1258.³⁵ Pointed oval, represents St. Andrew with nimbus, three-quarter length, seated, lifting up the right hand and holding in his left a book. Legend :

+ SIGILL' PR . . IS . SC . . . REE DE . HAMTONA

Signet of Prior John Tudenham, 1394.³⁶ Oval represents St. Andrew crucified on his cross saltire in a carved and canopied niche. In base under an arch the prior half-length. Legend :

DILEXIT : ANDREAM . DNS

Seal of Prior Thomas Roche, 1422. Pointed oval, an indistinct fragment of the upper part remains representing the crucifixion of St. Andrew. Legend wanting.

6. THE PRIORY OF ST. AUGUSTINE, DAVENTRY

Hugh de Leicester, sheriff of Northamptonshire about the year 1090, placed four Cluniac monks in his church of Preston Capes; lack of water and other inconveniences, including the close proximity of Hugh's castle, rendered the place unsuitable for the establishment of a monastery and caused its removal to Daventry, where, with the permission of his lord, Simon de St. Liz, first earl of Northampton, the founder established a Cluniac priory close to the parish

²⁹ Willis, *Coll.* cited by Bridges, *Hist. of Northants*, i. 454.

³⁰ Willis, *Hist. of Mitred Abbies*, ii. 159.

³¹ Pat. 9 Hen. VIII. pt. i. m. 4.

³² *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 213.

³³ B. M. lxix. 82.

³⁴ Harl. Chart. 84 f. 40.

³⁵ Harl. Chart. 84 d. 21.

³⁶ Add. Chart. 19,951.

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Wells.

² Ibid.

³ Duckett, *Charters and Records of Cluni*, ii. 110-11.

⁴ Assize R. 614, m. 44.

⁵ Reg. of St. Andrew's *penes* Joh. Theyer, f. 21.

⁶ Prynne's *Coll.* ii. 892.

⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Gravesend.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid. ¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ The house is represented as vacant in 1288 'by the desertion of brother Bernard the last prior' (Ibid. Roll of Sutton), but the Patent Rolls (13 Edw. I. m. 18) record that the temporalities of the priory were restored to Eudo or Odo in May, 1258.

¹² Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Sutton, f. 52, and Pat. 21 Edw. I. m. 12.

¹³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Sutton, f. 66.

¹⁴ Ibid. Inst. of Dalderby, f. 136d. and Pat. 10 Edw. II. pt. 2, m. 20. ¹⁵ Ibid. 13 Edw. II. m. 16.

¹⁶ Ibid. 16 Edw. III. pt. 2, m. 1.

¹⁷ Fine R. 19 Edw. III. pt. 2, m. 22.

¹⁸ Browne Willis, *Hist. of Mitred Abbies*, ii. 159.

¹⁹ Pat. 10 Ric. II. pt. 2, m. 9.

²⁰ Ibid. 14 Ric. II. pt. 2, m. 37.

²¹ Ibid. 15 Ric. II. pt. 1, m. 16.

²² Reg. of St. Andrew, *penes* Joh. Theyer, f. 135.

²³ Vesp. E. xvii. f. 19.

²⁴ Pat. 9 Edw. IV. pt. 2, m. 20d.

²⁵ Ibid. 13 Edw. IV. pt. 2, m. 14, m. 16.

²⁶ Ibid. 20 Edw. IV. pt. 1, m. 3.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Lambeth Reg. Morton, f. 29.

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church. This, like the earl of Northampton's foundation of St. Andrew's, Northampton, was a cell of the great priory of St. Mary de Caritate or La Charité sur Loire.¹

The early endowments of the priory, whose dedication in honour of St. Augustine was somewhat unusual for a Cluniac house, were speedy and considerable.² The founder bestowed the churches of Preston Capes, Elkington, and Thorpe Mandeville, a mill at Everdon, 3 virgates of land at Fawsley, and the lands of 'Edric.' His grandson, Hugh Poer, gave the churches of West Haddon and Cold Ashby. Earl Simon gave the site of the conventual buildings, and his daughter Maud, in conjunction with her husband, Saher de Quinci, gave considerable demesne lands adjoining the site. Maud afterwards, in her widowhood, bestowed on the monks the three mills of Daventry, forbidding any to establish another save for their benefit, as well as considerable lands, the church of Daventry with its appurtenances, and a stretch of woodland for the repair of their ploughs. Certain of her bequests were charged with finding the habits and cowls of the monks, and the wine for sacramental use. Walter FitzRobert, the son of Maud by her first husband, confirmed all his mother's gifts and materially increased them, particularly in the way of fish-ponds. Among other gifts the said Walter gave the right of one day's fishing yearly in his own fish-pond before the feast of St. Augustine, a thousand herrings and ten wagon-loads of wood and twenty-four bundles of kindling for the use of the sacrist in preparing the wafers; and for the good of his soul and those of his two wives, Maud de Lucy and Maud de Bohun, he granted all the oblations due from his whole family to the support of the lamps in the church of Daventry, on condition that the chaplains of his private chapel might retain a tenth of the profits arising from the masses sung there, rendering an account of the remaining nine-tenths to the sacrist of the priory.³ A letter of Hubert Walter, the archbishop of Canterbury, 1201, addressed to the faithful in the dioceses of Lincoln and Lichfield, offered a remission of fifteen days' penance to those who, having confessed, should give their alms for the repair of the church of the monks of Daventry; this indulgence was granted for three years.⁴ An indulgence was granted to benefactors of the priory by Fulco, archbishop of Dublin, in May, 1271.⁵

Robert, the eldest son of Walter, and his brother Simon confirmed all the gifts of their family. Simon's son Walter bestowed a further rood of land in Daventry to provide an additional light at the Lady altar during mass, and bound himself and his heirs to maintain a lamp burning before the high altar all night and every day at the time of mass.⁶ The monks of Daventry held all the churches of the Leicester-shire barony of Foxton, comprising Foxton, Gumley, Scalford, and Lubenham (Leic.), Bisbrook (Rutland), and Braybrooke (Northants), as well as the churches of Staverton, Norton, and Walgrave, also in Northamptonshire.⁷ According to the Taxation of 1291 the temporalities and spiritualities of the house amounted to £45 8s. 11½d.⁸ In 1313 the monks obtained a licence from the king to acquire lands and rents to the value of £40 yearly, in satisfaction of which they added considerably in 1316⁹ and later to their previous endowment.

A bond of special amity between the two priories of Coventry and Daventry is recorded in the year 1150. Herbert being then prior of Daventry, Lawrence, prior of Coventry, confirmed the churches of Cold Ashby and West Haddon to the Cluniac community, and it was then agreed 'that if any monk of Coventry should be, by the consent of his prior and convent, sent to Daventry, out of their great affection for that house, he ought to be freely received and reside there in that regular way as if he were one of the same convent, until he should be recalled by the prior of Coventry, and in case he did depart this life during such his abode there, all solemnities to be performed for him as for a monk of Daventry. And the like were they of Coventry to perform for those of Daventry touching such as should be sent thither from Daventry. And that if any of either convent did happen to die elsewhere, one priest of each monastery (his death being known) should celebrate three masses for him, his service with "Placebo" and "Dirige" to be also performed in the convent with the corrody belonging to a monk for that day, and his name registered in the martyrology. And when any of the priors of either monastery should die, a trentall to be sung in the other convent over and above the services before recited; and moreover, every year a mass of the Holy Ghost to be celebrated, as well for the living in each monastery as for the dead. And lastly, that in all things, both spiritual and temporal, where each might assist other, they should effectually afford their aid.'¹⁰

¹ Cott. MS. Claud. D. xii. ff. 1, 109, 111. This is a fine chartulary of the priory in good preservation; it belonged to Sir William Dugdale.

² There is at the Bodleian a bull of Innocent III. (1210) confirming to the prior and monks of Daventry all their possessions. Turner's and Coxe's *Cal. of Chart. and R.* 256.

³ Cott. MS. Claud. D. xii. ff. 1, 6.

⁴ Turner and Coxe, *Cal. of Chart. and R.* 256.

⁵ Ibid. 257.

⁶ Cott. MS. Claud. D. xii. ff. 8, 9.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ *Pope Nich. Tax* (Rec. Com.), pp. 39, 53, 54b, 55, 64, 66, 67, 73.

⁹ Pat. 6 Edw. II. pt. ii. m. 8; 9 Edw. II. pt. i. m. 4.

¹⁰ Dugdale, *Antiq. of Warw.* (ed. Thomas), i. 159.

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Joybert, an influential Norman of high birth, was a monk of La Charité, esteemed so much for his prudence in secular matters that the abbot of Cluny arranged for him to take control of the English priories of Bermondsey, Wenlock, and Daventry.¹ The exact time when he was appointed to Daventry cannot be precisely stated; but in 1198, on the restoration of the monks of Coventry after their expulsion by Bishop Hugh de Nonant, Joybert was made prior of Coventry by Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury. He appears to have held the two priories of Coventry and Daventry together for a time during a period of considerable ecclesiastical strife.

Reyner states that during his rule of Daventry Joybert succeeded in separating the priory from the body and discipline of the Cluny congregation, and that the house was subsequently summoned to the general chapter of the black monks of St. Benedict.² The question of the subjection of Daventry to the original mother house of La Charité or its severance therefrom is an intricate one; on the one hand Daventry is not included in the visitations actually made by visitors of the Cluniac order in 1262, 1275-6, and 1279,³ and the omission of any account or reference to it is significant; on the other hand a fifteenth-century document enumerating the English and Scotch foundations of Cluny, and apparently compiled from visitation-reports of 1298, 1390, and 1405, states that the priory of St. Augustine of Daventry, near Northampton, in which the religious community consisted of 18 brethren, 'is a cell directly subject to the priory of La Charité.'⁴

This vexed question of jurisdiction arose early in the thirteenth century, and in the days of William de Bouay, who succeeded to the rule in 1217, there was an appeal to Rome, in consequence of which the papal commissioners in 1221 put the affairs of the priory into the hands of the bishop of Lincoln,⁵ and it may be noted that from this time the names of superiors are all English. The diocesan registers record that Nicholas of Ely was appointed in 1231, on the death of Prior Walter of Sawbridge, with the consent of Walter, son of Simon the patron.⁶ In the same year Pope Gregory IX. ordered the bishop of Ely, the archdeacon of Sudbury, and the chancellor of Cambridge, to hear and adjudge the

complaint of the prior and convent of La Charité against the bishop of Lincoln and his action in reference to the priory of Coventry which belonged to their house. Among other things it was alleged that the bishop had compelled the monks of Daventry to elect a prior, threatening to expel them if they did not, and had instituted him to Coventry, whereupon he was excommunicated by the prior of La Charité; that on his death, when the prior of La Charité instituted another, the bishop would not let him enter the priory, but did him grievous injury, although the brethren of the order of Cluny had an indult which exempted them from obedience to any bishop.⁷

The diocesan registers prove that though there was probably no formal separation on the part of Daventry from the Cluniac rule and *de jure* they remained subject as a cell to La Charité, yet the community from this time elected their own prior and presented him to the bishop for confirmation and institution after his appointment had been approved by the patron, and thus *de facto* came under the jurisdiction of the ordinary.⁸ Bishop Gray, 1431-6, is recorded to have made a visitation of this house; his subsequent injunctions were merely formal.

In 1284 an interesting agreement was made between the prior and convent and their patron, Robert FitzWalter, lord of Daventry, and Petronilla his wife, to the effect that the said Robert and Petronilla whenever resident in their mansion house should have mass and other religious offices celebrated in their chapel for themselves, their family and guests during their lives. The chapel should, however, have no bell, the chaplain should be maintained at their expense, all offerings made in the chapel should be transferred to the sacrist of the priory, no espousals or purifications should be performed there, and no confessions heard except at the point of death. High mass should not be sung there on Christmas Day, Candlemas Day, or Easter Day, and no mass celebrated in the chapel on Whit Sunday, St. John Baptist Day, or on the dedication day of the church of Daventry, unless Robert or Petronilla should be ill. It was also covenanted that the privilege of this domestic chapel should not extend to the heirs

¹ *Cal. of Papal L.* i. 126. The letter in 1238 of Thomas, prior of St. Andrew's, Northampton, to the abbot of Cluny in reference to the financial condition of his house, states that the bishop of Lincoln, Gros-tête, had displayed considerable rancour against the order, to so marked a degree, he adds, against the house of Daventry that none of the monks dared to appear before him.

² In 1281, on the resignation of John of Staverton, licence for election having previously been obtained from Robert FitzWalter, the monks elected Robert de Wynewike, but the bishop on the grounds of his illegitimacy annulled the selection, and they subsequently chose their sub-prior, William of Lemington. *Linc. Epis. Reg.* Roll of Sutton.

¹ Matth. Paris, *Hist. Minor* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 67. From the wording of this passage it seems probable that he may have had charge of the temporal affairs of these three monasteries at the same time, without being actually prior. His name, moreover, is not given in the *Annales* of Bermondsey, of which Richard Norman was prior from 1189 to 1201.

² Reyner, *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia* (1626), p. 141.

³ Duckett, *Visitations of English Cluniac Foundations*, pp. 11, 14, 20.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 42.

⁵ *Linc. Epis. Reg.* Roll of Wells,

⁶ *Ibid.*

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or successors of the present patron.¹ On 25 July, 1331, the then lord of Daventry obtained a licence to release to the convent in mortmain all the right he and his heirs should have during the voidance of the priory to any of the chattels or horses of the Prior or cellarer, saving the right to place someone at such a time at the gate of the monastery to help the porter in the custody thereof. At the same time the convent obtained the acknowledgement of their right of free election for the future without seeking the licence of the patron or his heirs.² Prior Peter de Horpole in 1337 successfully maintained the right of the priory to the grinding of all the malt used for brewing within the town of Daventry.³ He died in 1352, and a licence for the election of his successor, John of Fawsley, was obtained from Henry, duke of Lancaster,⁴ to whom the manor of Daventry had been conveyed in 1350.⁵

Prior William de Grendon was appointed by Bishop Bokyngham in 1388 to collect within the diocese the moiety of the tenth granted by the clergy of the province of Canterbury to the crown. He and his co-collector, the prior of Bulington, met with so much opposition from certain ecclesiastics that they had to be reinforced by a royal writ of aid.⁶ During the rule of the said William a dispute arose between the priory and the townspeople which was settled in March, 1391, by an agreement given in the chartulary of Daventry:—

‘This composicion following is translate out of Frenche, and it is for the fredome and liberties for cariage thorowe the church yerde of Daventre and sealed with the Duke of Lancastre seal.

‘This endentur made betwen the prioure and convent of Daventre persones of the parishe church sett withinne the same priorie and bytween the good ffolkes of the same towne parishoners of the seid parishe church witnessethe that where certen debates and discencions have been bytween them by cause that ye sayd parisshoners hav done to ryng their belles within the sayde church on dayes so yerly a five ye houre of rysyng of ye sayde priour and convent so often and in such maner that ye sayd priour and convent thereof haue ben diseased and distourbed of their rest and ye lasse disposed to do dyvyne service the day foloyng consyderyng their rysyng at mydnyght matens for to say as their order requireth and also by cause that ye sayde priour and convent afore saide have made chace and rechace with their cartes and other cariages within and through the church yerde of ye sayde church claymyng to have a wey for their ease wych

thyng suffred bysemeth to ye sayde parishons to be to theym dyshoneste and grevaunce by cause that ther ancestres and ffriends have ther ben buried. The parties aforesayde for gode reste off that on partie and of ye other and for eschewyng such debates and discencions to be in tyme commyng ben accorded in ye presence of ye ryght myghty prynce John Duke of Guyene and of Lancastre in maner that here foloweth. That ys to say that ye sayde parisshons schale do ryng afore masse within ye sayde church ye dayes in ye mornyng on conuenbull peeple and ryngyng with on belle and at ye benacion of ye sacrament of ye same masse thre knylynges oonly afore ye rysyng of ye sayde priour and convent aforesaide and also that ye sayde priour and convent for them and for ther tenanntes schall have a wey at their ease in maner as ther have hadde of auncient tyme for to chace and rechace their cariages after as their busines schall require within ye sayde church yerde withowte distourbing dyvyne service to be don within ye forsayde parish church and ther schall be a gate open ye sayde churchyerde to be schette and with tweyn lockes and keyes locke of ye whych keyes won of them schall rest in ye warde and kepyng of ye sayde priour and convent and that ther key in ye kepyng of ye sayde parisshioners, in wytnesse of wych thyng aforesayde the sayde duke to ye partes of thes indentures hathe do put hys seale given att Kenyllworth the xvijth day of Marche the yere of ye reign of owre tres doughted lorde Kyng Richard the Seconde after ye conquest the xiiijth.’⁷

Prior John Ashby, who succeeded in 1408, obtained a pension on his resignation in 1420, together with the use of a chamber called ‘le Oryall,’ a silver cup, three silver spoons, etc.⁸ Thomas Knight, who was elected prior in 1444, was consecrated bishop of St. Asaph on 14 February 1450–1; he was allowed to hold the priory *in commendam*. The diocesan issued injunctions in December, 1459, ordering him to produce the bull enabling him to hold both bishopric and priory up to Easter 1461; he was ordered not to

⁷ Cott. MSS. Claud. D. xii. f. 3.

⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Fleming, f. 212.

Prior John of Staverton on his resignation in 1281 had a liberal allowance made him which was confirmed by the bishop. He was to continue to occupy his usual chambers under the dormitory, with the solar, cellar and chapel adjoining, with a monk to continually dwell with him and assist him, to have a double monk’s corrody with pittances, and £4 of silver yearly; he should provide himself and his two servants with clothing and boots, but the monk should have his clothing from the monastery (Ibid. Roll of Sutton). His successor, William of Lemington, resigned in 1288, and a pension of 10s. a year was assigned him out of lands held by the vicar of West Haddon, together with a pension of £4 10s. a year paid out of Cold Ashby by the monks of Pipewell. Cott. MS. Claud. D. xii. f. 10.

¹ Cott. MS. Claud. D. xii. f. 10.

² Pat. 5 Edw. III. pt. 2, m. 26.

³ Ibid. 2 Edw. III. pt. 1, m. 38d.

⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Gynwell, f. 149.

⁵ He died seised of it in 1361. Inq. p.m. 35 Edw. III. No. 122.

⁶ Pat. 11 Ric. II. pt. 2, m. 11.

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reside in the priory more than one month in the year, and enjoined not to keep there more than three horses and two servants.¹ He resigned Daventry in 1460, but retained the bishopric till his death in 1471.

In aid of Cardinal Wolsey's proposed collegiate establishment on a magnificent scale at Oxford, Pope Clement VII. granted a bull in September, 1524, which was ratified by the king in the following January, for the dissolution of the Oxford priory of St. Frideswide and of several of the lesser monasteries, among which was included the priory of Daventry. The formal dissolution of the house was executed on 16 February, 1524-5, at the hands of Dr. John Alen, canon of Lincoln, in the presence also of Thomas Cromwell, Anthony Husy, and William Butler. The surrender was signed by Prior Alexander Colyns.² Long before the completion of Cardinal College came Wolsey's fall and death, and the revenues appropriated to its support were seized by the crown. In 1532 the project was continued on a smaller scale, under the title of King Henry VIII. College in Oxford, and the Daventry possessions were conveyed to the collegiate establishment, and subsequently to the dean and chapter of Christ Church.

PRIORS OF DAVENTRY

- Osbert,³ occurs 1135
- Herbert,⁴ occurs 1146
- Joybert,⁵ about 1198
- Benedict,⁶ appointed 1204
- Alelm,⁷ occurs 1208
- William de Bouay,⁸ appointed 1217
- Walter of Sawbridge,⁹ appointed 1225, died 1231
- Nicholas of Ely,¹⁰ appointed 1231, died 1264
- Robert of Hellidon,¹¹ elected 1264, died 1269
- John of Staverton,¹² elected 1269, resigned 1281
- William of Lymington,¹³ elected 1281, resigned 1289
- Peter of Esseby,¹⁴ elected 1289
- Peter of Horpole,¹⁵ elected 1327, died 1352

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Chadworth f. 49.

² *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* iv. pt. 1, 1137 (5).

³ Cott. MS. Claud D. xii. f. 82d.

⁴ Ibid. f. 156d.

⁵ Reynier, Ralph, James, Richard, and Sampson were all priors of Daventry during the last half of the twelfth century; they probably ruled in the order given, but the precise dates cannot be given, as their names only occur in undated charters. Joybert, who is said to have been put over Daventry, Wenlock, and Bermondsey, was appointed prior of Coventry in 1198. *Matth. Paris. Hist. Minor* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 67.

⁶ Cott. MS. Claud. D. xii. f. 104d.

⁷ Ibid. f. 110. ⁸ Ibid. f. 576. ⁹ Ibid. f. 172.

¹⁰ Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Wells.

¹¹ Ibid. Roll of Gravesend.

¹² Ibid. ¹³ Ibid. Roll of Sutton. ¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Cott. MS. Claud. D. xii. f. 172.

John of Fawsley,¹⁶ elected 1352, died 1360
Thomas of Stockingford,¹⁷ elected 1360, died 1361

William of Grendon,¹⁸ elected 1361, died 1396

William Rothwell,¹⁹ elected 1396

John Ashby,²⁰ elected 1408

John Daventry,²¹ elected 1415

Robert Man,²² elected 1425

Thomas Knight,²³ elected 1444, resigned 1460

William Bromley,²⁴ elected 1460

William Lane,²⁵ elected 1475

Thomas Ilston,²⁶ elected 1482, died 1515

Alexander Colyns,²⁷ elected 1515, resigned on the dissolution of the house, 1524-5

The pointed oval seal of the priory, mottled green in colour, with fine but imperfect impression, attached to a charter of Prior William de Bouay about 1217,²⁸ is of twelfth-century style of art, and represents St. Augustine with pall and mitre, having long strings, seated on a throne, his right hand raised in benediction, in his left hand a pastoral staff.

The legend is wanting.

A fragment of the centre of a seal similar to above in design, brownish-white in colour, is attached to a charter of the year 1239.²⁹ The reverse is the fragment only of a small pointed oval counterseal; all that remains is the word PRIORIS in the legend.

Attached to a charter dated 1295³⁰ is another fine example of the first seal given above, green in colour; the edge has been chipped, but part of the legend is still legible on the obverse:—

+ SIG AVGVSTINI . DE DAVINTREO

The reverse is the smaller pointed oval counterseal of Prior Peter de Esseby, and represents, in a double niche with two arches of sloping sides, crocketed, and having a small spire or pinnacle between, on the left an archbishop with mitre and pall, lifting up the right hand in benediction and holding in his left hand a crozier; and on the right a bishop with mitre, lifting up his right hand in benediction, holding in his left hand a pastoral staff. In base under a plinth on which is the inscription FR . PETRUS, the prior half length in prayer, to the left an estoile, and a crescent on the right. Legend:—

+ s' FRIS PETRI . PRIORIS . DE . DAVENTRO.

¹⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Gynwell, f. 149.

¹⁷ Ibid. f. 179. ¹⁸ Ibid. f. 186.

¹⁹ Ibid. Inst. of Bokyngham, ii. f. 182.

²⁰ Ibid. Memo. of Fleming, f. 212.

²¹ Cott. MS. Claud. D. xii. f. 172. ²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid. ²⁴ Ibid. ²⁵ Ibid. ²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Atwater, f. 18.

²⁸ Add. Chart. 5,362.

²⁹ Add. Chart. 21,888.

³⁰ Harl. Chart. 84 E. 23.

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An imperfect example of the first seal is attached to a charter of William, prior of Daventry, and the convent, dated 1392.¹

A sulphur cast with fine impression of the pointed oval seal of Prior Nicholas of Ely² repre-

sents a chalice covered with a napkin upon an altar slab resting on two cylindrical columns with a marble entablature between them, ornamented with a diapered lozengy pattern. Legend:—

+ Sⁱ NICOLAI · PRIORIS · DE · DAVINTRE.

HOUSE OF CLUNIAK NUNS

7. THE ABBEY OF DELAPRÉ

The religious house of Delapré or abbey of St. Mary de Pratis, near Northampton, according to the confirmation charter of Edward III. was founded by Simon de St. Liz the younger in the reign of Stephen.³ The nuns followed the rule of Cluny. Leland states that they were in the first instance placed at Fotheringhay, but afterwards removed to Delapré.⁴ The sisters retained the church of Fotheringhay, their original endowment, until the founding of the college at that place.

The founder endowed the abbey with large possessions in Hardingstone and with the churches of Barton, Great Doddington, and Fotheringhay. Edward III. confirmed to the nuns also the churches of Wollaston and Filgrave and the advowson of the church of Fyfield.⁵ Among innumerable smaller gifts may be mentioned the grant by the founder of a 'tun' of wine yearly at Pentecost for celebration of the mass, of 2s. rent and two days' work the gift of Ingelram Fitz-Henry and Alice his wife, and a donation by Richard, warden of the hospital of St. John, Northampton, and the brethren of 3s. annual rent to be received by the abbess by the hands of the cellarer of the hospital from the said warden and brethren in perpetuity.⁶ Malcolm and William, kings of Scotland, confirmed to the nuns the church of Fotheringhay, and John de Balliol acquitted them and their tenants from suit of his court of Fotheringhay; David, brother of the king of Scotland, bestowed on them the liberty of having a cart to pick up firewood in the wood of Yardley for the necessities of the house.⁷ Notwithstanding the long list of benefactors the gross annual value of the abbey, according to the Valor of 1535, only amounted to £126 16s. 3d., its clear value being £119 9s. 7d.⁸

Little is recorded of the history of the nunnery beyond entries relating to the election or appointment of superiors. These, notwithstanding the custom of the order, which ordained that the superiors of all cells and dependent houses should be nominated by the abbot of Cluny as supreme

head, were elected by the community itself, a royal licence having been previously obtained, the king subsequently signifying his assent to the diocesan and issuing instructions to his escheator to restore the temporalities. In 1294 the abbess received a grant of royal protection from Edward I. together with abbots and priors of the Benedictine order.⁹ John de Feriby, clerk, was sent with letters to the abbess and convent in February, 1327–8, entitling him to receive the pension due from them to one of the king's clerks by reason of the new creation of the abbess.¹⁰

No mention occurs of the visitation of this Cluniac house by delegates appointed by the general chapter for the purpose of visiting English houses of the order; the subjection of the nunnery to the diocesan, on the other hand, seems never to have been disputed. He confirmed the election of the abbess, on two occasions annulled the choice of the convent on the ground of a defect in the process of election, but subsequently confirmed the appointment on consideration of the merits of the abbess-elect. In January, 1333–4, Isabel de Cotesbrok on the death of Margaret de Grey was chosen by the community and obtained the royal assent to her promotion; the bishop, however, formally quashed the election and appointed Katherine Knyvet.¹¹ She was one of the many heads of religious foundations who fell a victim to the terrible visitation of the plague in 1349,¹² and the bishop, again on the ground of a defect in election, appointed her successor Isabel de Thorp.¹³

The condition of the house appears in a somewhat unsatisfactory state at the commencement of the fourteenth century. The bishop in 1300 issued a mandate to the archdeacon of Northampton to denounce Isabel de Clouville, Maud Rychemers, and Ermentrude de Newark, professed nuns of Delapré, who had discarded the habit of religion and notoriously lived a secular life, as apostate nuns, also to inquire as to who had aided them in their apostasy.¹⁴ In 1311 another sister, Agnes de Landwath, was denounced for apostasy and for forsaking the habit of religion.¹⁵ Simul-

¹ Harl. Chart. 83 A. 30.

² B. M. D. C. E. 193.

³ Chart. R. 2 Edw. III. m. 15.

⁴ Leland, *Itin.* (Hearne ed.), i. 55.

⁵ Chart. R. 2 Edw. III. m. 15.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 321.

⁹ Pat. 22 Edw. I. m. 5.

¹⁰ Close, 2 Edw. III. m. 36d.

¹¹ Pat. 8 Edw. III. pt. 3, m. 36.

¹² Gasquet, *The Great Pestilence*, p. 137.

¹³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Gynwell, f. 142.

¹⁴ Ibid. Memo. of Dalderby, f. 16.

¹⁵ Ibid. p. 199d.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

taneously with these irregularities it is evident that the material condition of the abbey had suffered, and in 1303 the bishop granted an indulgence for those who should assist the construction and repairs of the conventual church of St. Mary de Pratis without Northampton.¹ In 1316 Simon, vicar of Thorp, was appointed by the bishop to be master of the abbess and convent of Delapré.² During the rule of Bishop Repingdon (1405-1419) an indenture was entered into between the abbess of Delapré and the diocesan as to a pension from the church of Great Doddington appropriated to the abbey.³ Bishop Gray visited the house in the course of his episcopate (1431-1436), and enjoined that certain nuns, who after many years of probation had not been professed, should be professed without further delay; the rest of his injunctions are purely formal and throw no light on the condition of the house.⁴ We may infer, however, that its condition in the middle of the fifteenth century was satisfactory from the fact that the bishop in January, 1459-60, sanctioned the appropriation to it of the priory of Sewardslay, the income of the latter house being insufficient to maintain its inmates.⁵

The last abbess of Delapré, Clementina Stock, elected in January, 1504-5,⁶ managed to obtain a respite for her house when the smaller monasteries were dissolved. At the cost of a sum of £266 13s. 4d. and the reservation to the crown of a close of pasture and a wood called Gorefeld at Hanslope, Bucks, she obtained a re-grant of her convent on 6th December, 1536, together with her own reappointment as abbess.⁷ But the respite was merely temporary, and the aged abbess and her community were forced into a surrender on 15th December, 1538. No signatures are appended to the deed of surrender made out to 'John London, Clerk to the King's use,' but it bears the common seal.⁸ On 23 December London wrote from Northampton to Sir R. Riche announcing that he and Dr. Baskervyle had taken the surrender of Delapré, that the abbess was sickly and aged, and that they had assigned her a pension of £40 which she could not long enjoy; the house, he added, was so well endowed that the goods and chattels sufficed to defray the debts notwithstanding the great cost of obtaining the king's late charter.⁹ An extract from another letter of London's is interesting as illustrating the aims and motives of many or most of the officials

entrusted with the carrying-out of the plans of Henry VIII. 'At Delapray I had ii chalyces and a pyxe, and the house wasse gratefully storyd wt. cattill and corn. Ye shall see me make you a praty bank by that time I come next upp.'¹⁰

The aged abbess was treated liberally,¹¹ but the prioress and seven other nuns received miserably poor pensions. In 1553 five of these pensioners were still on the list; Elizabeth Welshe, the late prioress, was receiving £2 13s. 4d., another lady £1 13s. 4d., a third £1 6s. 8d., and two more 20s. each.

The site of the abbey and its demesne lands was granted 12th February, 1542, by the crown to John Marsh.¹² In the reign of Elizabeth they passed to the family of Tate. Bridges in 1720 says that the modern house stood on the site of the old convent, 'of which there remain only some battlements at the west end, and what is supposed to have been a part of the chapel.'¹³

It was the custom of the weavers' gild at Northampton to make an annual procession on Easter Monday to the conventual church of Delapré. The following is taken from the ordinances of the gild, 1431-2:—'First that all the Maistres and journeymen of the seide crafts that nowe ben and shall ben ev'ry yere the Monedday in the Morowe after pasch day after the good and comendable custom of her craft goo honestly with her tapers of wax as it hath been continued of olde Auncyen tyme to the house of our lady seynt Mary de la pré besyde Northampton there offering up here seide tapers before the ymages of the Trynitie and our Lady ther.'¹⁴

ABBESSES OF DELAPRÉ

Azelina¹⁵

Cecilia de Daventry,¹⁶ elected 1220

Agatha,¹⁷ died 1274

Emma Malore,¹⁸ elected 1274, died 1282

Margery de Wolaston,¹⁹ elected 1282, died 1296-7

Margery de Broke,²⁰ elected 1297, resigned 1319

Agnes de Poveley,²¹ elected 1319, died 1327

Margaret de Grey,²² elected 1327-8, died 1333-4

¹⁰ Ibid. 1154.

¹¹ The commissioner speaks of this poor lady as 'a good aged woman' and it is evident that her rule of the house, which lasted over thirty years, had been able and beneficial.

¹² Pat. 34 Hen. VIII. pt. 6.

¹³ *Hist. of Northants*, i. 365-6.

¹⁴ *Northampton Borough Records*, vol. 1, p. 296.

¹⁵ She was constituted abbess at the foundation of the house. Chart. R. 2 Edw. III. m. 15.

¹⁶ Pat. 5 Hen. III.

¹⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Gravesend.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Pat. 10 Edw. I. m. 14.

²⁰ Ibid. 25 Edw. I. pt. 1, m. 8.

²¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Dalderby, f. 139.

²² Pat. 1 Edw. III. pt. 1, m. 2.

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Dalderby, f. 61d.

² Ibid. f. 328d.

³ Ibid. Memo. of Repingdon, f. 121.

⁴ Ibid. Memo. of Gray, f. 200.

⁵ Ibid. Memo. of Chadworth, f. 53d.

⁶ Lansd. MS. 963, f. 56.

⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xi. 1417 (12), and xiii. pt. 1, 487 (3).

⁸ *P. R. O. Deeds of Surrender*, No. 70.

⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiii. pt. 2, 1128.

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Isabel de Cotesbrok,¹ elected 1333-4, annulled by the bishop

Katherine Knyvet,² appointed 1333-4, died 1349

Isabel de Thorp,³ appointed 1349, resigned 1366

Joan Mallore,⁴ elected 1366, died 1394

Margery Dayrell,⁵ elected 1394

Gonora Downton,⁶ died 1481

Joan Doghty,⁷ elected 1481

Joan Chese,⁸ elected 1492

Clementina Stock,¹¹ elected 1504-5, surrendered 1538

The oval seal of the abbey, of which there is a poor impression in the P.R.O.,¹² represents the coronation of the Blessed Virgin under a carved canopy. Legend:—

S'COE ABBATHIE BE[ATE MARIE DE] PRATIS IUX^o
NORHT

HOUSE OF CISTERCIAN MONKS

8. THE ABBEY OF PIPEWELL

Pipewell is a hamlet or liberty within the old bounds of Rockingham Forest, lying in the three parishes of Rushton St. Peter's, Great Oakley, and Wilbarston. Here in the year 1143 William Batevileyn founded an abbey for Cistercian monks, dedicated like all houses of that order to the honour of the Blessed Virgin.⁹ It was a daughter house of Newminster, Northumberland, which was founded in 1137.¹⁰ The earliest charters usually give the monastery the name of St. Mary de Divisis from the exceptional nature of its foundation. Not only did the demesne lands lie on both sides of Harper's Brook, which was the boundary between the hundreds of Rothwell and Corby, but the very outbuildings within the precincts stood on two distinct fees, and were always known as the east and west granges. The memoranda relative to the abbey in the first chartulary

cited in the note give an excellent summary of the numerous early benefactions to the monastery quoted in the *Monasticon*.¹³ The Taxation of 1291 gives the abbey an income of £121 os. 8½d. derived from temporalities in the diocese of Lincoln, and £30 9s. 8d. in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield,¹⁴ besides a rent of 4s. from the Norwich diocese, and a spirituality of £10 from the church of Dunchurch in the Coventry and Lichfield diocese.¹⁵

The most valuable part of the abbey's possessions, next to the woods and meadows by which the monastery was surrounded, lay in Warwickshire, in the parish and district of Dunchurch, just over the county borders. Here the monks had several granges, the most important being at Causton, to the north-west of Dunchurch. The gifts of a certain William de Causton, who afterwards became a monk of Pipewell, formed the nucleus of their Warwickshire estates, which were afterwards considerably extended in the reign of Stephen by Ingelram Clement, who held of Sir Henry de Arderne, who also confirmed the various grants. Turchil de Causton and Winmare his wife were also large benefactors in the same district; eventually they released all their property to the convent on condition that the abbot and monks should provide them with necessities during their life and bury them at Pipewell when they died, with the like ceremonies as if they had been monks. In 1266 the chief men of Thurlaston united to claim common rights on Causton Common, but Abbot Gerard de Lega stood firm against them, and obtained a verdict in his favour at the Warwick assizes. There were then at Causton Grange two large ovens, where they baked weekly sixteen quarters of corn for common bread, and six of better quality for the monks and lay brethren and their servants in their granges of Dunchurch, Thurlaston, Rokeby, 'Lalleford,' Newbold, and 'Thirnmilne,' in Warwickshire, and for their granges

¹ Pat. 8 Edw. III. pt. i. m. 42. ² Ibid. m. 36.

³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Gynwell, f. 142.

⁴ Ibid. Inst. of Bokyngham, f. 170.

⁵ Ibid. ii. f. 172d.

⁶ Pat. 21 Edw. IV. pt. 2, m. 8.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Cole MS. (B. M.) xxvi. f. 225b.

⁹ Cott. MS. Otho. B. xix. ff. 150-204, contains memoranda of the abbey from 1143 to 1323, the latter date representing the time of their compilation. Caligula A. xii. contains 159 folios, the first six of which comprise a chronicle 'ab initio mundi' to the year 1246; the rest of the volume is a register of the abbey evidences. Caligula A. xiii. begins with a brief chronicle of the earliest days down to 1347; the remainder of the volume is a chartulary up to that date, but with a few insertions of a later period. Stowe MS. 937 is another chartulary of late thirteenth century compilation with late additions. No. 33 of the old catalogue of MS. Rolls and Charters of the Society of Antiquaries was described as a 'Fragment of an old chartulary of Pipewell Abbey, on vellum, much injured.' These fragments were taken to the B.M. in 1904 to be repaired, and it was then found to be the missing portions of MS. Stowe 937, from which it had been separated at some time prior to 1803. On this discovery the missing portions were presented to the museum, and have now been replaced in their original order after a divorce of a century.

¹⁰ Bodleian Digby MS. xi. p. 17.

¹¹ Lansd. MS. 963, f. 56.

¹² Deed of Surrender, No. 70.

¹³ Mon. v. 434.

¹⁴ Pope Nich. Tax. (Rec. Com.), 257.

¹⁵ Ibid. p. 241.



DELAPRÉ CHAPTER



PRIORY OF ST. AUGUSTINE, DAVENTRY



DELAPRÉ ABBEY



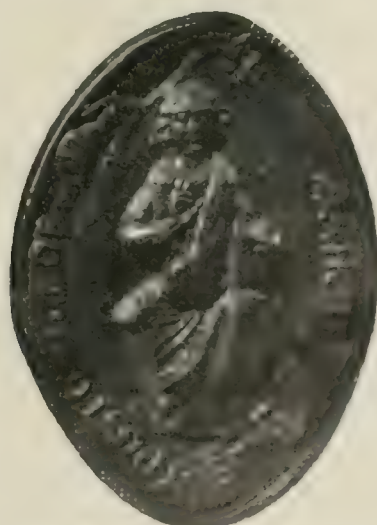
LUFFIELD PRIORY



PRIORY OF ST. AUGUSTINE, DAVENTRY



SULBY PRIORY



PRIORY OF ST. ANDREW, NORTHAMPTON

NORTHAMPTON MONASTIC SEALS, PLATE II

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

of Ashby, Winwick, and Elkington, in Northamptonshire. The bread cart from Causton would have to make a considerable round. In 1287 the Warwickshire priory of Kirby laid claim to Causton Grange, and at first gained the day through the fraudulent dealing of the priory's attorney, according to the chronicle of Pipewell. There was grief and sadness at the abbey when the community found themselves bereft of the flower of their possessions. But Roger de Seyton, chief justice of the Common Pleas, discovering the fraud, went to the king, taking with him both the abbot of Pipewell and the prior of Kirby. Edward I. personally adjudicated, and ruled that the abbey should retain Causton on payment to the priory of 200 marks. The monks in their joy and gratitude ordained that the anniversary of Roger de Seyton should be solemnly kept in their house for ever.¹ In 1307 the monks suffered grievous disaster in connexion with this estate. A candle carelessly fixed against the wall of one of the outbuildings of Causton Grange caused a great fire, and the whole of the buildings were burnt to the ground. The description of the chronicler shows that the Pipewell monks had then built for themselves a monastery in miniature in the centre of their Warwickshire domains. We are told that the fire consumed the cloister, the dormitories of the monks and lay-brethren, with the adjoining rear-dorter, the frater and the chapel, together with a certain little chamber adjoining it, the abbot's chamber, the chamber of the monk 'de Bruer', and also the well-built kitchen. The buildings were restored, but, as 'years rolled on,' in the first year of Abbot William came robbers to Causton by night and burnt the kitchen of the monks and lay brethren, as well as the stable for the horses, but the monks and brethren there escaped from the terrible danger.² When the Valor of 1535 was taken the property of the abbey at Causton was returned as bringing in an annual income of £36 6s. 8d.; the whole of their Warwickshire property produced a yearly return of £93 13s. 11d. The abbot and convent also held the rectories or considerable outgoings from the rectories of Geddington, Great and Little Newton, Barford, Great Oakley, and Elkington in Northamptonshire, Dunchurch in Warwickshire, and Wickhambrook in Suffolk, together with lands and rents both in these counties and in the shires of Rutland, Bedford, and Lincoln. The clear annual value of the house at the time of its dissolution amounted to £283 1s. 7½d., and the gross value to nearly £350.³

The abbot and convent received charters of

various grants and privileges from Henry III.⁴ Edward I. granted them in 1276 quittance of chiminage throughout the forest of Rockingham.⁵ Abbot John de Hillum in June, 1282, obtained a grant of protection to last until All Saintside for the purpose of attending the general chapter of his order;⁶ he obtained similar protection in 1288, 1289, and 1294 for a like reason.⁷ In November, 1329, the abbot of Pipewell received protection for a year, being about to cross the seas for the chapter general.⁸ In connexion with evidences of royal favour it is recorded that the king exercised the right of imposing pensioners on the abbey as in the case of houses of royal foundation and patronage.⁹ In May, 1310, Edward II. sent John de Somery, his scullion, to the abbey to receive the necessaries of life in food and clothing for himself and a groom and horse.¹⁰ Thomas Barber was sent in 1317 to receive maintenance for his lifetime in the convent,¹¹ and in 1330 William atte Hall was sent to receive such maintenance as William le Hunt enjoyed at the late king's request.¹² Queen Philippa, who made a stay at Rockingham Castle in 1336, made a grant of letters patent to the abbot and convent of Pipewell that their action in bestowing a livery in victuals and raiment from their house to Roger de Langale, her serjeant, should not prejudice the house as a precedent after his death.¹³

A list of the abbots of Pipewell from the foundation of the abbey up to 1323 is given in one of the chartularies;¹⁴ unfortunately the dates are wanting. In connexion with the eleventh name on the list, Gerard de Lega, who ruled in the earlier part of the reign of Henry III., the chronicler tells us that as he and one of the monks were journeying between Naseby and Kelmarsh they were set upon by malefactors on horseback, who robbed the abbot of his palfrey

⁴ Chart. R. 19 Hen. III. m. 7, 12; 23 Hen. III. m. 7; 36 Hen. III. m. 13.

⁵ Close, 4 Edw. I. m. 10. Edward I. lodged at the abbey, 2nd September, 1290, coming from and returning to Rockingham, so that his visit appears to have been one of devotion and not of convenience. Pat. 18 Edw. I. m. 10, 13.

⁶ Ibid. 10 Edw. I. m. 10.

⁷ Ibid. 16 Edw. I. m. 6; 17 Edw. I. m. 13; 19 Edw. I. m. 6.

⁸ Ibid. 3 Edw. III. pt. ii. m. 14.

⁹ This form of imposition was vigorously opposed by another great Cistercian house, the oldest in England, Waverley, the community of which maintained that they were 'of the foundation of the bishop of Winchester, and not of the king.' See *V.C.H. Surrey*, ii. 85.

¹⁰ Close, 3 Edw. II. m. 6d. In the same year the abbot and convent received a request to aid with victuals in the Scotch expedition. Ibid. m. 5.

¹¹ Ibid. 10 Edw. II. m. 31d.

¹² Ibid. 4 Edw. III. m. 36d.

¹³ Pat. 11 Edw. III. pt. 2, m. 34.

¹⁴ Cott. MS. Otho. B. xiv. f. 192.

¹ Cott. MS. Otho. B. xiv. f. 154.

² For this account of Causton see Cott. MS. Otho. B. xiv. ff. 154, 156, 192; Dugdale, *Antiq. of Warw.* i. 285-6.

³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 294-6.

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and the monk of his horse, with all their harness, 'nor,' adds the scribe writing a century later, 'has it been discovered from that day to the present where they took the horses.'¹ John de Hillum is recorded in the diocesan registers to have received the abbatial benediction from the bishop of Lincoln in 1280.² An entry under the year 1286 states that the abbot of Pipewell came into chancery on 26 April, and desired that it should be made known to all that the seal of his house had been forged at St. Hilary by brother Ingeron of London, a wandering (*vagabundum*) monk of his house.³

It was about this time, and during this rule, that the grievous waste of the property of the abbey began, according to the chronicler.⁴ The situation of the house in the midst of Rockingham Forest naturally accounted for so large a proportion of its endowments being in woodland. Timber and undergrowth were one of the chief sources of its income, and when these were neglected or squandered the convent became much impoverished. Six causes are set forth for this grievous loss. The first cause was the gross waste of wood in the house itself. When first founded certain of the inmates had respective duties assigned to them of keeping the bakehouse, hospice, convent kitchen, abbot's kitchen, the infirmaries of the (1) monks, (2) lay-brethren or *conversi*, (3) and seculars, as well as the east and west granges, supplied with fuel, care being taken to gather only the dead wood or the old roots of the oak trees. The brew-house and bakehouse were also further supplied by two men, who went out daily into the woods to procure supplies of thorns and briars with a cart called, *in lingua materna*, 'thorn cart.' But in more degenerate days the nearest wood that came handy was used, green wood and the tops of young oaks or their roots being taken without any care or discrimination. The second cause was that various great men, whom the monks feared to oppose, obtained large quantities of timber from the woods of the abbey for private purposes. The greatest offender in high places was Walter de Langton, bishop of Lichfield, and treasurer of Edward I., who obtained from these woods sufficient material for building himself a sumptuous mansion at Thorpe-Watervyle. Others named were John de Hoton, described as the right hand of the bishop, who supplied himself for rebuilding his manse house at Brampton; Henry de Stokes, official of Northampton, for repairing and building houses at Stoke, and repairing his church at Ravensthorpe; Thomas Latimer, for building a large chamber at Braybrooke; and Stephen Brown, for a large parsonage house at Desborough.

The third cause for the destruction of the woods was the large amount of timber used in the construction and repair of the granges, granaries, mills and other buildings pertaining to the abbey. The fourth cause was the wanton and wholesale theft of timber by great numbers of people, who came by day and night to plunder the woods in Desborough, Stoke, Wilbarston, Charlton, 'Acle,' and especially in Rushton. In the palmy days of the abbey the duty of warden of the woods was assigned by the monks to a mounted lay-brother, who had under him three foresters. A fifth cause was the great sales of wood for comparatively small sums during the rule of John de Hillum, and under his three successors. The sixth and last cause enumerated was the wholesale conversion of woodland into tillage, 'Colleshawe,' 'Rahage,' and 'Otha' woods being entirely cleared, and Wilbarston and 'Pykemedde' grubbed up as early as the year 1237.⁵

This want of management seems to have continued under Andrew de Royewell, who succeeded in 1298,⁶ and was in other respects an able and vigorous administrator. He is said to have made new quire stalls for the monks. He had held the office of cellarer under abbot Thomas of Grafton and two successive Abbots, and it was through his energy when cellarer that so much was done to the granges in different places. He built a chamber and kitchen for the use of the monks at the grange of Bigging (Thurleston), removed the grange of Rokeby, which had been in the village, to another place, and built some cottages, planted part of Causton Grange by the sheepfold, and rebuilt the Northamptonshire grange of Braybrooke, erecting there a hall, chapel, chambers, and rear-dorter. When he entered on his office as cellarer, the brethren were in the habit of using wooden spoons, but Andrew provided fifty silver spoons, probably from some special bequest, and on each of them was stamped his name. A very human touch of weakness is recorded in connexion with this stamping. When John de Hillum succeeded as abbot he took offence at the name of Andrew on the spoons, and caused the name to be deleted and his own substituted. Richard of Hayham, on his promotion as abbot, took the wiser course of erasing this name and substituting the word 'Pipewell' 'which remains on the spoons unto this day,' adds the monastic chronicler.⁷

On 26 February, 1311, during the rule of Thomas of Thockerington, the church of the Blessed Mary of Pipewell was dedicated. The following year the cemetery, cloisters, and chapter-house were dedicated by a certain bishop from Ireland on 5 April, by licence of the bishop of Lincoln. At the consecration of the church there was a vast concourse of men and women,

¹ Cott. MS. Otho. B. xiv. f. 154d.

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Sutton.

³ Close, 14 Edw. I. m. 6d.

⁴ Cott. MS. Otho. B. xiv. ff. 150-1.

⁵ Ibid. ⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Sutton, f. 205d.

⁷ Cott. MS. Otho. B. xiv. f. 156b.

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and among the magnates attending the ceremony were Thomas, earl of Lancaster, Baron William de Ros, and Baron Richard Basset.¹ It appears also that there was at this date a complete rebuilding, not only of the church but of the conventual buildings, as otherwise they would not have required benediction. In spite of and perhaps on account of the outlay necessary for building purposes in 1320, when Abbot Thomas resigned, the debts of the house were very considerable.² Nicholas, the nineteenth abbot, succeeded in 1322, and in September of the following year the monks in general chapter resolved, on the ground of poverty, to abandon the abbey, the chronicles citing the six causes already mentioned as the reasons for this distress.³ But this measure was only a temporary expedient. Thomas, who rapidly succeeded Nicholas as abbot, resolved to be more careful of the remaining woods, and took action against some of the offenders.⁴ In 1328 one Robert de Rushton, clerk, received a pardon from the king for having felled five oaks in the wood of the abbot of Pipewell during the reign of the late king;⁵ in the year 1331 a commission was issued on the complaint of the abbot that Robert de Veer, knt., and others depastured his grass at Benefield with cattle, took away three carts with nine horses sent to bring home his hay, prevented him from mowing the rest of his grass, carried away a great part of the hay and other goods, drove 60 oxen, 10 bullocks, 30 cows, and 10 heifers, worth £100, thence to the castle of Rockingham, and impounded them for a long time, not suffering the monks to replevy them according to law and custom.⁶

The abbey appears in the fourteenth century to have resorted to the appropriation of churches in order to lessen the weight of poverty and debt with which the community was perpetually overburdened. In 1344 Pope Clement VI. confirmed to the abbot and convent the appropriation of the church of Wickhambrook, Suffolk, of the yearly value of 27 marks.⁷ In the same year the royal assent was obtained for the appropriation of the church of Hinxworth.⁸ Boniface IX. in 1397 sanctioned the appropriation to

the abbey of the churches of Elkington and Hinxworth, the united value of which did not exceed 36 marks, and that of the monastery 300 marks. The churches might be served by monks of the monastery, or secular priests presented by the abbot and convent.⁹ The same pope in 1399 permitted the appropriation to the table of Roger, abbot of Pipewell, of the church of Dunchurch, Warwickshire, so long as Roger remained abbot. The church might be served by a religious or secular priest appointed and removed at the abbot's pleasure. At the same time the abbot received an indult for life exempting him from being visited by a visitor or chapter general of his order.¹⁰ In 1366 Bishop Bokyngham granted an indulgence for the altar of the Holy Trinity in the conventual church of Pipewell.¹¹

In spite of the alleviations thus provided, the abbey seems to have been in a very poor way in the early fifteenth century. In 1412 a petition was presented to the pope in which it was represented that the houses and buildings were very ruinous and worn with age, that many of the tenements had been abandoned by their inhabitants on account of the barrenness of the lands, so that their income was insufficient for the maintenance of the abbot and monks and for the due discharge of their ancient hospitality. The pope appropriated anew to the abbey the church of Elkington, which was of their patronage, and of which the parish, in consequence of pestilences, was destitute of all inhabitants save three or four servitors of the monastery. The previous appropriation of Boniface IX. in 1397 did not take place on account of that pope's subsequent general revocation of appropriations.¹²

Entries relating to this abbey during the fifteenth century and up to the eve of the dissolution are few. Henry VIII. on 3 August, 1511, spent Sunday at Pipewell Abbey; 6s. 8d. was charged in the accounts 'for the King's offering upon this Sunday.'¹³ The sum of £66 13s. 4d. was exacted in 1522 from the abbey by way of loan, due from the spirituality towards the king's expenses in France for the recovery of the French crown.¹⁴

Sir William Parre wrote to Cromwell on 15 November, 1535, to intercede for the abbey, giving it an excellent character. He said: 'When the visitors were lately in these parts they visited the monastery of Pipewell, where the abbot and his brethren obeyed the injunctions. But this house being of very small revenue, keeping continual hospitality, relieving the poor, maintaining

¹ Cott. MS. Otho. B. xiv. f. 197 and Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Dalderby, f. 210d.

² Entries recording the acknowledgement of debts and loans on the part of the heads of this house during the middle of the fourteenth century are very numerous in the Close Rolls of that period.

³ Cott. MS. Otho. B. xiv. ff. 150-51.

⁴ Ibid. ⁶ Pat. 2 Edw. III. pt. 1, m. 15.

⁵ Ibid. 5 Edw. III. pt. 3, m. 15d.

⁷ *Cal. of Papal L.* iii. 175. In August of the same year a letter was sent to the constable of Dover ordering him to permit Abbot Nicholas to cross the seas to proceed to Rome on the affairs of his house with horses and equipage, and to provide him with £20 for his expenses.

⁸ Pat. 18 Edw. III. pt. 1, m. 18, 43.

⁹ *Cal. of Papal L.* v. 77.

¹⁰ Ibid. pp. 185, 186.

¹¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Bokyngham, f. 37.

¹² *Cal. of Papal L.* vi. 393.

¹³ P.R.O. 'Boke of Kyng's Paymentes': 3 Hen. VIII.

¹⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* iii. 2485.

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divine service in as virtuous and laudable a manner as any I know, by the virtuous provision of the abbot and two or three of his brethren who cannot now have access to make necessary provision for their house, I beg you will have pity on them in this behalf, and grant them a dispensation at my request.¹

At the very outset of the great and serious insurrection caused by the suppression of the monasteries in 1536, Thomas, earl of Rutland, was journeying up to town to see the king, and was lodging for the night within the abbey of Pipewell, when royal letters reached him ordering his instant return to Nottingham Castle, which was in danger.² Sir William Parre, the king's brother-in-law, wrote again to Cromwell, stating that the abbot had just told him that he feared the dissolution of his house, and was ready to give Cromwell £200 that it might stand. Parre repeated his testimony as to the abbey, assuring Cromwell that the abbot and his convent were men of virtuous condition, living according to their profession, that the poor over a wide circuit were relieved by their hospitality and charitable deeds as in no other house of double the rents, and that he had therefore promised to become a suitor to Cromwell on their behalf. The writer thinks he might be able to persuade them to give up their habits and take the habits of secular priests.³ Parre wrote again to Cromwell from Brigstock, having received a verbal message that Pipewell must fall, once again imploring that it might be spared. He stated that he was moved by no vain pity or desire of gain, but by the strong pressure that was brought to bear on him by the honest gentlemen of the country-side, and because of the great relief and succour that the poor had daily at the abbey. He would rather that the house should stand than have ten times the free value.⁴ On 30 September Parre wrote yet again, realizing at last that all his representations were in vain, and stating that the abbot was now content to surrender. If the king desired the house dissolved he suggested that a commission should be sent to Dr. Legh, Parishe, and Freeman, who were then at Sulby; he also requested to have the house and demesne for himself, but did not omit to put in a final word as to pensions for the abbot and his brethren, for he 'never knew nor heard but that they used themselves like honest men.'⁵ A joint letter from Dr. Legh and William Cavendish, addressed to Cromwell, and dated 25 October, acknowledged the receipt of his letter 'admonishing us in nowise to deface the monastery of Pipewell, and promised obedience.'⁶

The formal surrender of the house and all the possessions was made to Legh 5 November, 1538.

The deed was signed by Thomas Gyllam, abbot, and thirteen of the monks.⁷ The following day the commissioners handed over to Sir William Parre the implements, household stuff, corn, cattle, ornaments of the church, etc., of the despoiled house.⁸ The inventory of the ornaments and images in the church⁹ mentions 'Seint Benett's Chapell,' 'Seint Stephen's Chapell,' the 'Chapel' of 'Seint Michell,' and 'Seint Nicholas' Chapell,' the 'Trynyte' Altar and 'Seint Katheryn's' Altar. 'Rewardes,' apart from pensions, were bestowed upon the elected community thus thrown out of their home. The abbot, Thomas Gyllam, received £10, eleven of the monks 50s., and two 40s. 'Rewardes' were also given to forty servants of the abbey, varying in amount from 20s. to 3s. 4d.¹⁰ The pension list, in addition to the above 'douceurs' allotted by the commissioners, gave the abbot £66 13s. 4d., five of the monks £6 each, another five £5 6s. 8d. each, to one £5, and to two £1 6s. 8d. The pensions, as in the case of St. Andrew's, Northampton, were probably on a scale regulated by length of service. There is evidence of an action fairly generally resorted to by Cromwell's tools, whereby the community immediately before their surrender and while their seal was still valid were cajoled or coerced into granting annuities to the spoilers or their servants and friends. In the case of Pipewell, Edward Montagu, John Montague, William Saunders, George Giffard, and thirteen others secured to themselves annuities varying from £2 to £1 6s. 8d.¹¹

News of the illegal misuse of the buildings of Pipewell having reached London, on the complaint of Sir William Parre to whom the estate had been granted, a commission was appointed in 1540 to inquire into the matter. One of the commissioners was the late abbot. They found that the hall, with chambers over it, the buttery, pantry, chapter-house, and 'scole house' were still in good repair; that the paving of the dormitory had been given to Sir William Parre at the time of the suppression; that the iron standards and the glass of the windows of the cloister, of the parlour, and of various chambers had been stolen before last Michaelmas; and that the salt chamber, the fish chamber, and the cheese chamber had lost by theft not only their windows but their doors, and that the cart-house and smithy had been similarly stripped; that 'in the dormitorie every monk had had his chamber'¹² gyven hym by the king's commissioners at the suppressyng which the same monkes toke away'; that 'in the same dormitorie a strong press is

⁷ Ibid. 689.

⁸ Ibid. 839 (10).

⁹ The inventory of the church and house is given in Misc. Bks. Aug. Off. clxxii. 83.

¹⁰ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiii. pt. 2, 839 (10).

¹¹ Aug. Off. Misc. Bks. clxxii. 83.

¹² That is, his wooden cubicle.

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* ix. 822.

² Ibid. xi. 1037.

³ Ibid. xiii. pt. 1, 1330.

⁴ Ibid. 1384.

⁵ Ibid. pt. 2, 466.

⁶ Ibid. 689.

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standing which contained, as the late abbot said, all evidence of the house, that the dore had been broken open, but what was wantinge not known'; that the iron out of the frater windows had been stolen, but that the panelling and 'delling' of the walls of the frater had been given to the abbot and taken away; that the doors, windows, and floorings of the cellarer's chambers and brewhouse had been stolen and taken away; that the floors of the steeple had been taken away by those who had come to clear off the lead for the king; that the desks in the quire and all the windows in the infirmary had been broken up and sold by consent of the commissioners; that at the same time the glass and iron of the nether windows of the cloisters had been taken away and sold; that many other doors and windows within and without were stolen; that the great bars of iron out of the chapel were taken and sold to my Lady Tresham by the commissioners; that one or two had been mentioned as the thieves and 'that a tynker stole out of the said late monasterie iron and lead and was hanged at Northampton.'¹

ABBOTS OF PIPEWELL²

Geoffrey 1143
Robert
William
Roger
Robert
Roger
William
Robert of Pateshull
William of Lynton
Robert of Newbold

Gerard de Lega
Reginald
Thomas of Grafton, elected 1265, resigned 1279
John de Hillum, elected 1280, resigned 1294
Richard of Heyham, elected 1294
Andrew of Royewell, elected 1298
Thomas of Thokerington, elected 1308, resigned 1320
William of Lalleford, elected 1320, resigned 1322
Nicholas, elected 1322
Thomas
William of Lalleford
Nicholas,⁴ occurred 1334 and 1344
John, occurred 1367
John of Coventry, occurred 1405
Stephen of Rushton⁵ died 1435-6
John Greyne,⁶ elected 1435-6
Thomas Weston⁷ occurs 1483
Robert Stamford,⁸ occurred 1504 and 1510
Thomas Lenton,⁹ occurred 1529 and 1535
Thomas Gyllam,¹⁰ occurred 1538

The thirteenth-century pointed oval seal of the abbey, taken from a cast at the British Museum,¹¹ represents the Virgin with crown seated on a carved throne in canopied niche with trefoiled arch, the Holy Child on her left knee. At each side, in a small niche, a bust of a saint, below it a sprig of foliage. In base under a curved arch with the inscription AVE MARIA on the groining, and with an arcade at each side, an abbot with pastoral staff praying. Legend :

S' COE : ABBATIS : ET : COVENTVS : MARIE : DE
PIPEWELLE

HOUSES OF CISTERCIAN NUNS

9. THE PRIORY OF CATESBY³

Catesby Priory was a house of Cistercian nuns founded about the year 1175 by Robert de Easseby, grandson of Sasfrid, who held the manor

¹ Misc. Bks. Aug. Off. cix. No. 29.

² A list of the abbots of Pipewell from the date of its foundation in 1143 up to 1323 is given in the chartulary of the abbey. Cott. MS. Otho. B. xiv. f. 192.

³ This priory has been claimed to belong to the Benedictines proper, the Cistercians, and the Gilbertines. The last claim probably arose from confusion with the Gilbertine house of Catteby, or Cateby, Lincolnshire. In the original edition of Dugdale the priory is included with those of the Cistercian order, and there are a variety of statements to that effect about the time of the dissolution. The bull of Gregory VIII. cited by Tanner and by Dugdale (*Mon.* iv. 637) seems at first conclusive for the Benedictine claim 'ordinis Sancti Benedicti,' but the opening Cistercian statute commands obedience to the Benedictine rule. Nevertheless, the rule of this house

of Catesby under William Peverel at the time of Domesday. It was originally endowed with the church of Catesby and chapel of Hellidon, and

was somewhat exceptional; we doubt if another instance could be found of a Cistercian nunnery managed by a master or warden, and having one or more canons attached (somewhat after the Gilbertine fashion), as was the case at Catesby for two centuries. The generally successful efforts of the diocesan to admit the prioress by stealth originated through some special concession in times of difficulty which was intended by the nunnery to be only of a temporary character.

⁴ Close, 8 Edw. III. m. 16d, 17d; Pat. 18 Edw. III. pt. ii. m. 30.

⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Gray, f. 187d.

⁶ Ibid. ⁷ Cott. MS. Calig. A. xiii.

⁸ Ibid. ⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* iv. 6047.

¹⁰ His name appears in the deed of surrender, 5 November, 1538; it may possibly be an alias for Thomas Lenton. Ibid. xiii. pt. 2, 759.

¹¹ B. M. lxix. 406.

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with lands, tenements, and mills in the same parish, also with the churches of Ashby and Basford (Nottingham) as well as with lands in both these parishes. The property of the house was gradually increased by gifts from different members of the Esseby family, and other benefactors.¹ At the time of the dissolution it was worth £145 os. 6d., and received rents from lands in the counties of Leicester, Oxford, Warwick, and Buckingham, as well as from the county in which it was situated.²

It does not seem possible to recover anything of the early history of the house until the year 1229, when Hugh de Neville received a mandate from the king to allow the prioress of Catesby to have timber from the forest of Silverstone within the king's park for the building of her church,³ and in 1232-3 Henry III. made a grant to the prioress of a cartload of firewood daily from his wood of 'Beisewood,'⁴ and this privilege was subsequently confirmed by his successors Edward I., Edward III., and Henry IV. The pope in 1246 directed the bishop of Lincoln to hear the complaints of the sisters against certain clerics for wrongs done to them, and to adjudicate in the matter.⁵

Margaret Rich, sister of Edmund, the canonized archbishop of Canterbury, was at that time prioress, having been elected in 1245.⁶ The saintly mother of the archbishop on her death-bed committed his two sisters, Margaret and Alice, to their brother's care, leaving a certain sum of money to procure their admission into a convent of high standing. The archbishop, however, considered such a dowry bordering on simony, and in his search for a convent home for his sisters that would be willing to receive the maidens with nothing but their piety to recommend them, came to the gate-house of the comparatively poor house of Catesby. The prioress received them with a warm welcome, and on her death was succeeded by Margaret the elder. On the archbishop's death in 1240 he bequeathed to his sister at Catesby his pall and a silver tablet engraved with a figure of Our Lord which he was in the habit of always carrying with him. Miracles soon became associated with these relics, and the story of them formed part of the evidence for St. Edmund's canonization.⁷

¹ These and other bequests were confirmed by a charter of Henry III. Chart. R. 36 Henry III. m. 25. See Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 637.

² *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 339.

³ Close, 13 Hen. III. m. 9.

⁴ Pat. 17 Hen. III. m. 34.

⁵ Dodsworth MS. lxxiii. 79.

⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Grossetête. The prioress is there termed Margery of Abingdon, of which town the archbishop was a native.

⁷ The life of St. Edmund in the Cotton collection of early fourteenth-century date, states that the archbishop when dying, 'remembering his holy sisters who were nuns at Catesby, left them his cloak of a grey

Margaret died in 1257. Matthew Paris, who chronicles her death, describes her as 'a woman of great holiness, through whose distinguished merits miracles have been made gloriously manifest.'⁸ She is sometimes termed St. Margaret of Catesby. It was no doubt through the influential position of Margaret that the convent obtained from the king in 1247 a grant of a weekly Monday market within their manor of Catesby, and two years later a grant of a three days' fair beginning on the eve of the Translation of Edward the Confessor.⁹ In the autumn of the same year in which Margaret the elder sister died, Matthew Paris chronicles the death of the other sister Alice in almost identical words, and styles her prioress.¹⁰ This is a mistake of the chronicler, who was then an old man, and not infrequently recorded the same event twice in the same year. Alice was never prioress. She died in 1270.¹¹

During the rule of Felicia, who succeeded Margaret Rich as prioress, the death occurred of William de Mauduit, earl of Warwick, 1267; his body was buried at Westminster Abbey, but his heart was sent for interment to the priory of Catesby,¹² probably as a mark of special devotion to St. Edmund of Canterbury, whose altar in the conventual church was to some extent a place of pilgrimage. An undated charter, probably about this time, mentions a yearly rental of 2s. left to the nuns of Catesby for the support of a lamp to burn before the relics in their church.¹³ Another grant of 1276 bequeathed a rental of 30d. to maintain a light before the image of St. Anne in the priory church of Catesby.¹⁴

The first recorded admission of a superior of this house by the diocesan is that of Amabilia in 1276, entered in the register of Bishop Gravesend, where mention is also made of brother Hugh as master of the house.¹⁵ In 1279 Henry de Erdington bestowed on the convent the advow-

colour, made of cloth called camlet, with a cape of lamb's wool, and likewise a silver tablet, on which was sculptured an image of Blessed Mary nursing her Son in her lap, and the Passion of Christ, and the Martyrdom of Blessed Thomas, through which at Catesby, where they are reverently preserved, the Lord works at the present day miracles worthy of eternal remembrance (Cott. MS. Julius. D. vi.).' The most interesting of the MS. lives of St. Edmund is one at St. John's College, Cambridge, in a late thirteenth-century hand. It is largely quoted in Bernard Ward's excellent *Life of St. Edmund* (1903) which is compiled from the various early lives.

⁸ *Chron. Major.* (Rolls Ser.), v. 521.

⁹ Pat. 31 Hen. III. m. 13; 33 Hen. III. m. 36.

¹⁰ Matt. Paris. *Chron. Major.* (Rolls Ser.), v. 642.

¹¹ See Waller's *Life of St. Edmund*, p. 30, and Ward's *Life*, pp. 216, 247.

¹² Dugdale, *Baronage*, i. 399.

¹³ P.R.O. Anct. D. B. 3613. These relics were probably those of St. Edmund.

¹⁴ Ibid. B. 3656.

¹⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Gravesend.

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son of the church of Yardley (Worcestershire) on condition that the nuns should appoint a canon of their house, as soon as the appropriation had been made, to say mass for him and his family, and that he should be buried before the altar in the chapel dedicated to St. Edmund of Canterbury. There was, however, some difficulty about this appropriation, and not long after the church of Yardley was bestowed on the abbey of Merivale.¹

The two succeeding heads, Isolda Hastings and Biblisia, were both admitted by the bishop of Lincoln.² Immediately upon the promotion of the latter in March, 1290-1, the right of the priory to the park of Westbury (Bucks) was disputed, but the cause was decided in favour of the nuns.³ An entry in the Close Rolls under the year 1279 gives the enrolment of a grant by William Bagot to Queen Eleanor of the advowson of the priory of Catesby.⁴ The cellaress of the house, Joan of Northampton, was elected by the nuns at the conclusion of the brief rule of Biblisia, but licence not having been obtained first from the diocesan, the bishop of Lincoln declared the election void, but afterwards confirmed the same on the ground of the merits of the said Joan,⁵ and similarly in 1310 on the election of Joan of Ludham.⁶ Building and repairing operations were in progress, we read, in the early part of the fourteenth century. In 1301 an indulgence was granted by Bishop Dalderby to those helping to rebuild the conventual church of the nuns of Catesby, and the same bishop in 1312 granted another indulgence to those who should assist in paving the cloisters and house of the priory.⁷

With regard to masters or wardens, frequent mention occurs of them. In 1286, Hugh, formerly master of the house of Catesby,⁸ together with the prioress and nuns, elected brother John one of the canons. The master had the rule of the house, admitting the canons, as well in spiritualities as in temporalities. This is shown by a

writ attached to the roll.⁹ Robert of Wadington, canon of Canons Ashby, was appointed master of the priory by Bishop Sutton in 1293, and in the following year was succeeded by William de Grutterworth, another canon of Ashby.¹⁰ In 1293 Bishop Sutton wrote to the prioress of Catesby as to the absence of the master, and the improper treatment of the prioress of St. Michael's without Stamford, and certain of her nuns whom the bishop had instituted as nuns of Catesby.¹¹ Richard of Staverdon, canon of Catesby, was appointed master in 1316,¹² in succession to Roger of Daventry, 1297. It appears that lay brothers (*conversi*) were at one time connected with this house, as well as canons and wardens. In 1307 Bishop Dalderby wrote to the bishop of London to procure the return of Robert of Weston, a lay brother of Catesby monastery, who took the habit of religion, but after some time threw it aside, and for some ten years past had lived in London with a certain woman to the scandal of religion. At the same time excommunication was pronounced against Robert de Gretworth, also a canon of the same house, who, under pretence of going to Rome, had thrown aside the habit of religion, and led a dissolute life.¹³ It seems doubtful if the office of master or warden was retained after the fourteenth century, but so long as it lasted the master appears to have been recognized as official head of the priory in pecuniary matters. In 1310, when large supplies of victual by way of loan were exacted from the heads of religious houses in England for the expedition of Edward II. into Scotland, the master of Catesby came eighth on the list of the Northamptonshire houses, between the priors of Daventry and Canons Ashby.¹⁴

The priory received various evidences of royal favour and consideration in connexion with the exaction of aid or subsidy. In 1315 the crown granted 'protection with clause nolumus'¹⁵ for one year to the prioress of Catesby or rector of the church of Basford, and the same to the vicar of Basford; a general protection for all her possessions was granted to the prioress for two years in 1316.¹⁶ In March, 1321-2, Edward II. ordered his ministers to levy nothing from the prioress of Catesby, and to restore anything they might have levied by virtue of a general levy of

¹ Dugdale, *Baronage*, ii. 112; *Antiq. of Warw.* 890. An assize was ordered to be held at Martinmas, 1324, to ascertain the right of the prior of Tichford or the prioress of Catesford to the advowson of a tenth of the chapel of Yardley. Close, 18 Edw. II. m. 27.

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Sutton; *Ibid.* Inst. of Sutton, f. 47.

³ MS. Hatton, cited by Bridges, *Hist. of Northants*, i. 34.

⁴ Close, 7 Edw. I. m. 3d.

⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Sutton, f. 51.

⁶ *Ibid.* Inst. of Dalderby, f. 120. Katherine de Boydon was nominated by the bishop in 1344, her previous election by the nuns being set aside as irregular (*Ibid.* Inst. of Beck, f. 65d.). On her death in 1349 Bishop Gynwell nominated her successor Orabel on the plea of defective formality (*Ibid.* Inst. of Gynwell, f. 141d.), and in 1361 the bishop again rejected the choice of the nuns, and appointed Joan Fabian, of Banbury, as superior (*Ibid.* f. 186).

⁷ *Ibid.* Memo. of Dalderby, ff. 40, 235.

⁸ He was appointed in 1266.

⁹ *Ibid.* Roll of Sutton.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Inst. of Sutton, ff. 97, 106d.

¹¹ *Ibid.* Memo. of Sutton, f. 82d.

¹² *Ibid.* Inst. of Dalderby, f. 330. The names recorded of other masters are Thomas de Spittleworth, 1319, and William Houles, 1370.

¹³ *Ibid.* Memo. of Dalderby, f. 98.

¹⁴ Close, 3 Edw. II. m. 5d.

¹⁵ Pat. 9 Edw. II. pt. 1, m. 12. This signified exemption from any claim for cattle or special royal supplies by the king's ministers.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 10 Edw. II. pt. 1, m. 4. The prioress received like protection in 1329 and 1337.

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500 marks from the knights and squires of Northamptonshire, as it was not his intention that anything should be levied from the prioress or other religious who held in frankalmoin free from aid or tallage with the community of the county.¹

There was considerable dispute from time to time with regard to the patronage of the churches of Catesby and Canons Ashby. On 21 March, 1389, Dr. Walter Gibbes, as commissary-general of the archbishop of Canterbury, in the course of his visitation of Lincoln diocese came to the priory of Canons Ashby, and he then gave a formal certificate that, having inspected their instruments, he found that the prioress and convent of Catesby did rightfully possess the parish churches of Catesby and Ashby.²

A full statement of the accounts of Catesby Priory in the year 1415 and during the rule of Elizabeth Swynford possesses many points of interest. There were no arrears of rent; the chief receipts were: From rents of lands, £43 9s. 6d.; from farms and tolls of wind- and water-mills, £29 2s. 1d., the payments being made in kind, such as wheat, maslin, barley, pigs, geese, and hens; from oblations at the altar of St. Edmund, 7s. 4d.; from issues of the manor of Catesby, chiefly wool and hides, £24 8s. 8d.; and from court perquisites and fines 24s. 8d., yielding a total of receipts of £98 3s. 6d. The expenses, given in the greatest detail, amounted to £94 1s. 7½d. Tallow for candles cost 2s.; pitchers, 8d.; 2,000 slates bought at Chorlton, 8s. 4d.; 700 tiles bought at Coventry, 4s. 6d.; a tablecloth for the hall, 1s. 10d.; a cow bought at Daventry, 6s. 8d.; four skins of parchment, 1s. 2d.; 18 pounds of wax, 10s. 6d.; 4 pounds of cotton, 4s. 4d. A man's wages for walling was 2d. a day, and hired women were paid 1d. a day.³

On the death of Prioress Agnes Terry in 1431 the bishop gave leave for the election of a successor.⁴ Her name is not known, but in January, 1444-5, she was suspended from office and administration by the diocesan, who granted a commission for an inspection of the accounts of the house to the abbot of St. James, Northampton. The administration of the priory was committed to Agnes Allesby and Isabel Benett, nuns of the house;⁵ both eventually became superiors in succession.

On 27 September, 1535, John Tregonnell

wrote to Cromwell giving a rapid digest of his recent monastic visits, in which the following passage occurs: 'Catesby, a house of nuns of the Cistercian order, has £90 lands yearly, and is under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Lincoln, by usurpation I suppose, as the order has always been exempt. The prioress and sisters are free from suspicion.'⁶ The local commissioners, when they visited Catesby on 12 May, 1536, on the eve of the dissolution of the smaller houses, were so struck with its admirable condition that they felt constrained to anticipate their general report, and forwarded a letter to the chancellor of the Court of Augmentations direct from the priory, wherein they stated, 'The house of Catesby we founde in very perfect order, the prioress a sure, wyse, discrete, and very religious woman with ix nunnys under her obedyencye, as religious and devoute and as good obedyencye as we have in tyme past seen or be lyke shall see. The seid house standyth in suche a quarter muche to the releff of the kynges people and his graces pore subjectes their lykewyse much relieved. Only the reporte of dyvers worshyppfulles were thereunto adjoining us; of alle other yt ys to us openly declared. Wherefore yf yt should please the kynges highnesses to have remorse that any suche religious house shall stande, we thinke his grace cannot appoynt any house more mete to share his most gracious charitie and pity on than the said house of Catesby. Further, ye shall understand that as to her bounden dewtye towards the kynges highness in this his affayres, also for discrete entertainment of us his commysioners and our company, we have not found nor belyke shall fynde any such of more dyscrecion . . . From Catesby the xii day off this present moneth off May. Edmund Knyghtley, John Lane, George Giffard, Robert Burgoyne.'⁷

This favourable notice in no way softened the king's heart or turned him from his object. On 19 June, George Giffard, writing to Cromwell from Garendon Abbey, complained that the king, when he read their letter as to Catesby Priory, remarked, 'It was like we had received rewards which caused us to write as we did.'⁸ The commissioners were ordered to return to Catesby and complete their task. George Giffard wrote again to Cromwell from Catesby on 27 June, saying they were there 'to begin our suppression,' but even then they seemed to regret the work of ejection, and asked whether a letter from the chancellor of the Augmentations Office was a

¹ Close, 15 Edw. II. m. 16.

² *Cal. Anct. D. B.* 3532.

³ These accounts are given in extenso by Baker (*Hist. of Northants*, i. 278), from Misc. Rolls Aug. Off. 3 Hen. V.

⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Gray, f. 105.

⁵ Ibid. Memo. of Alnwick, f. 59. Isabel Benet and Agnes Allesby, as administrators of the priory appointed by the diocesan, rendered accounts to the abbot of St. James, Northampton, for the year 22-3 Henry VI.; Mins. Accts. Bdle. 946, No. 20.

⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* ix. 457. Dr. Tregonnell was a prominent lawyer on the king's side in the affairs of More and Anne Boleyn (Dixon, *Hist. of the Church of England*, i. 154); he was one of the busiest and most relentless of the monastic visitors, and his testimony in favour of Catesby is all the more remarkable.

⁷ Cott. MS. Cleop. E. iv. 241.

⁸ Wright, *Suppression of Monasteries*, 136.

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sufficient warrant for them to proceed.¹ Though ejected that year there must have been some further delay, for the nuns were still in possession three months from the last date given. The poor prioress Joyce, 'a right sad matron,' according to Dr. Tregonnell, in her despair not only offered to buy her house off the king for 2,000 marks, but offered Cromwell 100 marks to buy him a gelding, with an additional promise (it is to be feared of small attraction) that if he would save her house he should have her life-long prayers and those of all her sisters.² Cruel as it may seem, it was probably as well that the poor lady did not obtain her desire, as further delay could only have proved a treacherous delusion.

Before the end of the year the work of destruction was accomplished. The prioress, to whom was granted a pension of £20, with her nine nuns and twenty-six dependents, was turned out; plate was seized to the value of £29 4s., furniture, vestments, and other ornaments and goods of the church and buildings £400, lead torn from the roofs £110, and £3 for the broken metal of two hand bells.³

PRIORESSES OF CATESBY

Margaret Rich,⁴ elected 1245, died 1257
 Felicia,⁵ occurs 1259, died 1275
 Mabel,⁶ elected 1275, resigned 1284
 Isolda Hastings,⁷ elected 1284-5, resigned 1290-1
 Biblisia,⁸ elected 1290-1, died 1291
 Joan of Northampton,⁹ elected 1291, died 1311
 Joan of Ludham,¹⁰ elected 1311, resigned 1338
 Alice of Rolleston,¹¹ elected 1338, died 1344
 Katherine de Boydon,¹² elected 1344, died 1349
 Orabel of Raundes,¹³ elected 1349, died 1361
 Joan Fabian,¹⁴ elected 1361, died 1370
 Joan Ashby,¹⁵ elected 1370
 Elizabeth Swynford,¹⁶ elected 1405
 Agnes Terry,¹⁷ died 1431
 Agnes Allesby,¹⁸ elected 1452-3
 Isabel Benett,¹⁹ occurs 1468

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* x. 1215.

² *Ibid.* x. 383.

³ *Mins. Accts.*, (Aug. Off.), 27-28 Hen. VIII. 173.

⁴ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Grossetête.*

⁵ *Madox, Form. Anglic.* ccxxiii.

⁶ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Gravesend.*

⁷ *Ibid.* Roll of Sutton.

⁸ *Ibid.* Inst. of Sutton, f. 47.

⁹ *Ibid.* f. 51.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Inst. of Dalderby, f. 120.

¹¹ *Ibid.* Inst. of Burghersh, f. 224.

¹² *Ibid.* Inst. of Beck, f. 65d.

¹³ *Ibid.* Inst. of Gynwell, f. 141d.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* f. 186.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* Inst. of Bokyngham.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* Inst. of Beaufort, f. 126d.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* Inst. of Gray, f. 105.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* Inst. of Chadworth, f. 50d.

¹⁹ *Anct. D. A* 5021, *B.* 2725.

Amabilia,²⁰ occurs 1471

Joan,²¹ occurs 1495

Joyce Bekeley,²² occurs 1510, surrendered 1563

The pointed oval seal *ad causas* of the priory taken from a cast at the British Museum,²³ with an indistinct and imperfect impression, represents the Virgin seated on a throne in a canopied niche, the Child on her left knee. In base under a trefoiled arch the prior in prayer to the left.

10. THE PRIORY OF SEWARDSLEY

At Swardsley or Sewersley, in the parish of Easton Neston, Richard de Lestre, lord of the manor, founded a small Cistercian nunnery in the reign of Henry II.²⁴ According to a deed of the twelfth century the founder notified to Robert, bishop of Lincoln, that he had granted lands in Swardsley and Wimandesley, etc. to the priory of Swardsley, with leave to turn three oxen, ten cows, and two hundred sheep into his pasture, the sisters promising in return to use his counsel in the reception of nuns and to admit none except through him.²⁵ The house continued under the patronage of his successors in the manor. In 1260-1 the Prioress Florence was admitted by the bishop with the approval of Sir Robert de Paveley the patron.²⁶ By his will dated 1240 William de Paveley left his body to be buried at the convent and bequeathed to the house his palfrey and trappings or two marks, and all his apparel and armour, including his breastplate, lance, helmet, sword, and leggings, together with two oxen. He also bequeathed among other gifts to religious houses half a mark to the pittance of this convent.²⁷

The endowment of the priory was but small; the Valor of Henry VIII. gives its gross value at £18 11s. 2d.; out of this the prioress and convent had to pay £4 13s. 4d to the chaplain celebrating in the conventual church, and the clear income of the house amounted to only £12 6s. 7d.²⁸ Bishop Sutton in 1293 wrote to the prioress and convent desiring them to receive again Isabel, daughter of the late Philip de Covele, knt., who in a secular habit had gone to the bishop of London representing that fifteen years previously she had taken the habit of a nun at

²⁰ *Ibid.* B. 1028.

²¹ *Inq. p.m.* 10 Hen. VIII. No. 62.

²² *Harl. MS.* 6964, f. 139.

²³ *B. M.* lxix. 67.

²⁴ *Dugdale, Mon.* v. 729.

²⁵ *Cal. Anct. D. B.* 3299.

²⁶ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Gravesend.*

²⁷ *Madox, Form. Anglic.* p. 424. For lights about his corpse he left 6s. 8d., one mark for oblations on the day of his burial, two marks for distribution to the poor, and for a stone to be placed over him the comparatively meagre sum of 20d.

²⁸ *Valor Eccl. (Rec. Com.)*, iv. 328.

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Sewardsley, that on the death of her mother she claimed her share of the inheritance, intending to provide fit maintenance for herself among the nuns, but finding the convent unable to support her she had licence to leave; she was excluded from inheritance with her sisters on account of her religious profession, and entered the monastery of Holywell, London, where she had remained for fourteen years, and borne herself chastely; she now desired, however, to return to Sewardsley.¹ The poverty from which the inmates of the house must have suffered did not lessen as time went on. Bishop Dalderby in the year 1300 granted an indulgence to those who should bestow alms on the house,² and the hard and difficult conditions of the life there may possibly be accountable for the lapse of another sister, Joan de Fynnemere, who in that same year is said to have abandoned her habit and returned to a secular life. The bishop ordered sentence of greater excommunication to be pronounced against her.³ An indulgence to those who should come to the help of the poor nuns of Sewardsley was again granted by the bishop in 1319.⁴ The sisters obtained a licence from the diocesan to beg for alms in consequence of the poverty of their house in 1366,⁵ and in 1378 Bishop Bokyngham sanctioned the appropriation to the prioress and convent of the church of Easton Neston, his grant reciting that the value of their lands had been so affected by the pestilence that they were insufficient to maintain the number of sisters at first instituted.⁶ The poor terms on which the Prioress Maud and the convent leased a great part of their property to John Shepherd of Holcot for life shows the desperate straits to which they were reduced.⁷ The bishop of Lincoln at last, in January, 1459-60, at the request of Sir Thomas Greene their patron, appropriated the nunnery to the comparatively substantial Cluniac abbey of Delapré, the income of the former being insufficient to maintain the inmates or repair their buildings.⁸ From this time to the dissolution, when there was a prioress and four nuns here, the abbey appears to have been responsible for the maintenance of the priory subjected to it.

This priory was associated in the year 1470 with a case of alleged witchcraft. In February Jaquetta, duchess of Bedford, appeared before

the council at Westminster and complained that one Thomas Wake, esq., had in the time of the late troubles caused her to be accused of witchcraft, inasmuch as he had brought before the king and his lords at Warwick an image of lead made like a man-at-arms of the length of a man's finger broken in the middle and fastened with a wire, saying that it was made by her to use in witchcraft and sorcery, and had entreated John Daunger, parish clerk of Stoke Bruerne, Northamptonshire, to say that there were two other images made by her, one for the king and one for the queen. Thereupon the king had ordered the examination of Wake and Daunger, and in the great council of 19 January she had been cleared of the slander, and she now prayed that the restitution of her fame might be placed on record. In his examination, Wake stated that the image had been shown to various persons and had been exhibited in the nunnery of Sewardsley.⁹

With the exception of the visit paid by the bishop's official in 1300¹⁰ no record exists of a visitation which throws further light on the internal conditions of the house.¹¹ During the rule, which lasted from 1426-31, Bishop Gray issued a commission to inquire concerning alleged excesses of the prioress and her nuns; the result has apparently not been recorded.¹² In 1530 Agnes Carter was elected prioress on the death of Eleanor Scaresbrig, who had been appointed by the diocesan five years previously,¹³ but the election was declared void by the bishop on the ground of her manifest unfitness. She is described as 'mulier corrupta, apostate, et unius prolis mater, et eo pretextu ad hujusmodi officium indigna.'¹⁴

The four commissioners for Northamptonshire religious houses, Edmund Knightley, John Lane, Robert Burgoyne, and George Giffard, visited Sewardsley in May, 1536, as we may gather from a joint letter sent from Northampton to Cromwell on 19 May, as well as from a letter of Giffard of the same date.¹⁵ Elizabeth the last prioress of this nunnery received a small pension of £5.¹⁶ The site and lands of the priory, together with the rectory of Easton Neston, were granted on lease to Thomas Broke of London,¹⁷ but in 1550 came into the possession of Richard Fermor.¹⁸

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Sutton, f. 93d.

² Ibid. Dalderby, f. 14d.

³ Ibid. f. 16.

⁴ Ibid. f. 398.

⁵ Ibid. Bokyngham i. f. 38.

⁶ Ibid. ii. f. 168.

⁷ Anct. D. B. 3266. The lease included a house in Sewardsley, lands at Holcot and Easton Neston, a cartload of straw yearly from their grange, a flagon of ale for two weeks, easement for a cock and six hens in their close, and the services of a boy to keep sheep from Martinmas to Holy Cross Day. The rent in return for this accommodation should be 4s. 4d. yearly.

⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Chadworth, f. 53.

⁹ Pat. 9 Edw. IV. pt. 2, m. 5.

¹⁰ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Dalderby, f. 16.

¹¹ Cistercian houses were exempt from visitation, but in the case of nunneries of that order the bishop frequently claimed and managed to exercise the office.

¹² Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Gray, f. 173d.

¹³ Ibid. Inst. of Longlands, f. 93.

¹⁴ Cited by Bridges from the register of Longlands, *Hist. of Northants*, i. 296.

¹⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* x. 916, 917.

¹⁶ Misc. Bks. (Aug. Off.), 232, f. 42.

¹⁷ Ibid. 209, f. 38.

¹⁸ Pat. 4 Edw. VI. pt. 9.

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PRIORESSES OF SEWARDSLEY

Felicia¹
 Juliana,² resigned 1260-1
 Florence,³ elected 1260-1
 Iveta de Paveley⁴
 Beatrice,⁵ occurs 1282
 Lucy of Wetamstede,⁶ occurs 1304
 Dionysia,⁷ occurs about 1343
 Margaret de Lodebrok,⁸ elected 1349
 Maud,⁹ occurs 1371
 Alice Basyng,¹⁰ occurs 1432, resigned 1439
 Alice Drakelow,¹¹ elected 1439

Eleanor Scaresbrig,¹² appointed 1526
 Agnes Carter,¹⁴ elected 1530
 Elizabeth Campbell,¹⁵ occurs 1536

A pointed oval seal of the priory, attached to a charter dated 1325,¹⁶ represents the Virgin with crown seated on a throne, her right hand raised in benediction, in her left hand a sceptre. The Holy Child with nimbus is on her lap.

Legend : [+s]IGILLUM · SANTE · M[ARI]E ·
 DE · SAWARD SLEI . . .

HOUSES OF AUSTIN CANONS

II. THE ABBEY OF ST. JAMES, NORTHAMPTON

On the further side of the Nen, across the west bridge, in the suburbs of Northampton, still known as St. James's End, William Peverel founded an abbey for black canons of the order of St. Augustine at the commencement of the twelfth century. He endowed it with 40 acres in Duston, the church of Duston, and the mill of the same parish. The grant is undated, but was confirmed (probably in the same year) by Henry I. in the fifth year of his reign, 1104-5.¹²

The endowments of this house were speedily increased. Within a century of its foundation the abbey of St. James, in addition to Duston, was in possession of the Northamptonshire churches of Bozeat, Cranford, Heyford, Horton, Roade, Rothersthorpe, Wakerley, and Watford, as well as of the church of Gaddesden Parva in Hertfordshire. The whole of these rectories became appropriated to the abbey, save Cranford and Heyford, which had been either surrendered or resumed by the heirs of the donors before the end of the thirteenth century. The abbey also held farms or received rents in about thirty dif-

ferent parishes of Northamptonshire. The Valor of 1291 gives an income of £65 2s. 8d. derived from temporalities. The only spirituality reckoned is a pension of £3 6s. 8d. from the church of Roade.¹⁷ On the forfeiture of Peverel the manor of Duston was granted by Henry II. to Walkelin de Duston, who afterwards adopted the religious habit and entered the abbey of St. James, of which he subsequently became abbot. He did not bring his estate to the community, for by charter of 10 February, 1206, the year of his death, William de Duston, his son, obtained a confirmation from king John of all the lands his father possessed on the day when he became a religious.¹⁸

The canons, as was usually the case with early monastic foundations, occupied in the first instance temporary buildings, in all probability of wood. On 16 April, 1173, Abbot Ralf and his canons first worshipped in their new stone church, and found the new conventual buildings sufficiently advanced for occupation.¹⁹ In 1229 an order was sent by Henry III. for the abbot of St. James to be allowed two oaks towards building the tower of his church.²⁰ The abbot and convent obtained from the king in 1268 a grant to hold an annual fair within the abbey precincts on the vigil, day, and morrow of the feast of St. James.²¹ This privilege was allowed during the 'quo warranto' proceedings at the commencement of the reign of Edward III.,²² and must at one time have been a source of considerable profit, but it was stated in 1538 that it yielded no return beyond what was sufficient to pay

¹ Cited by Bridges, *Hist. of Northants*, i. 296, from Reg. of Priory of Ashby, p. 10.

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Gravesend. ³ Ibid.

⁴ Her name occurs in two charters of the thirteenth century (undated). Anct. D. B. 1191, 2919.

⁵ Ibid. B. 3761.

⁶ Ibid. B. 1577.

⁷ Ibid. 2690, 2748.

⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Gynwell, f. 142.

⁹ Anct. D. B. 3266. ¹⁰ Ibid. 3232.

¹¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Alnwick, f. 124.

¹² Cart. Antiq. T. n. 30, and Cott. MS. Tib. E. v. This last has been a fine chartulary of the abbey, containing 247 folios, but sadly damaged by the fire of 1731. It was compiled in 1313, but contains many later additions. The list of abbots is brought down to 1430. Bishop Kennet's copy of the foundation charter is to be found in Lansd. MS. 973, p. 107, and a copy of the confirmation charter in Harleian MS. 6748, f. 9b. There are a large number of extracts from this chartulary in the Bodl. MSS. Top. Northants E. v. ff. 277-497.

¹³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Longlands, f. 93.

¹⁴ Her election was annulled by the bishop. Linc. Epis. Reg. Longlands, cited by Bridges, op. cit. i. 296.

¹⁵ Misc. Bks (Aug. Off.), 232, f. 42.

¹⁶ Cott. Chart. xi. 41.

¹⁷ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), f. 38b.

¹⁸ Harl. MS. 84.

¹⁹ Cott. MS. Tib. E. v. 234.

²⁰ Close, 14 Hen. III. m. 21.

²¹ Harl. Chart. 58.

²² *Plac. de Quo Warr.* (Rec. Com.), 570.

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expenses.¹ The fair survived the dissolution, but was moved into the town of Northampton about the year 1690. During the short rule of John Lupus, 1266–1269, the church of Spratton was appropriated to the abbey, and a vicarage ordained.²

The abbot was summoned to attend Parliament in 1265,³ and again in the year 1319.⁴ On the latter occasion the abbot, being an old man, appointed one of his canons, Henry of Blisworth, to act as his proxy, and the proctor was instructed to procure, if possible, a revocation of the costly privilege of attendance. Representation was made to the chancellor, the bishop of Ely, and the court of chancery that the abbot of St. James did not hold of the king, either by barony or in chief, but in frankalmoigne, and that neither he nor his predecessors had been summoned hitherto save in the case of the year 1265. The plea was accepted by the court, and an order given for the abbot's name to be expunged from the roll of those to be summoned.⁵

An order was sent in the early part of the reign of Edward I. to the barons of the Exchequer to acquit the prior and convent of £6 13s. 4d., in which they made fine with the late king to have the custody of their house during a recent voidance.⁶ The king in April, 1291, granted to the abbot and canons the site of various houses that had belonged to the Jews before the order for their banishment from the kingdom in 1290, situated before the entrance to their synagogue (*scola*), as well as of the houses that had belonged to Sarra of London, a Jewess.⁷ It appears from various deeds that the synagogue and Jewish settlement lay close to the precinct walls of the abbey; the cemetery of the Jews lay beyond the north gate of the town.

The abbey church was rebuilt on a large scale during the reign of Edward I. He forwarded the work by ordering eight oaks fit for timber to be allowed the abbot of the king's gift,⁸ an indulgence was granted by Bishop Dalderby in 1301 to all who should contribute towards the fund for the fabric,⁹ and a licence was issued for the dedication of two altars in the conventual church in 1310, the date probably of its completion.¹⁰ The bishop's register records in 1312 the dedication of altars of SS. Katherine and Margaret in the church of St. James of Northampton.¹¹ The abbey was sometimes used on state occasions. On 2 July, 1318, Sir William de Aremyn, keeper of the rolls of chancery, brought the great

seal to Northampton, and delivered it to the chancellor, John de Hotham, bishop of Ely, in his inn in St. James's Abbey, and writs are dated from the abbey on the 4th of the same month.¹²

No entries in the diocesan registers throw light on the internal condition of the abbey. In 1309 the bishop had occasion to excommunicate John de Horewood, one of the canons, for apostasy in leaving the convent.¹³ Various wills of the fourteenth century are entered in the chartulary of the house containing various small bequests to the canons.¹⁴ Denise, wife of Walter Passelew, by her will dated 1340, and proved 1342, left 6s. 8d. for a single pittance to the house. John Passelew, of Northampton, butcher, by his will of 1349 left a chest (*unam cistam*) to St. James's, and his seal to Canon Passelew of the monastery. Many persons of rank and distinction sought interment within the abbey church. In 1485 Sir John Catesby of Arthingworth, justice of the common pleas, willed his body to be buried here. In 1490 Richard Woodville, Earl Rivers, bequeathed his body to be buried in the abbey church of St. James, Northampton, 'in a place made ready for the same.' In 1496, Thomas, Lord Borough, directed in his will 'that a stone be laid upon my mother lying interred in the abbey of St. James at Northampton, somewhat raised in height, with the arms of my father and mother thereon, and an inscription; for the doing whereof I bequeath x li.' ¹⁵

On 2 May, 1501, 'Richard Berde, doctour of the lawes sogournand in the monastery of synt James beside Northampton,' left his body to be buried in the conventual church. He bequeathed for his mortuary his best gown with the hood belonging thereto, £10 in money in recompense for the cost and charges to which he had put the monastery, 20s. to the abbot, and 10s. to each of the canons. He also bequeathed to the abbot and his successors his 'best surplus of Raynes,' ¹⁶ to the abbot and convent his best breviary, to the prior a silver spoon, his signet of silver, and his 'beds of Mistelden'; to Robert Chamberleyn, one of the canons, a double bottle of a quart, a little pillow, his 'harnist gardill,' his gilt knives, a little coffer, and his red mantle; to Sir John, another of the canons, a coffer; to the conventual church, his 'mustardeviles' ¹⁷ hoode with the lynnyng of grene silk for the cross-bearer on Seynt Nicholas nyght'; ¹⁸ to fourteen servants

¹² *Cal. of Close*, 1313–8, p. 620.

¹³ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Dalderby*, f. 133.

¹⁴ *Cott. MS. Tib. E. v. ff.* 195b, 197b.

¹⁵ *Nicolas, Test. Vet.* p. 428. He was himself, however, buried at Gainsborough.

¹⁶ A striped or rayed cloth.

¹⁷ 'Mustredeவில்' was a kind of mixed grey woollen cloth.

¹⁸ The hood with the green lining intended to deck a youthful cross-bearer for the boy-bishop burlesque on St. Nicholas's Day.

¹ *Mins. Accts. (Aug. Off.)*, 30 Hen. VIII.

² *Bodl. MSS. Top. Northants*, E. v. ff. 335–6.

³ *Selden, Titles of Honor*, 724.

⁴ *Parl. Writs (Rec. Com.)*, ii. div. iii. p. 1230.

⁵ *Ibid.* His name, nevertheless, is given for 1321, 1322. *Ibid.* 1231.

⁶ *Close*, 2 Edw. I. m. 7.

⁷ *Pat.* 8 Edw. II. pt. 1, m. 11.

⁸ *Close*, 18 Edw. I. m. 4.

⁹ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Dalderby*, f. 37.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* f. 179.

¹¹ *Ibid.* f. 235d.

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of the convent, mentioned by name, 8*d.* each, and to the other servants 4*d.* each; to the infirmary two pewter dishes; to the monastery for his month's mind, 20*s.*, and for his anniversary 5*s.*; to the poor of St. James's End, Dallington and Duston 20*s.* in bread and 10*s.* in money; to the poor in the most need seven hangings of linen and the money resulting from the sale of his great mases, his great salt, and four silver spoons; to the four alms-children of the monastery 2*d.* each, and to the poor alms-men of the monastery 4*d.* each; and to John Mason the hermit, his printed mass book for use in the hermitage chapel.¹ The chartulary of the abbey gives various special bequests to the lady chapel and infirmary.²

The esteem in which the house and its inmates were held is borne out by the report of George Giffard, the leading member of the first local commission for the suppression of the monasteries. His letter to Cromwell, dated 19 May, 1536, states that on the 17th they had formally visited the abbey, of which the head was a right discreet man, a good husbender, and well beloved of all.³ By his alms there three or four score folk of the town and country were daily relieved. The yearly value of the lands was £270. The house was stately, in very good repair, and standing much to the relief of the town of Northampton. In consideration of the great good done to the poor he begged Cromwell's favour for the abbot, and advised that the king should reasonably redeem it.⁴ Simultaneously a joint formal report was forwarded from Northampton by Giffard and his co-commissioners, Edward Knightley, John Lane, and Robert Burgoyne. They stated again that St. James's was a goodly solemn house in church and choir, meet for one of treble the lands, in substantial repair, of old foundation, and possessing the goodliest barn that ever was seen for stone and timber; that there were many poor in Northampton, and that they were greatly relieved by this house, which was of good report through the whole town. They assured Cromwell that he would do a very meritorious deed with much honour to the king if he should allow this house to continue.⁵

This unexpectedly good, and it would seem unwelcome report drew from the king the remark 'that it was like they (the commissioners) had received rewards.' In spite of the report of the commissioners, and the Valor of 1535 declaring its clear annual value at £213 17*s.* 2½*d.*,⁶ the

house was scheduled as of 'a less yearly value than £200,' and brought within the scope of the earlier Act for suppression.⁷

On 14 July, 1536, Giffard wrote to Cromwell from Kettering informing him that Abbot John Dasset, of St. James's, Northampton, had died on Thursday night. He supposed he had left the house in debt, and that it was like to be suppressed, and begged that he might be the farmer thereof; the demesnes were worth £14 a year, and he proposed to give Cromwell £20 if he would secure it for him. He added that he feared no man's labour to strive and obtain the farm, save his colleague sergeant Edward Knightley.⁸

The original good reports, or possibly the greater inducement of a handsome fine of £333 6*s.* 8*d.*, which the canons were ready to pay for its redemption,⁹ secured the house a respite, and provided a check for the schemes of Giffard and Knightley.¹⁰ William Brokden was appointed abbot-elect, or master of St. James's, after an irregular fashion by Cromwell. On 20 January, 1536-7, Brokden wrote to Cromwell entreating that he and his brethren might have their confirmation and other seals, or that word might be sent by the bearer when the writer should wait upon his lordship.¹¹ Thomas Edwards, the prior, and four of the canons wrote to the commissioners, 5 May, 1538, representing how well Brokden had governed the house as master for a year and a half, showing good hospitality, and bringing it out of much debt. They begged that he would obtain the king's seal for the redemption of the abbey, for the town and country marvelled that he took such pains having no seal.¹² The seal of office appears to have been gained between the date of the last letter and 25 August, 1538, the same year when it was used for the deed of surrender executed by Abbot Brokden, Prior Edwards, and four other canons, before Dr. Layton.¹³ The much-tried abbot was rewarded with a pension of £11 6*s.* 8*d.*, the rectory of Watford, and the tithes of Gilsworth.¹⁴

ABBOTS OF ST. JAMES, NORTHAMPTON

William,¹⁵ elected 1119

Ralf, appointed 1158, died 1176

William Paveley, elected 1176, died 1180

Walkelin of Duston, elected 1180, died 1206

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* x. 1166.

⁸ *Ibid.* xi. 87.

⁹ *Ibid.* xiii. pt. 2, 457.

¹⁰ Aug. Off. Accts. 28-30 Hen. VIII.

¹¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xii. pt. 1, 168.

¹² *Ibid.* xiii. pt. 1, 932.

¹³ *Ibid.* pt. 2, 183.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* xiv. pt. 1, p. 597.

¹⁵ A list of abbots up to the year 1430 is given in the chartulary, Cott. MS. Tib. E. v. f. 234. In this Ralf is given as the 'first' abbot, that is to say the first after the canons 'leaving their former dwelling entered into the new church of St. James' in 1173.

¹ Prerog. Ct. of Canterbury, Blamyre, f. 4. There was a hermitage pertaining to the west bridge into Northampton at St. James's End.

² Cott. MS. Tib. E. v. ff. 190, 191b.

³ This was John Dasset, who, with nine other canons of the house, subscribed to the king's supremacy 17 August, 1534. *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* vii. 1121 (28).

⁴ *Ibid.* x. 916.

⁵ *Ibid.* 917.

⁶ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 319.

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Thomas, elected 1206, died 1220
 Adam, elected 1220, died 1231
 Walter of Melton,¹ elected 1231, died 1237
 Osbert of Luffenham, elected 1237, resigned 1241
 Adam Grilly or Grully, elected 1241, died 1266
 John Lupus, elected 1266, died 1269
 Adam de Keylmersch,² elected 1269, died 1274
 Ralf of Hecham, elected 1274, died 1298-9
 Nicholas of Flore,³ elected 1298-9, died 1334
 Gerard of Combes,⁴ elected 1334, died 1354
 William of Thorp,⁵ elected 1354, died 1378
 John Cayno,⁶ elected 1378, died 1410.
 John Bacon,⁷ elected 1410, died 1430
 John Watford *alias* Margyory, elected 1430, died 1445
 William Young, elected 1445, died 1471
 John Grauntwell,⁸ elected 1471, died 1476
 John Wykeley,⁹ elected 1476
 Henry Cocks, elected 1498, died 1532
 John Dasset,¹⁰ elected 1532, died 1536
 William Brokden, appointed 1536-7

A creamy white pointed oval seal, chipped and injured, attached to a charter of Abbot Walcelin, 1180-1206,¹¹ represents St. James full-length with a cope, in his right hand a long cross, in his left hand a book. In the field on each side an estoile of eight points.

Legend defaced: SIGIL.

Later seal attached to a deed of Abbot John Lupus or de Lou,¹² 1266-1269. The obverse, pointed oval, represents St. James standing, under a carved trefoiled arch with a canopy crowned with two pinnacles, between which is a conventional representation of a cruciform church, showing three gables and a central tower supported on slender shafts, on a carved corbel, habited as a pilgrim with cloak, cap, and wallet, in his right hand a pilgrim's staff, in his left hand a book. On each side under the canopy four escallops, in the field outside an estoile of six points, a crescent, a bust, and an escallop. In base under a cusped arch the abbot with pastoral staff, half length in prayer.

Legend: s'CONVENTVS . SĀI . IACOBI . (E)XT(RA . NORHĀTONA)

¹ His promotion, 'with the consent of the king,' is recorded in the Lincoln Episcopal Registers, Roll of Wells.

² Ibid. Roll of Gravesend.

³ Pat. 28 Edw. I. m. 30, and Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Dalderby, f. 101.

⁴ Pat. 8 Edw. III. pt. 2, m. 34.

⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Gynwell, f. 154.

⁶ Pat. 2 Rich. II. pt. 1, m. 41.

⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Repingdon, f. 243d.

⁸ Pat. 11 Edw. IV. pt. 1, m. 1.

⁹ Ibid. 16 Edw. IV. pt. 1, m. 13.

¹⁰ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* v. 1139 (23).

¹¹ Harl. Chart. 84 F. 39.

¹² Add. Chart. 6043. Another fine impression of the obverse is attached to the deed of surrender, No. 173.

The reverse of the same seal gives the counter-seal of the abbot. It is a smaller pointed oval and represents the abbot standing on a carved corbel, holding in his right hand a pastoral staff, in his left hand a book. In the field on the right an escallop, on each side several pierced cinquefoils.

Legend: ✠ SIG ABBATIS . SANTI . IACOBI . NORH . . .

The obverse of the seal attached to a charter of Abbot Ralf of Hecham, bearing date of the Feast of St. Mark the Evangelist 1298,¹³ is the same as the seal given above.¹⁴ The reverse is the counter-seal of the abbot, a smaller pointed oval. The subject is indistinct, but represents two figures standing under a tree, and is probably intended for a representation of the Fall.

Legend: EVAM . RAMO . PDIT . ADAM

Signet of Abbot Henry Cocks, 1498-1532, oval; the impression, which is indistinct, represents an escallop of St. James within an orle of six ermine spots (?) in a cusped border.¹⁵

12. THE PRIORY OF CANONS ASHBY

A priory of Austin canons dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Virgin was founded here in the reign of Henry II. by Stephen de Leye, lord of the manor. He bestowed on the new foundation the church of Ashby with four virgates of land, together with a fish pond and mill, 'Rudemede,' the enclosure of 'Segeho,' 26 acres in Ashby field, and houses and crofts as far as the principal gate, half the church of Podington in Bedfordshire, and all the tithes of his court. By another deed he gave for the soul of his father half a hide of land near the church of Ashby, in confirmation of which he laid his sword upon the altar of the parish church, calling on all the parish to witness the donation, and by a third deed he gave all the church of Podington and 7s. from the mill of 'Snelston' (Bedfordshire).¹⁶

Various further benefactions were added to the endowment by the family of the founder, the most important of these being the church of Thurleigh, Bedfordshire, by Hugh his eldest son, and the dovecot of Podington and other grants by Anna, widow of Bartholomew de Leye, son of Hugh, for the maintenance of a lamp to burn perpetually in the chapel of St. Bartholomew.

¹³ Add. Chart. 21,586.

¹⁴ L.F.C. x. 3.

¹⁵ Ashby Chart. *penes* R. Orlebar, cited by Baker, *Hist. of Northants*, ii. 7-8. See *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. App.* iii. 274. A large number of original deeds copied in the Orlebar chartulary are preserved at the P.R.O.

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where their bodies rested.¹ Bartholomew de Leye himself by an early thirteenth-century will left his body to be buried in the church of St. Mary, Canons Ashby, and bequeathed to the canons his piebald horse and his tawny horse to be used in their horse mill.² From the Pateshull family they acquired lands at Bolnhurst, and the church of Puttenham, Hertfordshire, from the Wale family.³ Nicholas, archdeacon of Huntingdon, 1155-1184, at the presentation of Richard son of Galo instituted the prior and canons of Ashby as parson of the church of Puttenham in the presence of Richard, parson of the same church; the said Richard was to pay 12*d.* yearly to the canons in the name of the said canons.⁴ This is an early instance of a quasi-appropriation. By an undated charter of warranty Robert son of Ralph de Everdon granted to the prior and canons the mill of Cotes in perpetuity according to the tenor of a charter of his father.⁵

In 1282 Elias the prior of Ashby entered into an agreement with Beatrice, prioress of Swardsley, Thomas Wale, lord of Eydon, Sir Henry, rector of the same, and other free tenants, to the effect that the prior and prioress should enjoy common pasture in the east field of Eydon in fallow time, and Thomas Wale and his free tenants the same in the west field.⁶ In the year 1285 William St. John released certain lands in Plumpton and Blackwell to Prior Elias and his convent on condition that they should celebrate the anniversaries of himself and his wife.⁷

Bishop Dalderby in 1309 sanctioned the appropriation of the church of Moreton Pinkney of their advowson to the priory, a royal licence

for the same having been obtained the previous year,⁸ on the ground that the house was situated next to the highway used by clerks and others going to Oxford to study, as well as by noblemen, so that there was a heavy demand on the hospitality of the canons.⁹ The diocesan a few years previously, in 1304, granted an indulgence to further the building and repair of the fabric and bell tower of their church.¹⁰ The dispute between Prior Adam of Canons Ashby and Roger de Mussynden relative to the advowson of the church of Culworth was settled in 1325 by an arrangement whereby Roger was to have the presentation on the present occasion, but all future presentations should be in the hands of the prior.¹¹ The appropriation of the church of Culworth to the priory was sanctioned by the diocesan in 1342.¹²

The Norwich Taxation of 1254 gave the annual value of the spiritualities of the priory, including the churches of Canons Ashby, Culworth, and Moreton Pinkney, at £37 6*s.* 8*d.*, and the temporalities, situated in Ashby, Plumpton, and Litchborough, at £17 16*s.* 4½*d.*¹³ In 1329, when Walter de Neyrnuit was appointed prior, an inventory was drawn up of the goods in the houses and at the manors belonging to the canons at Adstone, Moreton Pinkney, and Podington. Details are given of the three granges at Ashby, including eight horses with four carts, and nine ploughs with twenty-six oxen, of the sheepcote, the mill worked by four horses, of which three were old, and of the carpenter's shop near the granary, the smithy, the bakehouse, the brewhouse, the cellar, the furnace kitchen, and the great kitchen.¹⁴

There is little information as to the internal condition of this house. Bishop Burghersh in 1322 sent a mandate to the prior for the readmission of a canon who had left the monastery, but now sought leave to return as a penitent.¹⁵ On 21 March, 1389, Walter Gibbes, clerk, commissary-general of the archbishop of Canter-

¹ Baker, *Hist. of Northants*, ii. 8-9. A twelfth-century deed of Hugh de Leye conveyed to the canons of Ashby the mill of Podington with a messuage, land, and pasture there, as well as the miller, his wife, children, and chattels, for which grant the canons released to Hugh the 7*s.* interest which they had in the mill of 'Snelston' of his father. Hugh also granted them 2*s.* out of the Snelston mill to buy fish in Lent. *Cal. Anct. D.* (P.R.O.) B. 2963.

² Madox, *Form. Anglic.* dcclxviii.

³ Baker, *Hist. of Northants*, ii. 8-9. The church was alienated by the priory to the bishops of Lincoln in 1308. Pat. 2 Edw. II. pt. 2, m. 11, and Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Dalderby, f. 116*d.*

⁴ *Cal. Anct. D.* (P.R.O.) B. 2967.

⁵ Madox, *Form. Anglic.* dxxxvii. By another undated charter Matthew de Rumuli granted five shillings annually out of the town of Ashby to the canons until such time as he should grant a like rental in some other place. Ibid. cccxxxix.

⁶ *Cal. Anct. D.* (P.R.O.), B. 3761.

⁷ Madox, *Form. Anglic.* dcxc. A group of deeds at the P.R.O.—Edward I. to Edward III.—relate to the tenure of the priory of land on Hampton Knoll at Litchborough (*Cal. Anct. D.* B. 1930-9). Another set of evidences pertain to the possessions of the priory at Moreton Pinkney (Ibid. B. 2583, 2588-9, 2591-2, 2604, 2607). A third and numerous group comprise evidences as to their property at Adstone (Ibid.

B. 292-353). Other deeds relate to Byfield and Cotes (ibid. B. 700, 845, 851, and 1073, 1076). The grants by the Pinkney family of lands at Weedon and Weston, etc., are set forth in charters cited by Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 442-3.

⁸ Pat. 1 Edw. II. pt. 2, m. 13.

⁹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Dalderby, f. 141*d.*

¹⁰ Ibid. f. 72.

¹¹ *Cal. Anct. D.* (P.R.O.), B. 1153.

¹² Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Gynwell, f. 166. Pope Innocent VI. in 1355 confirmed, with exemplifications from the register, the sanction of Clement VI. to the appropriation of this church of the value of 20 marks, the original having been lost. *Cal. of Papal L.* iii. 575.

¹³ Cott. MS. Nero, D. x. f. 191.

¹⁴ Baker sets forth most of these particulars from the inventory which is among the Aug. Off. papers, *Hist. of Northants*. ii. 10.

¹⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Burghersh, f. 61*d.*

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bury for the visitation of the clergy, laity, and religious foundations of the Lincoln diocese, came to visit the priory of Canons Ashby. While there he issued a certificate that the prioress and convent of the neighbouring house of Catesby rightfully possessed the parish churches of Catesby and Ashby.¹ Bishop Gray, 1431-6, made a visitation of the house in the first half of the fifteenth century. He afterwards issued the formal injunctions usually enjoined on Austin houses, but added in addition that the prior was forbidden to consort with three women whose names he gave out; parents, brothers, and relatives of the inmates living near at hand had caused grave dissension. Thomas Walsingham was not to be removed from the office of sub-prior without the bishop's leave.²

The acknowledgment of the king's supremacy was signed on 13 August, 1534, by Richard Randall, prior, Richard Colles, sub-prior, and ten other canons.³ Richard Randall resigned in October of the same year, and the convent petitioned for licence to elect.⁴ Richard Colles, the former sub-prior, is entered as prior in the Valor of 1535, which gives the priory a clear annual income of £109 or. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.⁵ The house was suppressed the following year among the lesser monasteries.⁶ The report of the commissioner who visited in 1535 stated that the house was £160 in debt by the preferment of the late prior, that the present head, though unlearned, was disposed to do well, and had a learned and religious sub-prior under him.⁷ The house and site were granted in 1537 to Sir Francis Bryan for £790 3s. 4d., but licence to alienate the same to John Cope was granted the following year.⁸

When the house was spoiled the commissioners made special mention of a suit of vestments of cloth of silver, with fleur-de-lys and angels worked on it, which was delivered to Thomas Typlady, of London, embroiderer, in discharge of a debt of the said priory for £30.⁹

PRIORS OF CANONS ASHEY

William¹⁰ occurs during reign of Henry II.
Alexander¹¹ occurs during reign of John

¹ *Cal. Anct. D.* (P.R.O.) B. 3532.

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Gray, f. 198. The date of this visitation is not given.

³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* vii. 1121 (23).

⁴ *Ibid.* 1498 (20).

⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 337.

⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* x. 917. ⁷ *Ibid.* ix. 457.

⁸ *Ibid.* xii. pt. ii. 1008 (10); xiii. pt. ii. 967 (47).

⁹ *Ibid.* 457. The prior had ordered these vestments, 'a cope and two tunicles,' from Typlady for the sum of £39. They were brought to Stourbridge Fair and delivered to the monastery servants just before the dissolution, and £29 was still owing to Typlady when the plunder was taken for the king. Gasquet, *Hen. VIII. and the Monasteries*, ii. 418-9.

¹⁰ He occurs as a witness to a charter. Baker, *Hist. of Northants.* ii. 12.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

Hugh¹² occurs 1214

Griffin of Eketon¹³ instituted 1226

Geoffrey¹⁴ occurs 1236 and 1244

Adam¹⁵ occurs 1253 and 1261

Osbert¹⁶

Elias of Chalcombe¹⁷ instituted 1272, died 1294

Robert of Wardington¹⁸ instituted 1294, resigned 1311

Robert Lovel¹⁹ instituted 1311, died 1319

John of Dodford²⁰ instituted 1319

Robert of Gavescote²¹ instituted 1320-1, resigned 1323

Adam of Buckingham²² instituted 1323

Walter de Neyrnuit²³ instituted 1329, died 1344

Thomas of Higham²⁴ instituted 1344, died 1349

Robert of Ashby²⁵ instituted 1341

John Burton²⁶ occurs 1417

William Coleworth²⁷ occurs 1434

John Nantwich²⁸ occurs 1441

Thomas Boteler²⁹ occurs 1448

Thomas Greenway³⁰ occurs 1500

Richard Randall³¹ occurs 1534, resigned 1534

Richard Colles³² occurs 1535

A pointed oval sulphur cast³³ of the original twelfth-century seal shows the Blessed Virgin seated on a throne, with nimbus, the Holy Child on her lap, in her right hand a sceptre fleur-de-lizé.

Legend: SIGILLVM . SANCTE . MARIE . DE . ESSEBI :

An imperfect later fourteenth-century seal with the Virgin seated and the Holy Child on her knee is given in Dugdale.³⁴

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ He was precentor of Dunstable, and was appointed on the resignation of O., late prior, with the consent of Roger de Kanz, the patron. Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Wells.

¹⁴ Cited by Baker from the chartulary of the priory, *Hist. of Northants.* ii. 12. ¹⁵ *Ibid.* ¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Gravesend.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* Inst. of Sutton, f. 56.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* Inst. of Dalderby, f. 120d.

²⁰ *Ibid.* f. 137d.

²¹ Baker, *Hist. of Northants.* ii. 12.

²² Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Burghersh, f. 168d.

²³ *Anct. D.* (P.R.O.) B. 121.

²⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Beck, f. 61d.

²⁵ *Ibid.* Inst. of Gynwell, f. 179.

²⁶ Cited by Baker from the chartulary, *Hist. of Northants.* ii. 13.

²⁷ Cited by Baker from the diocesan register of Gray, *Hist. of Northants.* ii. 13.

²⁸ Baker, *Hist. of Northants.* ii. 13.

²⁹ Madox, *Form. Anglic.* dxc.

³⁰ Baker, *Hist. of Northants.* ii. 13.

³¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* vii. 1121 (23).

³² *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 337.

³³ B.M. lxix. 64. ³⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 442.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

There is also a fourteenth-century pointed oval seal *ad causas*, of which there is a cast at the British Museum,¹ which represents the Blessed Virgin with crown, the Holy Child on the left arm, standing on a shield of arms; very imperfect. On the right the prior kneeling with uplifted hands in prayer, on the left a tree. In field above on the right a crescent and estoile of six points.

Legend defective : . . . ORIS . DE . AS . . .
CORVM . AD

13. THE PRIORY OF CHALCOMBE

Hugh de Chacombe, lord of the manor of Chalcombe, founded here a priory of Austin canons in the reign of Henry II., dedicated to the honour of SS. Peter and Paul. The foundation charter is witnessed by Walkelin, abbot of St. James, Northampton, and Alexander, prior of Canons Ashby, both of the same order, among others.²

There is no known register or chartulary of this priory extant, but its original endowment and subsequent benefactions are set forth in a royal charter of confirmation in 1328.³ The first endowment consisted of the churches of Chalcombe, Great Dalby or Chalcombe Dalby (Leicestershire), Barford St. Michael (Oxfordshire), Penn (Buckinghamshire), and half the church of Rotherby (Leicestershire), together with lands, etc., at Chalcombe, and in other parishes where the priory held the advowson of the church. Subsequent gifts were not considerable, and consisted chiefly of lands and rents in Oxfordshire. According to the Taxation of 1291 the prior and convent at that time held temporalities amounting to £48 18s. 8d. within the archdeaconries of Northampton, Oxford, and Leicester, and a pension of £4 from the church of Boddington; the church of Chalcombe was valued at £10.⁴

Little is known of the early history of this foundation till the middle of the thirteenth century. William of Colingham was elected prior in 1241, and admitted by the bishop.⁵ During the rule of his successor, Adam of Appleby, Pope Martin IV. sent to collect cess and other dues. In the list appended to his letter to the archbishops and bishops authorizing the collection appears the item *obolus massabut.* due from the priory of SS. Peter and Paul of Chalcombe.⁶ The convent was called on in 1310 with other religious houses to assist the

king with a loan of victuals for the Scotch expedition.⁷ In 1315 the brethren obtained a licence from the crown at the instance of John de Segrave permitting them to acquire in mortmain lands and rents to the value of ten marks.⁸ In the same year the convent was charged with a grave trespass. A commission was issued in December, on the complaint of John de Port and Agnes his wife, that Alexander, prior of Chalcombe, Philip the cellarer, a canon, and others had broken by night into their closes and houses at Wormleighton in Warwickshire, hunted and killed their rabbits, consumed with cattle a great part of the corn in their granges, as well as trampled down the remainder, done much damage to pastures and meadows, carried away their corn and chattels, seized their plough-oxen, and refused to permit them to receive any profits issuing out of land and tenements at Wormleighton, which they held by certain services.⁹ The affair seems to have arisen through a dispute as to the tenancy of the plaintiffs, John and Agnes, of lands pertaining to the priory in Wormleighton.¹⁰ The upshot cannot be stated exactly, but Agnes appeared before the king at Doncaster on 15 December, 1315, and subsequent occasions, and sought to replevy their land at Wormleighton, taken into the king's hand for their default before the justices of the bench against Alexander, prior of Chalcombe,¹¹ so the canons appear to have won the case.

On the death of Prior Alexander in 1326 an inquisition was held to ascertain the rights of the patron in regard to the election of superiors and the custody of the priory during a vacancy, the patron, Stephen de Segrave, being at that time a minor and king's ward.¹² It was found that Hugh de Chacombe, founder of the priory, formerly granted by his charter free election to the canons, but with the assent of him and his heirs; that Amabilia de Segrave, heiress of the said Hugh, granted that the canons, on the voidance of the priory by death or cession, should have free administration of all their goods, saving a servant or a boy staying in the priory during a voidance for the defence of the priory and its goods; that the sub-prior and convent had had free election on the occasion of each voidance from the time of the charter without seeking a licence from the patrons of the priory, and free administration of their goods without any hindrance, save that a servant was

⁷ Close, 3 Edw. II. m. 5d.

⁸ Pat. 8 Edw. II. pt. 1, m. 3.

⁹ Ibid. 9 Edw. II. pt. 1, m. 13, pt. 2, m. 26d.

¹⁰ A virgate of land in that parish had been given to the priory by Hodierna, widow of Richard Waleys, as lady of the manor, half a virgate in the same lordship, by Petronilla, her daughter, and four acres by John Passelewe. Conf. Charter, Pat. 2 Edw. III. pt. 2, m. 36.

¹¹ Close, 9 Edw. II. m. 21d. 17, 11d.

¹² Inq. p.m. 19 Edw. II. No. 91.

¹ B.M. lxix. 65.

² Cited by Bridges (*Hist. of Northants*, i. 155), from the Hatton muniments.

³ Pat. 2 Edw. III. pt. 2, m. 36.

⁴ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), pp. 38, 43b, 55b, 67.

⁵ Extracts from Reg. of Linc. Harl. MS. 6950, f. 112.

⁶ *Cal. of Papal L.* i. 476.

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placed during voidance at the gate of the priory for protection; that after the convent had elected a prior they were wont to send him forthwith to the ancestors of Stephen de Segrave with letters patent under their common seal, whom the said ancestors received without challenge and presented by their letters patent to the bishop of Lincoln; that the prior elect, on his confirmation by the bishop, returned to the priory without doing fealty or service to Stephen's ancestors, and that the servant at the priory gate left without letter or order from his lord immediately on the entrance of the new prior. The king, on the receipt of this return, gave instructions to the escheator of Northampton not to meddle further with the temporalities of the priory now void by the death of Alexander, late prior.¹

Shortly before the election of Thomas of Saxton in March, 1332-3, Edmund de Bereford, clerk, made a grant to the priory of the manor of Grandborough, Warwickshire, on condition that the convent should find four canons to celebrate for the souls of his father, mother, and himself, and for King Edward and Henry, bishop of Lincoln, and should distribute 40s. yearly on his anniversary to the poor, and 20s. on the anniversary of his father.² This grant was made, however, without licence from the crown, and the manor was shortly afterwards recovered by the heirs of the Braundeston family, from whom the Berefords had purchased it.³

Edward III. in 1346 granted a licence for the alienation in mortmain to the prior and convent (1) of eight messuages, etc., the gift of John de Lyouns; (2) of a messuage and nine acres of land in Thorpe Mandeville, from John de Wardyngton; and (3) two acres of land in Chalcombe, from John de Segrave, in full satisfaction of the 100s. yearly of land which they had leave to acquire.⁴ The prior is entered in the following year, 1347, for a loan of £5 13s. 4d. to the king towards the expenses of the war in France.⁵

The priors of Chalcombe are mentioned in various deeds and documents during the remainder of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and early sixteenth centuries. Sir John de Segrave, who died at Bretby, Derbyshire, in 1352, left his body to be buried in the priory of Chalcombe, appointing the prior as one of his executors.⁶ The pope in 1411 sanctioned the appropriation of the church of Barford by the prior and convent, being of their patronage, on the ground that their buildings were much in need of repair, and their revenues greatly impaired by reason of the extensive hospitality they were bound to

maintain. The annual value of the priory was declared to be under 200 marks.⁷ In the same year Thomas Brackley, canon of the priory, obtained papal dispensation to hold a benefice with or without cure of souls, and this dispensation was renewed to him in 1413, after his election as prior.⁸ John Ferneall, who succeeded Thomas Brackley, was a brother of the Corpus Christi Guild, Coventry, in 1495 and 1498;⁹ he was also vicar of Chalcombe from 1491 to 1499,¹⁰ and these dates probably represent the duration of his rule. Pope Julius II. in 1504 issued a bull granting the appropriation of the parish church of Slipton to the priory in consequence of the loss incurred through a recent fire.¹¹ Prior Saunders was vicar of the church of Chalcombe from 1511 to 1534; in the latter year he and seven of the canons subscribed to the acknowledgement of the king's supremacy.¹² He died shortly afterwards, and was succeeded by Henry Austen, whose rule must have been very brief, for at the time of the survey of 1535 the office was vacant, and Thomas Stone in charge as sub-prior. The income of the house at that time amounted to £85 13s. 5½d., out of which there was a charge of £1 14s. 8d. in alms and distribution to the poor;¹³ it fell thus within the scope of the earlier Act of Suppression of houses of less yearly value than £200.¹⁴ The prior received a pension of £14, but no mention is made of the rest of the community.¹⁵

The messuages and lands belonging to the suppressed priory of Chalcombe, at Wardington, Oxfordshire, with court-leets, views of frankpledge, etc., were granted to Thomas Pope, treasurer of the Court of Augmentations, in February, 1537,¹⁶ and in the following September he expressed a desire to Cromwell to purchase the residue of the priory property.¹⁷ Five years later, however, the site of the priory and the adjacent lands were granted to Michael Fox.¹⁸

According to a manuscript note of about the year 1550, the conventual church of this small priory was the burial place of a remarkable number of distinguished persons.¹⁹

PRIORS OF CHALCOMBE

William of Colingham,²⁰ elected 1241

Adam of Appleby,²¹ elected 1274, died 1299

⁷ *Cal. of Papal L.* vi. 276.

⁸ *Ibid.* and 396.

⁹ Baker, *Hist. of Northants*, i. 594.

¹⁰ Bridges, *Hist. of Northants*, i. 157.

¹¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Smith, f. 7b.

¹² P.R.O. Acknowledgment of Supremacy, No. 29.

¹³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 338.

¹⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* x. 1238.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* xiii. pt. 1, p. 575.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* xii. pt. 1, 539 (19). ¹⁷ *Ibid.* pt. 2, 664.

¹⁸ Vincent, *Visitation of Northants*.

¹⁹ Add. MS. 5758, f. 24.

²⁰ Extracts from Reg. of Linc. Harl. MS. 6950, f. 112.

²¹ *Ibid.* f. 207.

¹ Pat. 19 Edw. II. pt. 2, m. 13.

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Burghersh, f. 197.

³ Dugdale, *Antiq. of Warwickshire*, p. 312.

⁴ Pat. 20 Edw. III. pt. 1, m. 15.

⁵ *Ibid.* 21 Edw. III. pt. 2, m. 24.

⁶ Nicolas, *Test. Vet.* 55.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

Robert of Wardon,¹ elected 1299, died 1302
Alexander of Kaysthorpe,² elected 1302, died 1326

Roger of Silby,³ elected 1326, died 1332-3
Thomas of Saxton,⁴ elected 1332-3, resigned 1340

Henry of Kegworth,⁵ elected 1340

Adam,⁶ occurs 1370

Edmund of Thorpe,⁷ elected 1371

Thomas Brackley,⁸ occurs 1413

John Furneall,⁹ occurs 1491 and 1499

Thomas Saunders,¹⁰ occurs 1503, died 1534

Henry Austen,¹¹ elected 1535

Pointed oval seal of the thirteenth century, taken from a cast at the British Museum,¹² represents St. Paul full-length, on the left, holding in his right hand a long sword; St. Peter, full-length, on the right, holding two keys in his right hand. In base, under a semi-circular arch, a prior is kneeling in prayer. Legend:

SIGILL' APOSTOLORV. • PETRI • ET PAVLI •
DE • CHAVCVMBE

Pointed oval seal of prior Henry de Kegworth, taken from another cast,¹³ represents SS. Peter and Paul as above, standing in a canopied niche with two arches, the prior in base kneeling in prayer. The legend is partly defaced:

S' HEN. . . . ORIS DE CHAVCOMBE

The seal, of which fragments remain, attached to the deed acknowledging the king's supremacy is similar to the first seal given above.¹⁴

14. THE PRIORY OF FINESHADE OR CASTLE HYMEL

Leland, in his delightful gossiping Itinerary, when passing in 1538 from Deene to Collyweston, on his way through Northamptonshire, says:—

'Almost yn the Middle Way I cam by Finshed, lately a priory of Blak Canons, leving it hardly on the righte hond, it is four miles from Stamford. Here in the very place where the Priory stoode was in times past a Castel caullid Hely, it longgid to the Engaynes: and

they dwellid yn it, ontylle such tyme that one of them for lak of childern of his owne began a Priory ther, gyving them Landes even thereabout: whereby after the Castelle was pullid doune to make up the Priory, so that now there remaynith almost no token that ever ther was any Castel there.'¹⁵

Castle Hymel was demolished at the commencement of John's reign, when Richard Engayne the elder founded the priory for Austin canons at a little distance to the north-east of the castle. His son's confirmation charter (Leland was mistaken about the founder being childless) is given in the *Monasticon*, from which we find that the priory was originally known as the church of St. Mary of Castle-Hymel, and though soon afterwards popularly known as the priory of Fineshed, the official title of the foundation charter was retained on the common seal of the convent up to the dissolution. The founder endowed the priory with lands and messuages in Blatherwycke and Laxton, and died on 23 April, 1208. His elder son Richard, who was a bachelor, confirmed and increased the endowment, and dying soon after his father was buried at Huntingdon. He was succeeded by his brother Vitalis, who gave Linwood to the convent. Vitalis in his turn was succeeded by his son Henry, who died in 1261. Henry Engayne gave to the canons the churches of Blatherwycke and Laxton and the manor of Woodnewton, which donation was subsequently confirmed with additional lands by his nephew, John Engayne.¹⁶

On 2 May, 1223, Honorius III. issued a grant of protection and confirmation of their possessions to the prior and canons of St. Mary, Castle Hymel, with various privileges and immunities, and in the same year the pope confirmed an ordinance made by Richard Engayne their founder and patron, whereby the convent obtained the right to elect priors without the consent of the said patron or his successors.¹⁷ Pope Alexander IV. in 1255 granted to the prior and canons of St. Mary's, Fineshade, described as 'wholly founded and built on the public road,' licence to appropriate the church of the Holy Trinity at Blatherwycke of their patronage, and of the annual value of eight marks, the grant to take effect on the next voidance, with the assent of bishop or archdeacon, a due portion being reserved for the vicar.¹⁸

With the exception of entries recording the election or appointment of successive heads, little information can be gathered respecting this priory. The name of the first prior has been lost. William Engayne of the founder's family, the third son of Vitalis, is the first superior who

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Sutton, f. 68.

² Ibid. Inst. of Dalderby, f. 104d.

³ Ibid. Inst. of Burghersh, f. 175d.

⁴ Ibid. f. 196d. ⁵ Ibid. f. 230.

⁶ *Cal. Anct. D.* (P. R. O.), B. 3526.

⁷ Bridges, *Hist. of Northants*, i. 156.

⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Repingdon, f. 133.

⁹ He was vicar of Chalcombe during that time. Bridges, *Hist. of Northants*, i. 157.

¹⁰ Baker, *Hist. of Northants*, i. 594.

¹¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Longlands, f. 116.

¹² B. M. lxix. 68.

¹³ Ibid. 69.

¹⁴ P. R. O. Acknowledgement of Supremacy, No. 29.

¹⁵ *Itin.* (Hearne ed.), i. 23.

¹⁶ 'Ex rotulo quondam penes Edwardum Vaus anno 1620,' cited by Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. p. 450.

¹⁷ *Cal. of Papal L.* i. 91, 92.

¹⁸ Ibid. i. 318.

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can be identified; he was probably the second prior.¹ A commission was appointed in 1319 to hear the complaint of William de Bernak that Richard, prior of Fineshade, and Robert de Benyfeld, his fellow canon, with many others, had broken his close at Blatherwycke, felled his trees, and carried away timber and other goods.² Prior Richard held office for over thirty years, and on his death, in 1341, was succeeded by John Bacon, a canon of the house.³ He died within two years, and the bishop, who in the previous year had ordered a commission to inquire into alleged excesses within the house,⁴ appointed in 1343 William Spalding as prior on the plea of irregularity of election.⁵ A disastrous fire occurred at the priory early in the episcopate of Bishop Fleming, 1420–1431, and in December, 1422, the bishop sanctioned the appropriation of the church of Laxton on this account; the advowson had belonged to their house.⁶ Only one visitation of this house is recorded, that of Bishop Gray, 1431–1436. His injunctions are of a purely formal character and throw no special light on the internal condition of the house.⁷

During the rule of Prior John Markfield in 1522 the house was called on to contribute the large sum (for so small a house) of £20 as a loan towards the king's expenses in connexion with his claim to the French throne.⁸ The clear annual value of the house according to the Valor of 1535 at that time amounted to £56 10s. 11½d.⁹ Christopher Harringworth, who became prior in 1526, subscribed with six fellow canons to the acknowledgement of the king's supremacy on 26 August, 1534.¹⁰ The house came under the statute for the suppression of the smaller monasteries. On Palm Sunday, 1536, Humphrey Stafford wrote to Cromwell from Blatherwycke to beg for the gift of the priory of Fynshed, a house of canons in the county of Northampton. In the same letter he preferred a request for the house of canons of Worspring (Somerset) for his father.¹¹

Thomas Luffenham, recently elected, was prior at the time of the actual surrender and received a pension of 10 marks.¹² After the dissolution the site and demesne of the priory were granted to John, Lord Russell, from whom they passed shortly to Sir Robert Kirkham,¹³ who

turned the conventual buildings into a residence.¹⁴

PRIORS OF FINESHADE

William Engayne,¹⁵ elected 1226
Philip of Bedford,¹⁶ elected 1233
Philemon,¹⁷ occurs 1248
Ralph le Messag,¹⁸ occurs 1248
John,¹⁹ occurs 1258
William of St. Neots,²⁰ elected 1265, died 1275
Arnold of Slawston,²¹ elected 1275, resigned 1289
Thomas of Tachebrok,²² elected 1289, died 1305
Stephen of Stamford,²³ elected 1305, resigned 1310
Richard of Hold,²⁴ elected 1310, died 1341
John Bacon,²⁵ elected 1341, died 1343
William of Spalding,²⁶ appointed 1343
Robert,²⁷ died 1356
John de Piry,²⁸ appointed 1356
Henry Sutton,²⁹ died 1421
Richard Hemmingford,³⁰ elected 1421
Simon Bulwyk,³¹ occurs 1480, died 1502
Robert of Exilby,³² appointed 1502, died 1503
John Markfield,³³ appointed 1503, died 1526
Christopher Harringworth,³⁴ appointed 1526
Thomas Luffenham,³⁵ occurs at surrender of the house

A very fine thirteenth-century pointed oval seal of the priory, attached to the deed acknowledging the king's supremacy in 1534, now in the Record Office,³⁶ represents the Virgin seated on a carved throne under a canopy supported by two columns, the Holy Child with nimbus sitting on her left knee. On each side of her head is an estoile of eight points. Her feet are resting on a carved corbel. Legend :

s'ECCLESI(E) : BEATE : MARIE : DE : CA(STR)O :
YMIELIS.

¹⁴ Ibid. ¹⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Wells.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Cited by Bridges, *Hist. of Northants*, ii. 307, from Liber Swapham, f. 171b.

¹⁸ Soc. of Antiq. MS. No. xxxviii. f. 94.

¹⁹ Cited by Bridges from Liber Swapham, f. 280.

²⁰ Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Gravesend.

²¹ Ibid. ²² Ibid. Roll of Sutton.

²³ Ibid. Inst. of Dalderby, f. 109

²⁴ Ibid. f. 118.

²⁵ Ibid. Inst. of Burghersh, f. 240.

²⁶ Ibid. Inst. of Beck, f. 59.

²⁷ Ibid. Inst. of Gynwell, f. 166.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid. Inst. of Fleming, f. 57.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ *Cal. Auct. D.* (P.R.O.), B. 373.

³² Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Smith, f. 205d.

³³ Ibid. f. 211.

³⁴ Ibid. Inst. of Longlands, f. 97.

³⁵ Misc. Bks. (Aug. Off.), 232, f. 28b.

³⁶ P.R.O. Acknowledgement of Supremacy, No. 51.

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Wells.

² Pat. 12 Edw. II. pt. 2, m. 6d.

³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Burghersh, f. 240.

⁴ Ibid. Memo. of Beck, f. 19d.

⁵ Ibid. Inst. of Beck, f. 59.

⁶ Ibid. Memo. of Fleming, f. 220.

⁷ Ibid. Memo. of Gray, f. 201d.

⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* iii. pt. 2, 2483.

⁹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 297.

¹⁰ P.R.O. Acknowledgement of Supremacy, No. 51.

¹¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* x. 643.

¹² Misc. Bks. (Aug. Off.), 232, f. 28b.

¹³ Pat. 33 Hen. VIII. pt. 1, cited by Bridges, *Hist. of Northants*, ii. 308.



PRIORY OF ST. JAMES, NORTHAMPTON



PRIORY OF ST. JAMES, NORTHAMPTON



CANONS ASHBY PRIORY



PIPEWELL ABBEY



FINESHADE OR CASTLE HYNEL PRIORY



SEWARDSEY ABBEY

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

15. THE HERMITAGE OF GRAFTON REGIS

A beneficed hermitage or small priory of some importance stood near Shaw Wood at the extremity of the lordship of Grafton Regis, bordering on Stoke and Alderton. As the Widevilles had the patronage, it may be fairly assumed that it was founded by one of the family, though at what date cannot now be ascertained. The earliest known reference to this hermitage, which was dedicated jointly to the honour of St. Mary and St. Michael, is the name of Helias, hermit of Grafton, as a witness to a grant concerning Heynundcote chapel by Walkelin, abbot of St. James, Northampton, 1180-1205.¹

Robert de Twyford, with the assent of Roesia his wife, by an undated charter gave to the hermitage of the Blessed Mary and St. Michael of Grafton and the brethren serving God there 22½d. of yearly rent from lands in Shutlanger.²

Engelram Cumyn *temp.* Henry III. granted to the abbey of St. James, Northampton, 5s. 6d. yearly rental out of lands in Alderton, which the religious brothers of Grafton held of him, rendering 18d. yearly to the chief lord; and William de Bonde, of Alderton, remitted this 18d. yearly payment to the brethren of St. Mary and St. Michael.³

The Lincoln episcopal registers record the institution of six successive masters or chap-

lains of this small house between 1267 and 1373.

No further mention occurs of this hermitage in the registers, and it is supposed that its independent life ceased about the end of the fourteenth century, and that it became amalgamated with the Austin abbey of St. James, who found a chaplain to serve it.

Thomas Wideville, by will of 1434, directed his trustees to formally convey 'the Ermytage of Grafton,' with other lands to the abbey of St. James, and this was accomplished in 1442. Anthony Earl Rivers, however, dispossessed the abbey, and by will of 23 June, 1483, the day before his execution, ordered that 'all such land as I purchased by the means of Syr James Molaynes, priest, remayned still with the manor of Grafton towards the fynding of the priest of tharmitage.' In the following December the crown interfered, and the sheriff was instructed to restore the hermitage and other lands wrongfully assumed by Earl Rivers to John Wykeley, the abbot of St. James, and his convent.⁷

MASTERS OR CHAPLAINS OF GRAFTON REGIS⁸

Richard of Herleston, presented 1267
Walter Fruseler,⁹ presented 1284, died 1313
Adam of Karifield,¹⁰ presented 1313
William of Radeford, presented 1340
Simon of Olney, presented 1349
Walter Child, presented 1373

HOUSE OF AUSTIN NUNS

16. THE NUNNERY OF ROTHWELL

A small nunnery of the Austin rule was founded here in the thirteenth century and dedicated to the honour of St. John the Baptist. The founder cannot be ascertained, but Bridges is probably correct in assuming him to be one of the great Clare family whose successors in the manor of Rothwell were patrons of this foundation.⁴ The superiors entered in the Lincoln diocesan registers were elected by the community with the consent of the patron, and presented to the bishop for confirmation and institution.

The house from the first appears to have been but slenderly endowed. In 1318 Bishop Dalderby licensed the nuns to beg for alms on account of their poverty.⁵ In 1385, during the rule of Millicent of Kybworth, they obtained the royal assent to the appropriation of the neighbouring rectory of Desborough to the convent.⁶

¹ Baker, *Hist. of Northants*, ii. 170. The reference there given is to the Bridges MSS. E. 412.

² Fermor Evidences, cited by Baker, *Hist. of Northants*, ii. 170.

³ Bodl. Lib., Bridges MSS. E. 402-3.

⁴ Bridges, *Hist. of Northants*, ii. 66.

⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Dalderby, f. 374.

⁶ Pat. 9 Rich. II. pt. 2, m. 9.

The mandate of Pope Boniface IX. in 1392 to the abbot of Pipewell to inquire and if necessary augment the portion assigned to the vicarage, on complaint by the vicar that it was insufficient, sets forth the almost abject poverty of the poor nuns of Rothwell, and its causes. The pope's letter recites that it was represented to Urban VI. on behalf of the Augustinian prioress and convent of St. John Baptist, Rothwell, that Richard Clare, earl of Gloucester, founded the priory, but died before he had sufficiently endowed it. As he left no male issue his patrimony was divided among his daughters, who neglected to assign a fitting endowment, on account of which the prioress and convent, fourteen in number,¹¹ could not expend for their food and clothing and

⁷ Fermor Evidences, cited by Baker, *Hist. of Northants*, ii. 162, 171.

⁸ The list is given by Baker, *Hist. of Northants*, ii. 171, from the diocesan registers.

⁹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. Dalderby, f. 124d.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ The actual number probably fell much below this standard, at all events later. Alice Langton is said to have been elected in 1395 'by the eight nuns who composed the convent.' Bridges, *Hist. of Northants*, ii. 66.

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that of their servants beyond four marks and the produce of four fields (*agris*) of land, in one of which the priory was situated, so that some of them were compelled, for the support of themselves and the other nuns, to incur the opprobrium of mendicity and to beg alms after the fashion of friars of the mendicant orders, and for this reason King Richard granted them his patronage of Desborough in order that it might be appropriated to them, a fitting portion for a perpetual vicar being reserved.¹

The sisters rebuilt the priory church during the latter half of the fourteenth century: in 1363 Bishop Bokyngham licensed it for celebrations, though it had not yet been consecrated.² It was not till the year 1379 that we hear of its consecration. The bishop ordered the day, 4 July, to be kept as the day of dedication.³

Very little is recorded of this small nunnery, and nothing which throws light on its internal condition. The Valor of 1535 shows that it possessed no temporalities other than the site of the buildings and a garden and orchard. The rectory of Desborough produced £10 10s. 4d.; out of this the outgoings were: 6s. 8d. pension to the bishop of Lincoln, 10s. 7½d. in synodals and procurations to the archdeacon, 20s. pension to the vicar of Rothwell, and £2 13s. 4d. in a stipend to the chaplain.⁴ The clear annual value of the house amounted to £5 19s. 8½d.: with the best and most careful management these ladies could hardly have contrived to live had it not been for the offerings and bequests of the faithful, and the 'dower' probably brought by some of the inmates of the house. Small bequests to each of the sisters of St. John Baptist, Rothwell, are not infrequent among Northamptonshire wills in the reign of Henry VIII. A quaint bequest to the community occurs in one of 1521, 'to the convent off Nunmys a Browne Kowe.'⁵

This nunnery furnishes another case, and there

are many in the county, of an apostate nun. Bishop Repingdon in 1414 issued a mandate to the prioress desiring her to re-admit Joan, an apostate canoness, who had retired from the convent. The prioress at first declined to receive the delinquent, alleging that she had by her own confession lived for three years with one William Suffewyk. The bishop thereupon cited the prioress for disobedience and enjoined her to receive the penitent Joan, who was to do penance for three years confined with iron chains within the priory; on Wednesdays her fare should be bread and cheese and pulse, on Fridays bread and cheese only.⁷

The house being of a less yearly value than £200 came under the earlier measure for suppression of religious houses. The actual date is not given, but Rothwell is entered in a list of monasteries lately suppressed, returned 11 February, 1537-8.⁸ The site of the priory and plot of land around it was granted to Henry Lee in 1545.⁹ Bridges states that 'the site of the nunnery was a high ground on that side of the town nearest to Desborough, and was then occupied by a house, the residence of Mr. W. Stevens.'¹⁰

PRIORESSES OF ROTHWELL

Agnes,¹¹ died 1305
 Alice of Cravenho,¹² elected 1305, resigned 1313
 Amicia of Navesby,¹³ elected 1313
 Catherine of Isham,¹⁴ elected 1349
 Catherine Grene,¹⁵ died 1381
 Millicent of Kybworth,¹⁶ elected 1381
 Alice Brimington,¹⁷ died 1395
 Alice Langton,¹⁸ elected 1395
 Margaret,¹⁹ occurs 1476, died 1479
 Joan Chase,²⁰ elected 1479
 Mary Laffenham, elected 1498
 Margaret Loftus,²¹ occurs 1534 and 1535

HOUSE OF PREMONSTRATENSIAN CANONS

17. THE ABBEY OF SULBY

The abbey of Sulby was founded about the year 1155 for canons of the Premonstratensian order by William de Wideville, who gave them the church of Welford and nine carucates of land in the parish of Sulby.⁶ Their endowments were speedily increased by the gift of the church and manor of Sulby from Sir Robert de Paveley, and many later grants set forth in a confirmation

charter of Edward II.²² At the time of the dissolution the gross annual value of the abbey

¹ *Cal. of Papal L.* iv. 436.

² *Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo.* of Bokyngham, f. 10b.

³ *Ibid.* f. 182b.

⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 302.

⁵ *Arch. Journ.* viii. 128.

⁶ Dodsworth MS. cliii. 52. Leland, *Coll.* (Hearne ed.), i. 29.

⁷ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo.* of Repingdon, f. 88b.

⁸ *L. and P. Hen. III.* xiii. pt. 2, 1195.

⁹ *Pat.* 37 Hen. VIII. pt. 15.

¹⁰ *Hist. of Northants*, ii. 266.

¹¹ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst.* of Dalderby, f. 109.

¹² *Ibid.* ¹³ *Ibid.* f. 123.

¹⁴ *Inst.* of Gynwell, f. 141.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* *Inst.* of Bokyngham, i. f. 224.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* ¹⁷ *Ibid.* ii. f. 180. ¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ She presented to the church of Desborough in that year. Bridges, *Hist. of Northants*, ii. 66.

²⁰ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst.* of Rotheram, f. 54d.

²¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 302.

²² *Pat.* 9 Edw. II. pt. 2, m. 2; given in Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 905-5.

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amounted to £305 8s. 5d., the net income to £258 8s. 5d. The canons held the Northamptonshire churches of Welford, East Haddon, Little Addington, Sibbertoft, and Great Harrowden, as well as a pension of 53s. 4d. from the rectory of Guilsborough, and the churches of Lubenham and Wistow, in Leicestershire, and a pension of 100s. from the rectory of Wappenbury, Warwickshire.¹

Robert, earl of Leicester, granted the canons remittance from toll for goods bought or sold by them in Leicestershire, and a like exemption was granted by Roger, earl of Clare, for goods within the market of Rothwell.²

Unfortunately the early records of Sulby are very meagre, and no chartulary or register is extant. We know that the abbey was originally founded in Welford parish, and subsequently moved to Sulby. The confirmation charter of Edward II., already referred to, describes the abbey as formerly of Welford, and now of Sulby.³ The change probably took place in the reign of Henry III., when Sir Robert de Paveley bestowed on the canons the church and manor of Sulby, comprising upwards of fifteen hundred acres. The buildings must have been on a considerable scale. Bridges describes the well-wooded and watered site of the house, with the grounds and pools, as covering a large area, and Edward II. found the abbey convenient and suitable as a royal lodging, and during progresses frequently broke his journey here, and transacted official business. Entries in the patent rolls record that he stopped the night at Sulby, 12 October, 1309;⁴ and again in 1310, on his way north for the Scotch expedition, the king stayed at Northampton for the 1st and 2nd of August, proceeded to Selby on the 3rd, arrived at Leicester on the 4th, and reached Nottingham on the 5th.⁵ It was during his stay on 14 March, 1315-6, that the abbot obtained from him that charter of confirmation to which reference has already been made.⁶ The king tarried at Sulby for two nights in July, 1317, and he was here again in March, 1322-3.⁷

In the year 1300 the abbots of Peterborough and Sulby made a composition whereby the former granted to the latter the manor of Little Addington, or Addington Waterville, for an annual rent of 6s. 8d. at Easter, in return for which each successive abbot of Sulby was bound

to do homage to the abbot of Peterborough, and pay a fine of ten marks in the same manner as Humphrey de Bassingburn had been wont to do service for the same manor.⁸ In 1316 the abbot obtained from the king a grant of free warren over the manors of Sulby, Welford, and Little Addington.⁹ In 1326 the canons obtained the advowson and appropriation of the neighbouring church of Sibbertoft.¹⁰ In 1349 Pope Clement VI. issued a mandate to the bishop of Lincoln to appropriate to the abbey the church of East Haddon of its patronage, and of the yearly value of sixteen marks.¹¹ This grant was made at the request of Henry, earl of Lancaster, on account of the 'small income' of the community and their many debts.¹² In 1360 Edward III. allowed the abbot and convent to appropriate the church of Sulby of their own advowson, and taxed at five marks.¹³ More than a century later, in 1481, the king's chamberlain, Sir William Hastings, obtained a licence to grant the advowsons of the churches of Wistow and Lubenham, Leicestershire, with lands not held in chief, to the value of five marks yearly, to the abbot and convent of Sulby, and for the latter to appropriate the churches provided a sufficient vicarage were endowed in each, and a sum of money set apart for distribution to poor parishioners.¹⁴

The connexion of this Premonstratensian house with the head abbey of Prémontré appears at the earlier stages of its existence to have been a close one. In 1232 Abbot Walter was removed from the rule of the abbey by order of the chapter-general at Prémontré, and William, a canon of the house, appointed. In 1310 Edward II. sent an order to Robert de Kendal, constable canon of Dover and warden of the Cinque Ports, desiring him to permit the abbot of Sulby, who had the king's licence to attend the general chapter of his order in parts beyond the sea, to cross from Dover with his household, horses, and equipments, and to furnish twenty marks for his expenses, provided that he should carry with him nothing contrary to the ordinance prohibiting contributions being carried to foreign superiors. In the following month of September Abbot Henry obtained protection to last until Easter.¹⁵

Abbot Henry of Sulby played so important a

⁸ Soc. of Antiq. MS. No. xxxviii. ff. 113b, 114. In accordance with this agreement we read that on St. Martin's Day, 1414, the abbot of Sulby did fealty to the abbot of Peterborough for half the manor of Little Addington. Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xxi. f. 80; Add. MS. 25,228, f. 156.

⁹ Chart. R. 9 Edw. II. pt. 1, m. 23.

¹⁰ Pat. 19 Edw. II. pt. 2, m. 20.

¹¹ Cal. of Papal L. iii. 337.

¹² Cal. of Papal Petitions, i. 166.

¹³ Add. Chart. 24,321.

¹⁴ Pat. 21 Edw. IV. pt. 2, m. 12.

¹⁵ Close, 4 Edw. II. m. 23; Pat. 4 Edw. II. pt. 1, m. 16.

¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 300.

² Bridges, *Hist. of Northants*, i. 598.

³ Pat. 9 Edw. II. pt. 2, m. 2.

⁴ Ibid. 3 Edw. II. m. 32.

⁵ Ibid. 4 Edw. II. m. 20-1.

⁶ Ibid. 9 Edw. II. pt. 2, m. 11.

⁷ Close, 11 Edw. II. pt. 2, m. 25d.; 16 Edw. II. pt. 2, m. 23. It may be recalled that Edward I. came to Sulby Abbey from Mowsley, Leicestershire, 14 December, 1300, and remained two days. Gough, *Itin. of Edw. I.*

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part in the disputes between Prémontré and the English province that it will be well to give a brief summary of those events. The Abbot General of Prémontré claimed under the rule of St. Norbert to occupy a like position of those of Cîteaux and Cluny over their respective congregations of reformed Benedictines. National complications and jealousies materially interfered with the smooth working of this foreign headship in the case of the White Canons. From the English canons Prémontré made three claims: (1) attendance of the abbots at the general annual chapter at the mother-house, (2) the appointment of a visitor to report to the abbot-general, and (3) the taxing of the houses for the benefit of the order in general and of Prémontré in particular. The last claim was the cause of many disputes. A quarrel of this nature came to a head when Adam de Crecy was abbot of Prémontré (1304-1327). The English abbots, in obedience to a royal proclamation of 1306 against making payments to foreign superiors, had been defaulters for some time when they were summoned by the abbot-general, in 1310, to a general chapter at Prémontré, and ordered to bring with them the arrears of tallage. Thereupon the English abbots met and sent a joint letter to their superior informing him that they were unable to obey, as Parliament had prohibited their leaving the kingdom, and if they disobeyed they would certainly be outlawed and unable to return to their houses.

Two, however, of their number were deputed to cross the seas and attend the general chapter to explain more fully their position. The choice of the convention fell on Abbot William of Langdon, and Abbot Henry of Sulby. The two abbots proceeded to Prémontré as proctors for their brethren, but their statements made no impression on the general chapter. Their excuses were rejected, and sentence of excommunication was pronounced on all English abbots who had not paid the customary dues by the following Easter. Moreover, the abbots of Langdon and Sulby were ordered, under heavy penalties, to publish this sentence of the chapter-general in every English house before the end of the year. Consequently on 18 October, 1310, the two abbots summoned a general chapter of the English province to be held on 1 December at Lincoln, at which each house was expected to be represented by a delegate among the canons as well as by the abbot. Meanwhile Edward II. issued letters, on 10 November, absolutely prohibiting the levying or sending any subsidy or tallage to Prémontré; the king also warned the abbots of Langdon and Sulby of the grave penalties they would all suffer if they ignored the statute of the realm of 30 Edward I. Sheltering themselves behind this royal letter, the representatives of the English Premonstratensians, when they met at Lincoln, boldly denied that the superior or chapter-general could legally claim

this tallage. They admitted previous payment, but claimed that they had only done that in a spirit of brotherly charity. A spirited protest was forwarded to Prémontré, stating that they were appealing to the Holy See for protection against excommunication. Proctors were appointed to carry out the appeal, and victory for the most part lay with the English. Eventually, at the general chapter held in 1316, a final agreement was arrived at to terminate the protracted dispute, whereby the English abbots were to be represented at the annual chapter at Prémontré by certain delegates, and the question of apportionment or tallage to the mother-house was held over until the law of England should be changed.¹

Bishop Redman was nominated in 1475 by the abbot of Prémontré his vicar in England. He was abbot of the small house of White Canons at Shap, Cumberland, and allowed to retain that office when consecrated bishop of St. Asaph in 1471, and afterwards when translated to Exeter in 1496, and to Ely in 1501. From 1475 up to his death in 1505 he held the post of vicar to the abbot of Prémontré, and was hence the visitor of the English Premonstratensians. This duty Redman discharged with exemplary diligence, visiting, as a rule, each house about every three years.

Sulby Abbey was visited eight times by Bishop Redman, as recorded in his register preserved at the Bodleian. It will be noted that on one of these occasions real scandals came to light, whilst in one or two other cases there was need for individual penance.

Redman first visited Sulby on 19 June, 1475, arriving there from Leicester at the dinner hour; he left Sulby on 21 June, dining that day at Northampton at the expense of the Sulby House. He found no occasion to make any other entries save that John Halley was abbot, John Howden prior, and Robert Bredon sub-prior, and that there were five other canons then in residence and one novice.

At the visitation of 1478 the number of churches in the abbey's gift is entered as six, all served by curates, and it is stated that the house was founded in 1155. There were then, in addition to the chief officers, seven canons in residence and one novice.

The visitation of Sulby in 1482 produced fuller notes. The bishop inspected the repairs and rebuilding of half of the whole cloister from floor to roof. He found that two great antiphonars had been provided for the two sides of the quire, as well as five bells of one accord, and many other praiseworthy things too long to be recited by a single pen. Between the abbot and the brethren mutual charity abounded, there was a happy lack of abuses, and the only in-

¹ Gasquet, *Coll. Anglo-Premont.* i. citing document from Ashm. MS. 1519.

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junctions applied to a few ritual details. On the occasion of the last visitation the debts of the house were twenty-one marks; they then stood at £13 9s.

When Redman was at Sulby in June, 1488, he found John Middleton abbot and Robert Bredon sub-prior, and there were also four priests, one deacon, and two novices. The injunctions issued after this visitation prohibited all games for money under pain of the greater excommunication; there was to be no eating or drinking in the dormitory under pain of ten days' silence; and going outside the precincts, even to the cow-house, was prohibited. The keeping or feeding of birds or little dogs was forbidden, as such things pertained more to curiosity than utility. The visitor then entered that he had no further fault to find, that the debt had all been paid off, and that there were then excellent supplies of stores and cattle. Sulby was again visited on 15 September, 1491, when sad laxity came to light. Some of the canons had been drinking at Welford; this, and the permitting of women to enter the precincts, were prohibited under pain of forty days' penance and greater excommunication. Robert Bredon was convicted in a case of incontinence, and was condemned to forty days' severe penance and seven years' banishment to Alnwick Abbey. Bredon, the former sub-prior, seems to have abandoned religion, for he was at the same time condemned to an additional three years at Shap Abbey for apostasy. Thomas Wylers was also convicted of incontinence and sentenced to forty days' severe penance, and to ten years' banishment to the abbey of St. Agatha, Yorkshire. The abbot was severely reprimanded, and complaint made of the paucity of the number of canons. Drinking after compline was to be punished by ten days' penance, and eating or drinking in any secular house by twenty days' penance. There was no debt, and the supplies were good. The numbers, in addition to Abbot Middleton, were six priests, and three deacons who were novices.

When the bishop was next at Sulby, in 1494, there were nine other canons in addition to Abbot Middleton. Edward Melling, for a defect at mass, was ordered to say a nocturn in cloister. William Broman, for talking to women relatives, and for receiving a black instead of a white habit, had to say a psalter. Robert Bredon's case came up again as an apostate, so that he apparently had not been arrested or had again departed; he was condemned to forty days' penance, and ten years' banishment at St. Agatha's Abbey.

In 1497 the numbers had grown, for there were twelve canons in addition to Abbot Middleton. On this occasion the visitor had no lapses to enter.

The last recorded visitation paid to Sulby by Bishop Redman took place on 28 October, 1500. In addition to Abbot Middleton and Sub-prior

Robert Haddon, eight other canons were present and two novices. Thomas Wright had been detected in the study of certain illicit books of experiments, apparently of the 'Philosopher's Stone' type. He owned to the study of them, but denied that he had attempted to put them in practice. At the intercession of the superior and brethren, the visitor allowed him to continue at the monastery up to the next provincial chapter, but enjoined on him meanwhile the saying of a psalter. The bishop made further orders enjoining the wearing of amices when silk copes were used, and the providing a house suitable for the infirm. The use of ample and wide burses by the religious was to be abolished, whilst those who wore loose slippers¹ were threatened with excommunication.²

The last abbot, Ralphe Armonde, succeeded in 1534. Robert Bryer, in his confession as to the northern rebellion made before Sir Edmund Walsingham in October, 1536, stated that he had visited Sulby and that the abbot gave him 3s. 4d., and asked him whether any more abbeyes would be suppressed, to which he replied 'Nay.'³ The monastery with all its possessions was surrendered to Thomas Legh, 20 September, 1538. The surrender deed was witnessed by Ralphe Armonde abbot, Robert Buckley prior, Thomas Hyle sub-prior, and nine other canons.⁴ Five days later Cromwell received a letter from Sulby Abbey, addressed by John Hales, clerk of the first-fruits, and one of the commissioner's most accommodating agents, stating that he was in possession according to order, and that 'the papistical den of idle and utterly unlearned beasts at Soulbie' was broken up. Sir Francis Bryan, steward of the dissolved abbey, wrote to Cromwell on 27 September, begging his favour in the matter of a pension for the abbot.⁵ The superior was granted, on 26 November, the large pension of £50, the rest of the canons £6 each.⁶ The Valor of 1535 testifies to various distributions made regularly to the poor by these so-called 'idle beasts.' On Maundy Thursday the abbot was wont to wash the feet of twenty-six poor men and give to each a penny, a farthing loaf, and a red herring. On the same day five hundred other poor folk received a loaf and a herring from the convent.⁷ The church or chapel of Old Sulby, dedicated to St. Botolph, was given, as has been already stated, to the abbey with the manor. In the Valor Old Sulby is described as a free chapel, and the abbey paid the incumbent a pension of £2 16s. 8d.⁸

¹ 'Illos volubiles sotulares Slyppers vocatos!'

² Bodl. Lib. Ashml. MS. 1519 ff. 5, 21, 32, 71, 100, 119, 124, 136, 152.

³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xi. 841.

⁴ *Ibid.* xiii. pt. 2, 395, and P.R.O. *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii. App. ii. 43.

⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiii. pt. 2, 436.

⁶ *Ibid.* xiv. pt. 1, p. 600.

⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 301.

⁸ *Ibid.*

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ABBOTS OF SULBY

John,¹ occurs 1207
 Walter,² deposed 1232
 William,³ elected 1232
 Hugh,⁴ elected 1276
 Henry,⁵ occurs 1301
 John of Welford,⁶ elected 1314
 Walter,⁷ occurs 1326
 William Gysburgh,⁸ occurs 1414
 John Coventry,⁹ resigned 1447
 William Knolles,¹⁰ elected 1447
 John Halley,¹¹ admitted 1452
 John Middleton,¹² occurs 1487 and 1500
 Robert Goodall,¹³ occurs 1513
 Ralph Armonte,¹⁴ admitted 1534

The conventual seal with counter-seal of Abbot William, date about 1240–1250, has a fine but imperfect impression.¹⁵ The obverse is a pointed oval representing the Virgin with nimbus, seated on a carved throne, the Holy Child, also with nimbus, on her left knee, in her right hand a lily branch. Her feet on a footboard. Legend :

+ SIGILLUM . A BI

Another seal of about 1276–1280 has the legend in full.¹⁸

SIGILL' CONUENTUS SANTE MARIE DE SULEBI

There is also an impression of the chapter seal dated 1257, of which only a fragment of the upper part remains,¹⁹ a pointed oval representing the Virgin crowned. Legend :

+ MATE[R DEI MEMENTO] MEI

Of the seal of Abbot Walter, 1232, only a fragment remains.²⁰ Obverse, a pointed oval, represents the abbot standing, in his right hand a pastoral staff. Legend defaced :

+ DE SVLEB

Reverse, a smaller counter seal with mark of handle. Impression of an antique oval intaglio gem : Legend :

+ SIG

Of the pointed oval seal of Abbot Hugh, about 1276–1280, only a fragment remains, representing the Virgin half-length, the Holy Child on her knee.²¹

HOUSE OF KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS

18. THE PRECEPTORY OF DINGLEY

There was a preceptory of the Knights Hospitalers at Dingley as early as the reign of Stephen. William de Clopton, and his wife Emma, gave to this preceptory in the reign of Henry II. a message, with divers rents and 169 acres of land, all in Clopton. To the same preceptory William, earl Ferrars, and Letitia Ferrers gave much land in Passenham ; and Roger, earl of Hereford, a mill at Towcester.¹⁶

In 1296 Hugh de Dingley held one manor at Dingley, and the Knights Hospitalers another and smaller manor ; this division continued till the dissolution of the order.¹⁷ The lords of the principal manor presented to the rectory of Dingley until 1448, when the prior of St. John

of Jerusalem presented ;²² the presentation remained in the knights' hands until their suppression.

The report of Prior Philip de Thame to the Grand Master Elyan de Villanova, for 1338, giving full particulars of all the English possessions of the order, is fortunately extant, and was well edited for the Camden Society in 1857 ; it shows for this commandery a total income of £79 4s., and a total expenditure of £37 os. 4d., leaving the handsome balance of £42 3s. 8d. for the general treasury of the grand prior of England. This return also specifies that Sir William Waldechew was preceptor or commander, and that the two who held corrodies in the house were Hugh le Chaplain and Robert de Braibrock, 'scutifer.'

The order of St. John was divided under three separate heads—knights, chaplains, and serving brothers. The serving brothers were sub-divided into two classes, the one included those who entered this rank of the order with the hopes of winning their spurs under the White Cross banner, and afterwards advancing to the class of knights, whilst the other was formed of men of lower birth, who had no such expectation. To the former of these two divisions

¹ Feet of F. 8 John, cited by Bridges, *Hist. of Northants*, i. 599.

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Wells. ³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid. Roll of Gravesend.

⁵ Bridges, *Hist. of Northants*, i. 599.

⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Dalderby, f. 268d.

⁷ Close, 19 Edw. II. m. 11d.

⁸ Add. MS. 25, 288 f. 156.

⁹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Alnwick, f. 74d.

¹⁰ Ibid. ¹¹ Ibid. Memo. of Chadworth, f. 3d.

¹² *Cal. Anct. D. A.* 5041.

¹³ Browne Willis, *Mitred Abbies*, ii. 162.

¹⁴ Ibid. ¹⁵ Add. Chart. 22,026.

¹⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* ii. 546.

¹⁷ Cardigan MSS. cited by Bridges, *Hist. of Northants*, ii. 305.

¹⁸ Add. Chart. 22,523. A good impression of this seal is attached to the Deed of Surrender, No. 230.

¹⁹ Add. Chart. 22,423.

²⁰ Add. Chart. 20,848. ²¹ Add. Chart. 22,464.

²² Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Alnwick.

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Robert of the Dingley preceptory must have belonged, for he is termed both 'armiger' and 'scutifer.' At a chapter-general, however, held in 1357, this sub-division was abolished, it being ruled that no serving brother should henceforth be eligible for knightly rank.

A court roll of the Hospitallers' manor of Dingley, dated 18 March, 1482, names Sir Henry Halley as preceptor. The chief finding of the jury on that occasion related to the ruinous condition of a spring (*fons*) called 'a horse-well,' used by the whole town; it was ordered to be repaired before the next feast of Trinity, under pain of a fine of 6s. 8d.¹

Sir Giles Russell was the last commander of Dingley; he was also commander of the preceptory of Battisford, Suffolk. He was summoned on 16 February, 1530-1, by Sir William Weston, prior of St. John of Jerusalem, to attend the provincial chapter at Clerkenwell, on Thursday after Whit-Sunday, and to pay his dues to the common treasure.² Russell was evidently a man of considerable importance in the order, for two days after the summons was dispatched the prior's secretary writes to him saying that if he has any business of importance to bring before the chapter, and will let him know, such matter should be expedited.³ A year later the prior wrote to Sir Giles in favor of John Launde, an old servant of the religion, who held by copy a tenement called Freres, in Russell's commandery, and received a speedy reply.⁴

In May, 1532, the prior wrote to Sir Giles, stating that a bull, under lead, had arrived from the council in Malta, ordering the payment of their responsions for 1532. He desires him to pay as soon as possible, 'for the religion has right great need.'⁵

In September of the same year Sir Giles, who was then in London, received a letter from Sir Ambrose Cave, commander of the preceptory of Stydd, Derbyshire, asking him whilst in town to arrange for a visitation of Stydd, and expressing a hope that he (Sir Giles) may be one of the visitors. He deprecated the visitors bringing a large company with them, for if they did so it meant dice and cards at the fireside for their servants.⁶ Sir Robert Croftes, commander of Baddesley, Hants, wrote to Sir Giles in the following November, consulting him as to the

non-payment of tithes on apples, pears, ducks, and walnuts.⁷

In a debtor and creditor account of the sums of money called 'responsions,' paid by the knights of St. John in England to the common treasury of the order for the year 1535, the name of Sir Giles Russell is entered as paying for Dingley preceptory. The Valor Ecclesiasticus of this year yields no information with regard to this preceptory. The Northamptonshire return states that the necessary information would be given under Battisford, Suffolk, as Sir Giles held both preceptories, but nothing is entered pertaining to Northamptonshire under that head.

In 1539 Sir Giles Russell was nominated lieutenant turcopolier. Turcopolier was a title peculiar to the head of the ancient langue or province of England, and was much valued. This officer was commander of the turcoples or light cavalry, and had also the care of the coast defences of the island of Rhodes, and afterwards of that of Malta. There are two interesting letters extant from Sir Giles at Malta, one to Sir John Mablesteyn, sub-prior of the order in England, and the other to his brother, Lord Russell, both dated 27 October, 1539.⁸ In the latter he refers to the stuff at his Dingley preceptory, stating that it was good and ought to be recovered, and added that he was writing to the parson of Dingley and his chaplain, Thomas Borow, on the same subject. The parson or rector of Dingley at that time was another brother of Sir Giles, Thomas Russell, who had been presented by him to the rectory in 1530.⁹ Sir Giles Russell died in 1543; at his death it was decreed by the chapter-general at Malta that there should be no further nomination to the dignity of turcopolier until the (Roman) Catholic religion should be re-established in England.

It is infinitely to the credit of the knights of St. John that they refused the degrading terms offered them in 1538 by Henry VIII. to save their broad acres in England. In 1540 the whole of their property in this country was confiscated, and those who declined to yield spiritual obedience to the king were bitterly persecuted and imprisoned, whilst several suffered death on the scaffold. Those who yielded had pensions assigned them out of the confiscated property. Among these occurs the name of Sir Giles Russell, who is entered for a pension of £100.¹⁰

The priory manor of Dingley was granted by the crown in 1540 to Edward Hastings for twenty-one years; the reversion of the manor and the advowson of the rectory were purchased of the crown in 1543 by Edward Griffin for £360 8s. 2d. The patent mentions the dove-

¹ B. M. Sloane Chart. xxxi. 10.

² *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* v. 110.

³ *Ibid.* 111.

⁴ *Ibid.* 901, 992.

⁵ *Ibid.* 999. Rhodes, after a most gallant and prolonged defence, was surrendered to the Moslem in 1522. For eight years the order had led a wandering life that almost entirely exhausted their common treasury. When Charles V. granted Malta to the knights in 1530, great sums were requisite to fortify their new settlement.

⁶ *Ibid.* 1349.

⁷ *Ibid.* 1550.

⁸ *Ibid.* xiv. p. ii. 404, 405.

⁹ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Longlands.*

¹⁰ See Porter, *Knights of Malta*, xv. xvi. xxii.

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cote, garden, orchard called 'Paradyse,' and cemetery, as well as arable, pasture, and woodlands.¹

On the accession of Queen Mary there was a brief revival of the order, by patent of 2 April, 1557. This revival was of special interest in Northamptonshire, for Sir Thomas Tresham, of

Rushton, was appointed grand prior of St. John Angliæ.

There were 'camera' belonging to the order at Harrington, Blakesley, and Guilsborough, Brother Nicholas occurring as 'the master of the hospital' at the last-named place in 1285.⁷

FRIARIES

19 THE BLACK FRIARS OF NORTHAMPTON

The Dominican or Black Friars, otherwise called the Friars Preachers, established themselves at Northampton, with the hearty sanction of Bishop Hugh Wells, about 1230. They obtained a site near the centre of the town, with a frontage to the horse market.² In Henry III., and afterwards in Edward I., the friars found liberal patrons.

The first notice of their building occurs 1233, when the king granted the friars twenty oaks out of the royal forests of Northamptonshire.³ Two years later the king gave them fifteen oaks from the forest of Salcey for the timber of their church; in March, 1236, timber from the same woods to make sixty rafters for their frater; in August of the same year, ten logs (*fusta*) from Kenilworth, for roofing shingles; and in September, 1240, twelve more oaks from Salcey for general building purposes.⁴ In May, 1241, the sheriff was directed to fell and carry to the Friars Preachers at Northampton, at the royal cost, fifteen oaks from Salcey, with all their branches.⁵ These gifts of timber continued for some time; in 1244, twenty oaks for the fabric of the church from Salcey, four from Whittlewood, and ten ready cut into shingles were bestowed by the keepers of the bishopric of Chichester, the see being vacant; in 1245, twenty oaks from Salcey, or Silverstone, for roofing the church and the cloister; and in 1246, a hundred shillings towards buying shingles to roof the church.⁶

In 1246 the Knights Templars gave the friars ten oaks in their wood of Balsall, and the sheriff of Warwickshire received the royal command to carry them to Northampton.

The friars added to their grounds in 1247, and the king contributed forty marks, through the sheriff, 'ad septa ecclesie sue amplianda.' In

1249 the addition to the church was ready for roofing, and the king gave thirty oaks for shingles for that purpose. Six good oaks from Salcey forest were given in 1258, towards the erection of study-rooms, and this was followed by further gifts of timber in 1261, 1265, and 1270. On 30 May, 1266, the friars received letters of safe conduct for their men and servants traversing the kingdom with wains for timber and other building materials.⁸

Edward I. continued the liberal timber benefactions of his father. His first gift was in 1277, and it was followed by others in 1278, 1279, 1286, and 1301, from the woods of Salcey, Whittlewood, Geddington, and Hanley. Six of the oaks given in 1278 were for the fabric of the church, and on 9 May, 1286, as much timber as was necessary was found, 'ad novem copulas quas Rex eis concessit in auxilium chori ecclesie sue ibidem perficiendi.'⁹

These interesting entries show that the building of this friary and its gradual development extended over sixty-seven years, namely from 1233 to 1301. Sufficient accommodation was, however, provided by 1239 for holding the provincial chapter of the Dominicans at Northampton.

At the special inquisition of 1274, dealing with encroachments, the jury found that these friars had enclosed for their use a common way 6 feet broad, stretching from their new churchyard to St. Martin Street, to the detriment of the commonalty of the town to the amount of half a mark.¹⁰

A spring of flowing water, termed 'Floxe-well,' at Kingsthorpe, was granted to the friars by Queen Eleanor in 1279; the water was conveyed to their buildings by an underground conduit.¹¹

In 1301 their grounds were enlarged by two plots of land, one 60 feet by 40 feet, and the other 50 feet by 49 feet; the mortmain licence for the former was granted on condition of two hundred masses being celebrated for the king and queen and their children.¹² Further licences for enlarging their grounds followed in 1314 and 1319.

⁷ Assize R. 623, m. 12d. ⁸ Pat. Hen. III. m. 15.

⁹ Close, 14 Edw. I. m. 5.

¹⁰ Hund. R. (Rec. Com.), ii. 3.

¹¹ Pat. 7 Edw. I. m. 11.

¹² Inq. p. m. 29 Edw. I. No. 86.

¹ Pat. 35 Hen. VIII. pt. 16.

² Leland, *Itin.* (Hearne ed.), i. 10.

³ Close, 17 Hen. III. m. 2.

⁴ Ibid. 19 Hen. III. pt. 1, m. 6; 20 Hen. III. m. 14, 5; 24 Hen. III. m. 6.

⁵ Ibid. 25 Hen. III. m. 9.

⁶ Liberate and Close Rolls. See article on this house, *Reliquary*, vol. xxi. 25-32, by the late Father Palmer, to which we are much indebted. Various statements in this account, to which references are not appended, are taken from this trustworthy source.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

In 1358 the crown seized a house called 'La Garyt,' a messuage, and two shops, which had been acquired for enlargement, on the ground that the friars, contrary to their rule and to the licence in mortmain, had let them to tenants for yearly rents. But the king ordered their restoration, on condition that they should be no longer let, but used for enlargement.¹

This friary seems to have attracted the special benefactions of royalty. In addition to the oaks for building purposes, both Henry III. and Edward I. were constant in their gifts of oaks for fuel. On 26 May, 1284, Edward gave twelve leafless oaks in the nearest woods outside Northampton, to be used for fuel by the friars preachers, as the provincial chapter was about to be held there. In December, 1295, he gave them half the twigs cut down in winter in Moulton Park. When Edward was passing through Northampton or sojourning at the castle, it was usually his custom to send the Dominicans alms for one day's food, their joint board being estimated at about a mark a day. In December, 1300, he gave Henry de Odiham, the prior, £4 12s. for food on Christmas Day and the five following days, on behalf of himself, his queen, and Thomas of Brotherton, their son. On 13 August, Prince Edward, being at Northampton, gave 13s. 4d. to the friars for celebrating mass for his good estate on St. Dominic's Day, that feast being also his birthday. The princes Thomas and Edward, in the following month, gave 13s. 4d. for one day's food to the friars in acknowledgement of their having celebrated mass for the king during his sickness.

Edward II. continued this custom when visiting Northampton, and Edward III. when he arrived in this town on 14 January, 1329, gave a groat to each of the thirty-six friars for a day's food. A groat, or four pence, was evidently the customary reckoning for food for a single friar, which seems a liberal allowance, but probably they had extra fare on the days of this royal benevolence. In 1335, on 27 March, the king gave an alms of 11s., there being then thirty-three friars in the house.

Royalty was specially generous at the time when the provincial chapters of the Dominican Order were held at Northampton. In 1239 Henry III. ordered the sheriff to pay 10 marks to provide food for the assembly on 14 September and following days, and in addition he was to find three courses and good wine for the dinner on the first day the provincial chapter met here both in 1271 and 1272; on the first occasion the king gave two casks of wine, and on the second £5 9s. 9d. towards the expenses. The donation of Edward I. in 1284 of the leafless oaks has already been named. In 1313 there was again a provincial chapter, when

Edward II. gave £15 for three days' food. If the rations for such an assembly were calculated at a groat a day per head, this would yield an attendance of 300; but probably on such an occasion, with wine included, it may be taken at double the amount, which would leave a gathering of 150. There was also a provincial chapter here in 1361, when Edward III. paid a like sum towards the expenses. Several fifteenth-century provincial chapters of the Premonstratensian Canons were held at this friary, as stated in the account of Sulby Abbey.

The most celebrated man connected with the Northampton Dominicans was Robert Holcot, one of the first divines of the fourteenth century; he was born at Northampton, of good family, and in his early days was on the commission of the peace for the county. Joining the Friars Preachers he took the degree of D.D. both at Oxford and Cambridge, and for a long time was professor of scripture and morals at the former university. He was known as 'the firm and unwearyed doctor,' and wrote twenty-six treatises on various branches of theology and philosophy. His reputation so far outlasted his own days that the greater proportion of his works were issued in repeated editions from the chief continental presses so soon as the art of printing had been discovered. He fell a victim to the Black Death when it was raging in Northampton in 1349, and was buried in the Dominican Church. His memory was much venerated, especially as he caught the fatal illness while assiduously ministering to the sufferers. Mary Myddleton, by her will of 1536, 'desired to be buried within the blacke friers church next to Holcott.'² The same testator bequeathed a goblet of silver to the prior of the Black Friars. Sir Everard Fielding, by will of 19 April, 1515, directed his body to be buried before the altar of our blessed Lady in the Black Friars at Northampton, to which he bequeathed a cope of blue velvet with garters, a pax of silver and gilt, and two cruets of silver.³ Dame Gylls Fieldyng, by her will of 1529, desired 'to be buried in the Church of the blake Frears byfor the ymage of our lady in the tombe of my husband. I bequeath for my mortuarie to the prior and his bretheren a cove.'⁴

When Jane Brafeld, of St. Giles's parish, made her will in 1522, she desired 'to have y^e pall of y^e blacke frears upon my herse, and y^e to have xx^d for it.'⁵ The Northamptonshire wills of the sixteenth century frequently contain small bequests to each of the four orders of friars at Northampton from various parts of the county. The light that burnt before the altar of our

² Northampton Wills, F. 172.

³ Nicolas, *Test. Vet.* Garters in this instance mean fastenings.

⁴ Northamptonshire Wills, D. 68.

⁵ Ibid. B. 128.

¹ Close, 32 Edw. III. m. 8.

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Lady in this church was maintained by the gild of the tylers' craft.¹

Among the charters of the British Museum² is the certificate of the admission of Robert Greenway and Alice his wife into the confraternity of the order of Friars Preachers by Richard Metteley, prior of Northampton, dated 1511. This well-written parchment certificate, with rubricated initial, shows that admissions were of usual occurrence, for the names of Robert and Alice, as well as the precise year, have been filled up in a running hand, forms of admission being evidently kept ready for use. The official seal is missing.

The Valor of 1535 showed that this friary possessed £2 18s. 6d. in rents of buildings and gardens within the site, and an average of £2 13s. in charitable gifts. The outgoings were a pension of 3s. 4d. to the abbey of St. James, and 4d. to the mayor and bailiffs of the town, leaving a clear annual value of £5 7s. 10d.³

20 THE FRANCISCANS OF NORTHAMPTON

The Franciscans or Grey Friars, otherwise known as the Friars Minor, established themselves at Northampton soon after their first arrival in England in 1224.⁴ A small detachment made their way to this important central town from Oxford.⁵ The first Franciscans who landed in England numbered four priests and five laymen; one of the priests was Richard of Kingsthorpe, an Englishman by birth and a distinguished preacher.⁶ It seems natural to conclude that one of the causes of their speedy appearance at Northampton was the fact of its proximity to the birthplace of friar Richard. Northampton was grouped under the custody or wardenship of Oxford up to the time of the dissolution.

The Franciscans first established themselves in a house in the parish of St. Giles, which was outside the eastern walls of the town. Their first warden is said to have been Peter Hispanus.⁷ In 1235 John de Reading, abbot of Oseney, resigned his charge, and putting on the Franciscan habit became a member of the Northampton house.⁸

The friars rapidly won the esteem of the townsmen, and afterwards moved to a good site to the north-east of the town, which was granted

them by the burgesses. Leland thus describes it: ⁹ 'The Grayfreres House was the beste buildid and largest house of all the places of the freres, and stode a little beyond the chief market place, almost by flatte north. The site and ground that it stode on longid to the cite, whereupon the citizens were taken for the founders of it. There lay ii. of the Salysburies buried in this house of Grey Freres. And as I remember it was told me that one of the Salisbyries doughters was mother to Sir Wylliam Par and his elder brother.' John Bungey, doctor of divinity of Oxford, and ninth provincial of the English Franciscans, was of this house and buried here.¹⁰ Humphrey, duke of Buckingham, slain at the battle of Northampton in 1460, obtained a sepulchre within the church of the Grey Friars.¹¹

Edward I. bestowed a cart and horse on the friars, and in 1277 the sheriff and coroners of the town were enjoined by the crown to restore to the Friars Minor of Northampton the cart and two horses which had been taken into the king's hands as deodands by reason of the death of Richard de Lilleford, lately slain by the said cart, as they had been given by the king out of charity.¹² On 4 January of the following year the king granted to the friars four oaks fit for timber out of his forest of Silverstone,¹³ which indicates that their new buildings were in progress. A licence was granted in August, 1291, for the friars to unite the course of a spring called Triwell, then running in three directions between the towns of Northampton and Kingsthorpe, and to lead it by a subterranean conduit to their house, provided that they indemnified the persons through whose property the conduit would be taken for the damage, which was estimated by a jury at one mark if the lands should be sown at the time.¹⁴

Bishop Dalderby in 1308 pronounced sentence of excommunication against those who had abducted certain persons from the church of the Friars Minors of Northampton. Probably these persons were fugitives who had sought sanctuary.¹⁵ A bequest of 3s. 'to our Saviour's ymage in the Gray Friars' is recorded in the will of Simon G. . . . dated 1526.¹⁶

Reference has already been made to the dissolution of the Northampton friaries. The Franciscans 'surrendered' on 28 October, 1538; the deed was signed by John Wyndlowe, warden, and by ten of the brethren. Ambrose Clerke and Roger Wall were appointed attorneys to receive and deliver the premises to Dr. London

¹ *Northampton Borough Records*, i. 330.

² Add. Chart. 22,376.

³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 318.

⁴ Thomas de Eccleston, *De Adventu Minorum* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 9.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Leland, *Coll.* (Hearne ed.), ii. 341-2.

⁷ Thomas de Eccleston, *De Adventu Minorum* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 9.

⁸ Bridges, *Hist. of Northants*, i. 435.

⁹ Leland, *Itin.* (Hearne ed.), i. 10.

¹⁰ Stevens, *Addition to the Monasticon*, i. 97.

¹¹ Dugdale, *Baronage*, i. 166.

¹² Close, 5 Edw. I. m. 4.

¹³ Ibid. 6 Edw. I. m. 15.

¹⁴ Pat. 19 Edw. I. m. 5.

¹⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Dalderby, f. 112.

¹⁶ Northants Wills, c. 126.

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for the king's use.¹ A memorandum of Dr. London, drawn up early in 1539, states that the Grey Friars' church was covered with lead.²

WARDENS

Peter Hispanus,³ 1224-5

John Wyndlowe,⁴ surrendered 1538.

21. THE AUSTIN FRIARS OF NORTHAMPTON

It is usually said that the Northampton house of the Austin Friars or Friars Eremites was founded by Sir John Longville, of Wolverton, in 1323; but this must have been a further augmentation, for there are several references to an Austin friary to the south of the town in Northampton deeds between 1275 and 1290.⁵ Divers of the Buckinghamshire family of Longville were buried in the church; Leland adds—'I heer of no men els of nobilite there buried.'⁶

In April, 1330, licence was obtained for the alienation in mortmain by George de Longville, to the prior and Austin Friars of Northampton, of a messuage and plot of land, 108 feet in length by 44 feet in breadth, adjoining their house, for the enlargement of their close.⁷ There was a further grant for extension of their premises made to the friars by the same benefactor in 1337.⁸

Godfrey Grandfeld, born in this county and a friar of the Northampton house, was a doctor of divinity of Cambridge, and a philosopher and divine of great repute. Going to Rome, he became chaplain to the cardinal bishop of Frascati. After a while he was himself consecrated bishop *in partibus* by Pope Benedict XI. (1303), and sent into England. He acted for a time as suffragan bishop of Lincoln, and left behind him many sermons and lectures as monuments of his learning. Dying about 1340, he was buried in this monastery.⁹

William Whitfield in 1528 bequeathed 'a payre of shetts to the sub-prior of the Austyns in Northampton,' 'also yt ye cooke of the freers Augustens shall have a fetheryng of a bedd.'

The church of the Austin Friars had an image of Our Lady of Grace of no small repute.

Margery Humphrey by will of 1513 left 'to Our Lady of Grace in ye Austen freers my best gyrdel gilte.' Another Northampton lady in 1538 left the image her best ring; and William Whitfield by will of 1528 left all his goods to the friars of Our Lady of Grace, in case his wife predeceased him.¹⁰

This house was surrendered to Dr. London on 28 October, 1538, for the king's use. The deed was signed by John Goodwyn, prior; Stephen Barwycke, sub-prior, and seven other friars, the last of whom (Robert Barrett) signs himself an anchorite. John Wacklynge and Thomas Williams were appointed attorneys to see to the formal delivery.¹¹

It is not necessarily to the discredit of Prior Goodwyn that he incurred the hostility of Dr. London. The prior and his brethren seem to have done their utmost to save their small property from the spoilers. The day after the surrender London wrote to Cromwell saying that he found the prior of the Augustines 'one of the most unthrifty I have met with, yet have I found few true.' He accused him of being a great dicer and reveller, and said that he owned to having made away with £100 worth of plate. He had put the prior and almost all the brethren in ward to try to find out their deceit.¹²

A few days later (6 November) London wrote again to his master from Godstow, and referred to the Austin Friars of Northampton. Forgetful of his previous statement as to £100 of plate, he then stated that the prior had divided £30 of plate among the brethren shortly before his arrival. The prior had been put in prison for it and 40s. of the money recovered.¹³

The building of a palace or royal lodge for the king at Grafton Regis was in contemplation, and a memorandum of London's, drawn up early in 1539, stated that the Austin Friars' church of Northampton was covered with lead, 'and the roof meet for Grafton.'¹⁴

This house was granted by the crown in July, 1540, to Robert Dighton, of Stirton, Lincolnshire.¹⁵

The fifteenth-century seal of this house represents the Virgin in glory within a vesica. The legend is defaced.¹⁶

¹⁰ Northampton Wills, A. 156, F. 28, D. 203.

¹¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiii. pt. 2, 704.

¹² *Ibid.* pt. 2, 719.

¹³ *Ibid.* 767, and Cott. MS. Cleop. E. IV. 227.

There seems to have been something discreditable about the appointment of this prior. In Cromwell's accounts (which reveal so much peculation) for April, 1537, there is an entry of £5 received for the confirmation of the prior of the Austin Friars, Northampton. *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiv. pt. 2, 782, p. 319.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* xiv. pt. 1, 3.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* xv. 942 (99, 109).

¹⁶ Cast at the B. M. lxix. 89.

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiii. pt. 2, 705.

² *Ibid.* xiv. pt. 1, 3.

³ Thomas de Eccleston, *De Adventu Minorum* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 9.

⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiii. pt. 2, 705.

⁵ *Northampton Borough Records*, ii. 523. Pat. 16 Edw. II. pt. 1, m. 5.

⁶ Leland's *Itin.* (Hearne ed.), i. 10.

⁷ Pat. 4 Edw. III. pt. 1, m. 21.

⁸ *Ibid.* 11 Edw. III. pt. 2, m. 23, 24.

⁹ Stevens, *Addition to the Monasticon*, ii. 217; Stubbs, Ball, etc.

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22. THE CARMELITE FRIARS OF NORTHAMPTON

The order of the Carmelites or White Friars, driven from Mount Carmel by the Saracens in 1238, reached England in 1240. Their friary at Northampton was founded in 1271 by Simon Montford and Thomas Chitwood. The house is mentioned in an inquisition held at Northampton in 1275 respecting certain men who arrived by night in the town and left a package in the custody of the brothers of Mount Carmel, but sought a lodging for themselves in the house of a certain Alice Baron. The town bailiffs, suspecting them to be robbers, sent to seize them at the house of the said Alice, but the strangers anticipated the authorities and escaped before day. The package deposited at the friary was opened and found to contain two coats of mail. Sir William de Lymar, knight, then appeared and claimed the harness and horses which the robbers had left, stating that they were his property of which he had been robbed.¹ In the same year the town jury of Northampton found that the brothers of Mount Carmel had for four years past defrauded the town of 28*d.* a year due to the ferm of the king for tenements they had obtained in free alms from Simon de Pateshill and others, to the injury of the king and his bailiffs of Northampton.²

The friars applied to Edward I. in 1278 for leave to enclose a portion of the town wall that adjoined their close and to block up its crenelles. A jury was impanelled to ascertain what damage, if any, would ensue if such a licence were granted. The return found that it would be to the damage and nuisance of the town of Northampton to enclose the wall and fill up the crenelles, inasmuch as the burgesses of the town, and especially the sick, often walked on the wall from one gate to another to take the air, and that in the winter time they used the same route for the sake of cleanliness, instead of the noisome and muddy way under the wall, between it and the place of the Carmelites. The proposed action of the friars would interfere with these uses. Moreover, the night watchmen going their rounds on the town walls were in the habit of using the crenelles to watch for malefactors approaching the town, and if these openings were closed, as proposed, various misdeeds and stratagems might pass undetected.³ Licence was obtained by the Carmelite Friars in 1299 to retain in mortmain a plot of land east of their dwelling-place, acquired by them since the statute, without licence, and to enclose it with a wall for the enlargement of their close.⁴ A further enlargement of their site was sanctioned in 1363.⁵

In 1380, on payment of half a mark, the friars obtained a grant for a third enlargement of their close by the alienation to them of a plot of land 29 perches long by 16 broad, the gift of John Sauce and Robert Lincoln.⁶

The church of St. Mary of Mount Carmel, Northampton, must have been of considerable size, for in 1310 Bishop Dalderby granted a licence to the friars to have five fixed altars in their church; he also licensed the dedication of an altar to St. Catherine.⁷ In 1363 Bishop Bokyngham granted an indulgence in connexion with the image of the Blessed Virgin in the outer chapel of the Carmelite friars of Northampton, next the entrance of their church.⁸

William Tomson in 1512 left 12*d.* by will 'to the blessyd ymage of o^r lady in the house of the Friars Carm. wⁱn the town of Northampton.' Agnes Haywarde left her second ring to this same image just before the dissolution. Richard Packman, in 1528, desired to be buried 'att the Whyte Freirs before saint Katerin.'⁹ A commission was issued in 1400 to inquire into a report that the friars were giving shelter to evil-doers, and that William Hawk, John Carpenter, and six others lately arrested on suspicion of larceny and other felonies, and committed to gaol in the castle of Northampton, had escaped and were then in the church of the friars of the order of St. Mary of Mount Carmel in the same town.¹⁰

Two of the more celebrated writers among the English Carmelites were connected with this house. John Avon, who was born at Northampton, and became a Carmelite friar of that town, was a doctor of divinity and distinguished mathematician. His chief work, in addition to sermons, was 'The Philisophical Ring,' or 'a perpetual almanack to find every year for ever, the moveable feasts, the immoveable, the aspects of the heavens, the changes of the moon, and all things relating to the ordering of the divine offices according to the several solemnities throughout the year.' He died about 1350, probably of the plague, and was buried in the friary at Northampton. William Beaufeu, doctor of divinity, of the university of Oxford, and a considerable theological writer, was sometime prior of this house. He died in 1390, and was buried in the friary.¹¹ Of the heads of this house few names have been preserved, but Nicholas Cantelow may be mentioned as having been prior in 1471.¹²

The dissolution of the Northampton friaries has been already described. The Carmelites

¹ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 5.

² *Ibid.* p. 2.

³ *Inq. p.m.* 6 Edw. I. pt. 79.

⁴ *Pat.* 27 Edw. I. m. 32.

⁵ *Ibid.* 37 Edw. III. pt. 1, m. 15.

⁶ *Ibid.* 4 Rich. II. pt. 1, m. 3.

⁷ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo.* of Dalderby ff. 162, 168.

⁸ *Ibid.* Memo. of Bokyngham, f. 8b.

⁹ Wills at the Probate Office, Northampton.

¹⁰ *Pat.* 2 Hen. IV. pt. 1, m. 12d.

¹¹ Stevens, *Addition to the Mon.* ii. 164, 167.

¹² *Liber Custumarum* of Northampton, f. 113b.

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surrendered their house on 20 October, 1538. The deed was signed by John Howell, prior, William Harrison, sub-prior, and seven other friars.¹ John Walklynge and Thomas Gyfte were appointed attorneys to deliver the property to Dr. London for the king's use. The report of Dr. London nine days after the surrender, to the effect that the friary was a beggarly place and all that it contained would not suffice to pay its debts,² is very much to the credit of this mendicant house. A memorandum of Dr. Lon-

don, drawn up early in 1539, states that the chancel of the White Friars' church had a new fair roof covered with slate, and that it was meet for the king's use at Grafton Regis.⁶

The pointed oval fifteenth-century seal of this house represents a saint lifting up the right hand and holding in the left a long cross under a tree; a worshipper kneels before him; there is a bird on a branch.⁷

Legend : + s COMMU . . NORHAM . . IE.

HOSPITALS

23. THE HOSPITAL OF ARMSTON

In 1232 Ralph de Trubleville and Alice his wife built a hospital with a chapel, dedicated to the honour of St. John Baptist, at Armston, a hamlet of Polebrook, on their own ground, with the assent of Robert le Fleming, the patron and parson of the church of Polebrook. The entry of this foundation in Bishop Wells's roll states that the chaplain and brothers were to be dressed in a religious habit of russet cloth with the figure of a pastoral staff in red cloth on the breast. There was to be a belfry attached to the chapel for calling together the brethren, who were to be duly ministered to by the chaplain. Licence was granted by the bishop for a cemetery attached to the hospital, where the lay brothers (*conversi*) and the poor and sick of the hospital might be buried; but the mother church was to receive all offerings from the hospital.

It is also recorded in the same year that Aumary Schelton, chaplain, was presented by Alice de Trubleville to the rule of the hospital of Armston.³

Pope Boniface IX. in 1393 issued a mandate to the abbot of Sautre and the archdeacons of Buckingham and Ely to correct and reform the statutes, ordinances, and customs of the chapel or hospital of the poor of St. John (Baptist) Armston, in the diocese of Lincoln, going thither in person, and summoning, if expedient, the patron, rector, and minister thereof.⁴

The hospital was again the subject of a papal mandate in 1401, when Boniface directed the bishop of Aquila to intervene in a dispute as to the church of Oundle, which had become void through the resignation of the late Richard Treeton, on his acceptance of 'the hospital with cure of St. John, Armston.'⁵

The Chantry and College Commissioners of the end of Henry VIII.'s reign reported that the 'chantry' of Armston with £8 1s. 4d. a year had been dissolved by Sir Richard Kirkham since

4 February, 1535-6⁸; the commissioners of 2 Edward VI. that it had been sold since the last commission to 'Syr Edmund Mountague, Knight, Cheyf Justice of the Commonplais as yt is seyd.'⁹

MASTERS OR PRIORS OF ARMSTON

Aumary of Schelton,¹⁰ 1232
 Hugh,¹¹ died 1298
 Henry of Barnton,¹² 1298, resigned 1303
 John le Moyne,¹³ 1303
 Robert Stacy,¹⁴ resigned 1332
 John of Felmersham,¹⁵ 1332, resigned 1344
 Roger Saltiel,¹⁶ 1344, resigned 1345
 Walter of Eketon,¹⁷ 1345, died 1349
 Roger of Milton,¹⁸ 1349, died 1353
 John Stalleworth,¹⁹ 1353, died 1354
 Regnold Pothors,²⁰ 1354, died 1357
 William de Percehag,²¹ 1357, died 1361
 Robert Martyn, 1361,²² died same year
 William of Clopton,²³ 1361, died 1369
 Henry of Etyngton,²⁴ 1369, died 1381
 Richard of Treton,²⁵ 1381, resigned 1390
 William Wynceby,²⁶ 1390, resigned 1392
 John Belle,²⁷ 1392, resigned 1394
 John Gryme,²⁸ 1394
 William Mason,²⁹ 1430, died 1437
 Thomas Petham,³⁰ 1437, died in same year
 Thomas Cooke,³¹ 1437, resigned 1446

⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiv. pt. 1, 3.

⁷ Taken from cast at the British Museum, lxix. 91.

⁸ Coll. and Chant. Certificates, No. xxxvi. 33.

⁹ Ibid. xxxv. 44.

¹⁰ Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Wells.

¹¹ Ibid. Inst. of Sutton, f. 65.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid. Inst. of Dalderby, f. 105.

¹⁴ Ibid. Inst. of Burghersh, f. 195d.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid. Inst. of Beck, f. 65.

¹⁷ Ibid. f. 73.

¹⁸ Ibid. Inst. of Gynwell, f. 130.

¹⁹ Ibid. f. 153.

²⁰ Ibid. f. 155d.

²¹ Ibid. f. 168.

²² Ibid. f. 188.

²³ Ibid. f. 189.

²⁴ Ibid. Inst. of Bokyngham, f. 178.

²⁵ Ibid. f. 223d.

²⁶ Ibid. ii. f. 154d.

²⁷ Ibid. f. 164.

²⁸ Ibid. f. 168d.

²⁹ Ibid. Inst. of Fleming, f. 83d.

³⁰ Ibid. Inst. of Alnwick, f. 143d.

³¹ Ibid. f. 116d.

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiii. pt. 2, 654.

² Ibid. 719. ³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Wells.

⁴ *Cal. of Papal L.* iv. 456. ⁵ Ibid. v. 367.

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Roger Shryghey,¹ 1446, died 1465
 John Draper,² 1465, resigned 1482
 Thomas Warberton,³ 1482
 James Tunstal,⁴ 1540

24. THE HOSPITAL OF AYNHO

The hospital of Aynho, built for the relief of the poor, the sick, and infirm, and dedicated in honour of SS. James and John, stood at the west entrance of the village. It was founded towards the close of the twelfth century by Roger Fitz Richard and Alice his wife, with the consent of their two sons, William and Robert. The grant was ratified by William de Mandeville, earl of Essex, as lord of the fee.⁵ Robert Fitz Roger confirmed and added to his father's grants, and his grandson provided for the maintenance of a chaplain at the hospital to celebrate for the soul of his grandmother, Elizabeth, countess of Dunbar.⁶ The hospital was under the direction of a master nominated by the lord of the manor and instituted by the bishop. The earliest name recorded is that of Peter of Maldon, presented in 1232 by Roger de Creissy, farmer of Aynho.⁷

On the death of John de Graham in 1282, and the appointment of William de Hokkeholte as master, Bishop Sutton ordered an inquisition to be held by the official of the archdeacon of Northampton into the condition of the hospital. The return found that Roger Fitz-Roger was the true patron for that turn, and that his right was undisputed; that there was no cure of souls annexed to the hospital; that its income included the tithes of 4 virgates of land, with the exception of 1 acre, and the small tithes of the lordship of John de Hay, save one lamb, one fleece, and one cheese due to the mother church of Croughton; that the hospital was founded for the *pauperes debiles ac infirmos* coming there; and that the new master, William de Hokkeholte, was reported to be a man of good life and honest conversation.⁸

In 1319 Sir John Clavering, lord of Aynho, gave to the hospital half a virgate of land, a messuage and a mill called 'Goldsbolte milne' with the adjacent meadow and water-course, and the custom of his tenants at the said mill.⁹ The master and brethren acquired further lands in Aynho from the same lord in 1331 to the value of 5 marks yearly.¹⁰ But with time and possibly

the increase of worldly goods the institution began to fail in the accomplishment of the aims of its founders. Two of the masters, William Lambton, appointed in 1455, and Henry Wright, in 1478, became rectors of the parish church, in itself evidence that the duties of the hospital did not absorb all their cares. On 1 October, 1483, William, earl of Arundel, the patron, granted the advowson and patronage of the hospital with all its property to William Waynflete, bishop of Winchester, the founder of Magdalen College, Oxford, and on 29 August, two years later, the formal annexation of the hospital to Magdalen College was executed by the bishop with the assent of the patron, on the express ground of the neglect of the hospital to carry out the duties of hospitality and almsgiving. The patron stipulated that mass should be said daily at the Arundel altar by the president and fellows for the members of the Arundel family.¹¹

Bridges (1720) states that the hospital became the dwelling-house of Mrs. Watkins, who held it on lease from Magdalen College, and that it was much altered from its first form.¹² Baker, a century later, describes it as occupied by Mr. Gardner and 'recently modernized.'

MASTERS OF AYNHO

Jordan,¹³ c. 1215
 Peter de Maldon,¹⁴ presented 1232
 Adam de Stutesbirie, presented 1235
 Stephen, presented 1243
 Peter de Wyndesover
 John de Graham,¹⁵ resigned 1282
 William de Hokkeholte,¹⁶ presented 1282, died 1293
 Geoffrey de Crouleton,¹⁷ presented 1293, died 1298
 Thomas de Aynho,¹⁸ presented 1298
 Thomas Budel,¹⁹ died 1324
 William de Kirkeshagh,²⁰ presented 1324
 Richard of Aynho, occurs 1376
 Henry Bretenelle or Brudenel, occurs 1391
 William Lambly alias Weston,²¹ presented 1394, resigned 1398
 William de Southo,²² presented 1398

¹¹ Magdalen College Evidences, *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iv. 460.

¹² *Hist. of Northants*, i. 142.

¹³ Macray, *Notes from Muniments of Magd. Coll. Oxon.* 4.

¹⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Wells.

¹⁵ Ibid. Roll of Sutton.

¹⁶ Ibid. Called Okholt *alias* Acolt, Macray, *op. cit.* 5.

¹⁷ Ibid. Inst. of Sutton, f. 54.

¹⁸ Ibid. f. 66.

¹⁹ Ibid. Inst. of Burghersh, f. 170d.

²⁰ Ibid. Called de Kyngsehawe, Macray, *loc. cit.*

²¹ Ibid. Inst. of Bokyngham, f. 172.

²² Ibid. Inst. of Beaufort, f. 89d.

¹ Linc. Inst. of Alnwick, f. 136d.

² Ibid. Inst. of Chadworth, f. 68d.

³ Ibid. Inst. of Russell, f. 52d.

⁴ Ibid. Inst. of Longlands, f. 122.

⁵ Magdalen College Evidences, *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iv. 460.

⁶ Ibid. ⁷ Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Wells.

⁸ Taken from register of Bishop Sutton, Harl. MS. 6,951, f. 7.

⁹ Pat. 13 Edw. II. m. 39.

¹⁰ Ibid. 5 Edw. III. pt. 1, m. 39.

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Simon Smith,¹ resigned 1401.

William Aichecote,² presented 1401, resigned 1407

William Humberston,³ presented 1407, resigned 1409

William Oldon,⁴ presented 1409, died 1419

John Rede,⁵ presented 1419

Thomas Tong, resigned 1454

Robert Taylour,⁶ presented 1454, died 1455

William Lambton,⁷ presented 1455, died 1468

Nicholas Langton,⁸ presented 1468, died 1478

Henry Wright,⁹ presented 1478

25. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JAMES AND ST. JOHN, BRACKLEY¹⁰

About the year 1150, Robert le Bossu, earl of Leicester, gave to one Solomon, a clerk, an acre of land at Brackley whereon to build a house for showing hospitality to the poor, together with a free chapel and graveyard. His son, Robert Blanchmaines, earl of Leicester, granted 2½ acres adjoining the site of the house and other lands exempt from tolls and dues within the parish of Brackley.¹¹ The house and chapel were dedicated in honour of St. John the Evangelist, but afterwards re-dedicated in honour of SS. James and John.¹² The abbot and convent of Leicester, in whom the advowson of the rectory of Brackley was vested, granted the hospital leave to have a church free from all subjection to the mother-church, with rights of sepulchre, and to receive the tithes of all their lands.¹³ Bishop Hugh, 1186–1200, confirmed the charters of the two earls, and granted to Solomon and his successors and to the brethren of the hospital the order

of priesthood, so that they might celebrate in the chapel and officiate in the parish church during a vacancy without further warrant, as had been granted them by the authority of Pope Alexander III.

Margaret, daughter and co-heiress of Robert, earl of Leicester, son of the founder, married the earl of Winchester, and their descendants were patrons of the hospital.¹⁴ One of the numerous benefactions to the hospital recorded among the Magdalen College Evidences is that of Roger de Quincy, earl of Winchester, who ordered a measure for corn in the shape of a coffin to be placed in the chapel of the hospital on the right-hand side of the shrine wherein the heart of Margaret his mother was entombed, and left provision for filling it with corn thrice yearly for ever from the grange of Hawes or Halse, for the use of the hospital.¹⁵

In 1278 Pope Nicholas III. ordered the collectors of the Holy Land tenth in England not to suffer the master and brethren of the hospital for the poor of St. John's, Brackley, to be molested, in accordance with the previous exemption granted by Pope Gregory X. to lazar houses, houses of God, and poor hospitals.¹⁶

Various additions were made to the endowment of the hospital during the fourteenth century. In 1301 John de Segrave obtained a licence for the alienation by John le Poer to the master and brethren of the hospital of a messuage, 35 acres of land, and part of an acre of meadow in Westbury, towards the maintenance of the infirm poor.¹⁷ In 1310 Thomas de Luton obtained a like licence for the alienation of lands and rents to the annual value of £10 to three chaplains to celebrate daily in the chapel of St. James, Brackley, for the souls of himself and his ancestors.¹⁸ In 1316 Alice, widow of Roger le Bygod, earl of Norfolk, obtained a licence for the master and brethren of the hospital of St. John, Brackley, to acquire lands, tenements, and rents in the king's fee, their own fee, or the fee of others, to the value of £10 a year.¹⁹ Edward II. seems to have exercised to the full the right of imposing pensioners on all houses of royal foundation or patronage. On 12 August, 1314, the master and brethren of the hospital were ordered to admit into their house William, son of Thomas le Charetter, of Grove, and to find him maintenance for life in food, clothing, and other necessities, as he was unable to labour for himself, the

¹ Macray, loc. cit. 'Simon late warden' is referred to in an action brought by William Oldon, warden, against the executors of John Cope. Early Chanc. Proc. bdle. 75, No. 2.

² Linc. Inst. of Beaufort, f. 111.

³ Ibid. Inst. of Repingdon, f. 227.

⁴ Ibid. f. 237d. ⁵ Ibid. f. 278d.

⁶ Ibid. Inst. of Chadworth, f. 52d.

⁷ Ibid. f. 56d. ⁸ Ibid. f. 74.

⁹ Ibid. Inst. of Rotherham, f. 53d.

¹⁰ An extract from the chronicle of Henry Knyghton (lib. ii. cap. ii.) records that Robert, earl of Mellent, the father of Robert le Bossu, was the founder of this hospital, and that his heart, preserved in salt, was buried there in a leaden coffin.

¹¹ The chartulary of Brackley Hospital is at Magdalen Coll., Oxf.; the foundation charter and three other charters are given in Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 751–2.

¹² In 1321 Bishop Beck granted a licence for the dedication of the church and churchyard of the hospital. Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Beck, f. 55.

¹³ The Brackley Evidences at Magd. Coll. Oxf., largely cited by Baker, *Hist. of Northants*, i. 579–582, are exceedingly full. The separate deeds dating from 1160–1165 number 945, and the chartulary of the hospital, written about 1300, numbers 80 leaves. *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. App.* iv. pp. 458, 460.

¹⁴ A table of the descent of this lady is given in *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. App.* iv. 460. The heart of the countess and that of her eldest son were buried before the high altar in the chapel of the hospital. Ibid.

¹⁵ Baker, *Hist. of Northants*, i. 580.

¹⁶ *Cal. of Papal L.* i. 456.

¹⁷ Pat. 29 Edw. I. m. 13.

¹⁸ Ibid. 3 Edw. II. m. 7.

¹⁹ Ibid. 10 Edw. II. pt. 1, m. 30; pt. 2, m. 25.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Scotch rebels having inhumanly cut off his hand whilst engaged in the king's service.¹ In 1316 Nicholas Russell, who had also been maimed while in the king's service in Scotland, was sent to the hospital to receive maintenance for life,² and in December of the same year Ralph de Wakefield, another broken-down soldier, was sent, but the community apparently resisted further imposition, and the grant of life-maintenance in this case was changed on 15 February to the prior and convent of Breamore.³ The master and brethren received the royal command on 4 March, 1322-3, to admit Thomas de la Garderobe, a maimed servant of the king, in the place of 'Russellus del Aumonerii,' deceased.⁴ Edward III., following the example of his predecessor, sent Lawrence le Chatter, in October, 1327, to the hospital of St. John, Brackley, to receive the same allowance that John Russell, deceased, had therein by the late king's order.⁵

The patronage of the hospital, which had passed into the hands of the earl of Winchester by the marriage of the Countess Margaret, granddaughter of the founder, came into the hands of Sir Alan la Zouch in 1296, on the death of Ellen his wife, daughter and co-heiress of Roger de Quincy, earl of Winchester.⁶ In 1514 the escheator beyond Trent was directed to deliver to Robert de Holand and Maud his wife, youngest daughter and co-heiress of Alan la Zouch, the advowson, *inter alia*, of the hospital of St. John, Brackley, which was then declared to be of the yearly value of 110s.⁷ Andrew of Brackley was instituted in January, 1331-2, with the consent of the patron, Maud, widow of Sir Robert de Holand.⁸ John Dorne was collated to the mastership by the bishop of Lincoln, on 12 December, 1384;⁹ he resigned in 1388, and was followed by John de Brokehampton.¹⁰ This last was vicar of St. Michael's, Northampton, from 1400, and in 1417 he was appointed master of the hospital of St. Leonard, Brackley. For these pluralities the papal court was responsible; as warden of the hospital of SS. James and John, Brackley, he obtained a dispensation in 1399 to hold another benefice with cure or a dignity, his income not exceeding 100 marks.¹¹ In 1411 Pope John XXII. confirmed to him the double appointment of warden of Brackley Hospital and rector of Sheepy.¹² In the same year a papal mandate was issued to

the archdeacon of Taunton, directing him, according to the petition of the warden and brethren of the poor hospital of SS. James and John, Brackley, to inquire into the statutes of the said hospital, which were reported to be obscure, and never yet confirmed by papal or ordinary authorities, and to interpret, amend, and approve the same.¹³ It is not, perhaps, greatly surprising, to find that on the death of John de Brokehampton in 1423 it was reported that the revenues of the house had been grossly misused, and that it was without inmates. The master was bound by the constitution of the house to be in holy orders, but there was no obligation as to residence, and though he was sometimes termed the prior, there was no kind of religious rule to be observed by him or the secular chaplains.¹⁴

An inquisition was held on 29 July of that year, 1423, as to the patronage of the hospital of SS. James and John at Brackley. The king had granted the custody of the hospital to his clerk Thomas Morton, the jury declared that the hospital was vacant and had been so since the death of John de Brokehampton on 3 May of that same year, and that the presentation was for that time in the hands of the king on account of the minority of William, Lord Lovell,¹⁵ and because the fellows to whom pertained the right of election had ceased to exist. They stated that at the last vacancy John of Brokehampton was canonically elected by his brethren of the hospital, the leave of the patron having previously been sought and obtained; that the rules of the hospital provided for such a canonical election, but that the office of master could not now be an elective one, as no fellows or brethren of the hospital remained, and, therefore, for the present the patron held the presentation to the hospital; that the master presented should be admitted and instituted by the ordinary, to whom pertained the discussion and confirmation of any election so far as admission and canonical institution were concerned. They further stated that there was not at that time within the hospital a single fellow or brother, though the statutes provided for both brothers and paupers, the brothers acting as secular chaplains; that there was no approved rule or any regularity of living within the hospital; that there were no insignia of religion¹⁶

¹³ Ibid. 294.

¹⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Fleming, cited by Baker, *Hist. of Northants.* i. 581.

¹⁵ John of Brokehampton was instituted on the presentation of Sir John Lovell in 1388. In 1420 Maud, widow of John, Lord Lovell, granted her manors of Bagworth and Thornton, in Lincolnshire, to trustees for the purpose of transforming the hospital within the next ten years into a house of Dominican friars, to consist of thirteen of that order, ten of whom should be chaplains and one of them prior. Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 617. Lady Lovell died, however, in 1423, and her wishes were never carried out.

¹⁶ 'Insignia religionis.'

¹ Close, 8 Edw. II. m. 35d.

² Ibid. 9 Edw. II. m. 11d.

³ Ibid. 10 Edw. II. m. 17d.

⁴ Ibid. 16 Edw. II. m. 14.

⁵ Ibid. 1 Edw. III. pt. 2, m. 11.

⁶ In 1274, this lady, as patron, presented John de Chenoure to the diocesan, to be instituted as master of the hospital. Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Gravesend.

⁷ Close, 8 Edw. II. m. 32.

⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Burghersh, f. 194.

⁹ Ibid. Inst. of Bokyngham, ii. f. 129.

¹⁰ Ibid. ¹¹ *Cal. of Papal L.* v. 186.

¹² Ibid. vi. 271.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

within the hospital, save the tonsure and a common seal; that the office of master required to be held by one in orders, but what orders they knew not; that personal or continuous residence was not demanded of the master; that the clerk Thomas Morton, now presented, was thirty years of age and in sub-deacon's orders, and held the benefices following: the prebends of Salisbury, Warwell, Aberguille, and Tamworth, and the rectory of Piddlehinton.¹

After some delay the hospital was re-established in 1425; its ordinances were approved by the patron William, Lord Lovell, and ratified by Archbishop Chicheley, who visited the foundation ten years later, in 1435.² The number on the foundation was reduced according to the new constitution, on account of the insufficiency of the revenues; 6 loaves of the value of 3*d.* were ordained to be given weekly in the chapel to the poor, and a decent house with six or four bedsteads was to be provided within the hospital for the free relief of poor travellers for one night, or longer if necessary. Henry Grene was presented in 1449. Apparently the old evil practice of non-residence had not been relinquished, for there was a priest of the same name, and probably to be identified with him, rector of Boddington, and somewhat later of Middleton Cheney. A commission was issued in April, 1421, to inquire into a complaint of brethren of this hospital that a certain Robert Marshall and others had entered the hospital on 20 March and carried off divers utensils and beasts belonging to it, alleging them to be the property of Henry Grene, the late master, a servant of Henry VI. The offenders were ordered to be arrested and imprisoned.³

James Stanley, the last master, was appointed in February, 1471-2; he became bishop of Ely in 1506. In February, 1484, Francis, Lord Lovell, granted the advowson and patronage of the hospital to William Waynflete, bishop of Winchester, for the sum of 400 marks, in order that it might form part of the endowment of the bishop's newly founded college of Magdalen, Oxford, and the following year the formal annexation took place; the deed for its execution justifying the action on the ground of neglect of the duties of hospitality and almsgiving.⁴

MASTERS OF ST. JAMES AND ST. JOHN, BRACKLEY

Solomon, at the time of foundation
Alan, occurs as prior c. 1200
Stephen, occurs c. 1220

¹ Reg. of Bp. Fleming, given in Harl. MS. 6,952, f. 60.

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Gray, f. 161.

³ Pat. 1 Edw. IV. pt. 1, m. 27*d.*

⁴ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. App.* iv. 459-60.

Thomas, occurs 1256-1269⁵

Thomas Cust,⁶ died 1271

William de Shaldeston,⁷ elected 1271, resigned 1274

John de Chenoure,⁸ elected 1274, died after April 1289⁹

Geoffrey de Hansho, elected 1289-1309¹⁰

William de Dorsete, elected 1309

John Abbot, alias le Bere,¹¹ died 1332

Andrew de Brackley,¹² elected 1332

Robert de Tadmarton,¹³ elected 1336, died 1349

Alan de Chacombe,¹⁴ elected 1349

John Dorne,¹⁵ appointed 1384

John Fane, occurs 1386, resigned 1388¹⁶

William Fesaunt presented by archbishop 1387¹⁷

John de Brokehampton,¹⁸ elected 1388, died 1423

Thomas Morton,¹⁹ appointed 1423, died 1449

Henry Grene,²⁰ elected 1449, died 1472

James Stanley,²¹ elected 1472, consecrated bishop of Ely 1506

A fragment of the seal of this house, enclosed in an old damask bag attached to a charter of 1240,²² represents a cross pattée. Legend all but defaced: ILLV

Fragment of another seal attached to a charter dated 1317.²³ It is a pointed oval, and represents the feet only of St. John standing on a carved corbel. The legend is wanting.

Later seal of the fifteenth century, pointed oval, represents the patron saints SS. James and John full length in two canopied niches. In base under a round-headed arch the master or prior kneeling in prayer.²⁴

Legend: SIGILLŪ . HOSPITALIS . SCORŪ . JACOBI
. . . . JOHIS . DE . BRAKELEY.

26. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. LEONARD, BRACKLEY

The hospital of St. Leonard, Brackley, like most institutions of that dedication, was founded

⁵ The first four names are given by Macray, *Notes from Muniments of Magd. Coll. Oxon.* 5.

⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Gravesend.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Macray, loc. cit.

¹⁰ Ibid. There called Geoffrey de Halsho.

¹¹ Linc. Epis. Inst. of Burghersh, f. 214*d.*

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid. Inst. of Gynwell, f. 137.

¹⁵ Ibid. Inst. of Bokyngham, ii. f. 129.

¹⁶ Macray, op. cit. 6.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Buckingham, f. 148.

¹⁹ Harl. MS. 6952, f. 60, from the register of Bishop Fleming.

²⁰ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Alnwick, f. 142.

²¹ Ibid. Inst. of Chadworth, f. 82.

²² Harl. Chart. 84, D. 32.

²³ Ibid. 84, E. 45.

²⁴ Casts at the B.M. lxix. 66.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

for the relief of lepers. It is usually termed in contemporary records *hospitale leprosororum*, but occasionally simply *hospitale infirmorum*.

The earliest documentary evidence of this hospital occurs in 1280, when the warden of St. Leonard's granted to the master of St. John's Hospital a croft in the Newland of Brackley in exchange for an acre of land.¹ Beyond entries in the diocesan registers relating to the institution of masters or wardens, not much is recorded of this house. In 1303 Bishop Dalderby granted an indulgence to all those who should assist the poor of the hospital of St. Leonard, Brackley.² In 1309 the warden and brethren entered into an agreement with Richard Baker and Denise his wife relative to a messuage in Brackley.³

John Brokehampton, instituted as master in 1417, was also warden of the hospital of SS. James and John, Brackley; probably the government of the smaller hospital of St. Leonard was at that date merged into the larger, as no further institutions to the smaller house are given.

The hospital and chapel must have been situated at the northern extremity of the town, for Leland remarks: 'The Lengthe from St. James' Church at the South End of the Towne to the Chapelle of Seint Leonard hathe bene halfe a Mile in Building.'⁴

MASTERS OR WARDENS OF ST. LEONARD, BRACKLEY

William of Wapenham alias Eylesbury,⁵ instituted 1291

Geoffrey Bernard,⁶ instituted 1292

Robert of Rodeston,⁷ died 1318

Simon Pelwor of Brackley,⁸ instituted 1318, died 1327

Philip of Helmedon,⁹ instituted 1327

Robert of Marchonley,¹⁰ resigned 1335

Roger of Oxford,¹¹ instituted 1335, died 1339

William de Camulton,¹² instituted 1339, resigned 1341

Adam of Thenford,¹³ instituted 1341, resigned 1353

Thomas of Ashborne,¹⁴ instituted 1353

Richard Estwet,¹⁵ instituted 1372

¹ Magd. Coll. Evid. B. 35, cited by Baker, *Hist. of Northants*, i. 584.

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Dalderby, f. 66.

³ Magd. Coll. Evid. B. 39, cited by Baker, *Hist. of Northants*, i. 584.

⁴ Leland, *Itin.* (Hearne ed.), vii. 5.

⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Sutton, f. 49.

⁶ Ibid. f. 52.

⁷ Ibid. Inst. of Dalderby, f. 134.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid. Inst. of Burghersh, f. 179.

¹⁰ Ibid. f. 213d.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid. f. 226.

¹³ Ibid. f. 242d.

¹⁴ Ibid. Inst. of Gynwell, f. 152d.

¹⁵ Ibid. Inst. of Bokyngham, f. 190d.

Richard Trenchant, instituted 1400

John Beby

Richard Foxton,¹⁶ died 1406

John Maystur,¹⁷ instituted 1406, resigned in the same year

William Patrick,¹⁸ instituted 1406

John Brokehampton,¹⁹ instituted 1417

27. THE HOSPITAL OF COTES

When Henry III. was at Geddington on 7 December, 1229, he issued letters of protection to the lepers of Cotes by Rockingham, authorizing them to ask alms for their house.²⁰

The only other reference to this house that has been noticed occurs in the record of forest proceedings (see Thrapston Hospital) of the year 1301. A slain doe having been found in a snare near Benefield Laund, an inquest was held, and in accordance with forest law the flesh was sent to the lepers of St. Leonard's, Cotes, which was the nearest hospital.²¹ From other forest documents it appears that Cotes was in Cottingham parish.

28. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. DAVID AND THE HOLY TRINITY, KINGSTHORPE

In Kingsthorpe, which was a chapelry of St. Peter's on the north side of Northampton, the hospital of St. David and the Holy Trinity was founded in the year 1200 by the prior and convent of St. Andrew's, Northampton. At that time there was a chapel of St. David at Kingsthorpe, and Peter, the son of Adam of Northampton, and Henry his son, gave a house adjoining the chapel to the Cluniac priory for the reception both of travellers and the local poor. This was accepted by Walter, prior of St. Andrew's and his convent, on the condition that it should not be changed into a college of monks, canons, Templars, or Hospitaliers, or nuns, and should at no time become a church, which would be obviously to the prejudice of St. Andrew's monastery, as their house stood on the north side of the town, and they owned many plots of land in Kingsthorpe. The prior granted that divine service might be held in the house, but there were to be only two altars, one in the chapel of the Holy Trinity and the other in the chapel of St. David, and it was only to possess a single bell for ringing, and might have a burial ground for the poor, and travellers and others living therein; any other parishioners might be buried there, provided they had expressly desired it in their lifetime or

¹⁶ Ibid. Inst. of Repingdon, f. 223d.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid. f. 225.

¹⁹ Ibid. f. 269.

²⁰ Pat. 14 Hen. III. m. 7.

²¹ Forest Proc. Tr. of Rec. No. 79.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

named it in their will. It was further ordained that in the body of the house adjoining the chapel of the Holy Trinity there should be three rows of beds wherein the poor or travellers who were invalids might lie for the more convenient hearing of mass and prayers. The provost or chaplain to rule the house should be a clerk or layman of good report, to be appointed during his lifetime by Henry of Northampton, with the counsel and consent of the priory, and after his death by the abbot of Sulby and his successors, also with the consent of the priory. The provost should take a prescribed oath on his appointment, and the like oath should be taken by two secular chaplains. There were also to be six lay brothers in the house to wait on the poor and sick, so that the number of officials should be nine. The provost and chaplain should wear habits entirely of black without any badge or ornament. The hospital was never to be united to any other house, or assigned to any private person, and the rents and profits should be applied solely to its benefit. In augmentation of the foundation the prior and convent of St. Andrew granted two virgates of land, a messuage and croft and common of pasture, which Helias held of their fee in Kingsthorpe.¹

Bishop Grossetête (1235–1254) drew up statutes for the regulation of this hospital. The titles or headings of these statutes are given in a MS. in the Cambridge University Library.² From this it appears that the master was expected to eat and sleep with the brethren and attend at the canonical hours; that there were sisters as well as brethren of the hospital, who fed apart; that the sisters and brethren had nothing of their own; that the lay brethren in place of mattins said twenty Our Fathers and twenty Hail Marys, and at the other hours seven of each; that old garments were to be given to the poor, and also the remnants of the table. There was to be silence in chapel, refectory, cloisters, and dormitory, and also reading at meals. The hospitality of the house was to be observed, and the infirm duly attended. There was to be a weekly chapter, and the seal of the house should be kept under three keys.

An important award, made in 1233 by Augustine, abbot of Lavendon, and John of Northampton, arbitrators in a controversy between the prior of St. Andrew's and Philip, son of Robert of Northampton, concerning the advowson of the hospital of St. David, laid down that the prior should have the right of patronage of the

mastership, but that Philip should present two of the brethren of the hospital, one lay and one clerical, so that the number be not increased.³ In 1311 Philip le Megre of Northampton released to the master and brethren his inherited right of presenting two brethren to the hospital.⁴ The masters were for the most part presented by the priory of St. Andrew.

In 1265 William, son of Henry St. John of Boughton, released to the master and brethren all his right in three loaves of bread which he received weekly from the hospital in consideration of his release of land in Boughton.⁵ John Greiby, the master, and the brethren of the hospital of the Holy Trinity near Kingsthorpe, demised in 1422 to John Man, John Egle, and John Hamme, all bakers of Northampton, their two watermills at Abington, with fishing and pasture, for their lives, at a yearly rental of twelve quarters of wheat and 6s. 8d.; the grantees were not to cut any willows growing there without leave, but they might cut off 'stoceynges and shredynges' as often as they pleased.⁶ In 1451 the same master and brethren granted to William Preston, chaplain, a house called 'the parlour' within the hospital, with two rooms above the parlour, a kitchen by the hall-steps, and a garden, with admission into the brotherhood, and also an annuity of seven marks for his assistance in celebrating mass. William Preston agreed to celebrate three obits yearly in the hospital for the souls of John Stotesbury, Robert Greyby and Isabel his wife, and Nicholas Gryffon.⁷

The Survey of 1535 gives the clear annual value of the hospital at £24 6s. There were at that time only two poor brethren in the house, who received jointly the sum of 65s. a year, and prayed for the soul of King John, who was represented as their founder.⁸ A large number of deeds and evidences at the Public Record Office pertaining to this hospital relate chiefly to lands at Boughton, Bletsoe, East Haddon, and Wollaston, and mills at Abington. The hospital was more usually known by the title of Holy Trinity, but the older name of St. David or St. Dewes was used also; eighty out of this collection of deeds style the hospital Holy Trinity, nine St. David, and four St. Dewes, whilst one gives it as the hospital of St. David or Holy Trinity, and another as St. David and the Holy Trinity.

The last but one of the masters of this hospital, Hugh Zulley, was appointed by Philip and Mary, 5 July, 1557. He was styled *magister sive custos*, and the house 'domum sive hospitale Sancti David juxta Kingisthorpe alias dictum Saynt Dewes.'⁹ William Richardson, the last master, was presented by Sir Henry Norrrys and

¹ Cott. MS. Vesp. E xvii. f. 29b, given in full in Dugdale under St. Andrew's, Northampton, *Mon.* v. 192. A somewhat different version from that in the chartulary may be found in the Camb. Univ. Library, *Dd.* X. xxviii. f. 79a.

² *Dd.* X. xxviii. f. 80. See paper, mainly architectural, on this hospital by Mr. C. Markham, *Assoc. Arch. Soc. Rep.* xxiv. 164–170.

³ *Cal. Anct. D. C.* 2280.

⁴ *Ibid.* 2396.

⁵ *Ibid.* 1915.

⁶ *Ibid.* 3510.

⁷ *Ibid.* 1102.

⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 332.

⁹ Rymer, *Fœdera*, xv. 467–8.

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Sir Richard Wenman, 25 February, 1570; but he was not admitted, for he was unable to translate into English the first two lines of St. Paul's second Epistle to the Corinthians.¹

MASTERS OF KINGSTHORPE²

John, died 1233
 John of Brampton, appointed 1233
 Robert (Vicar of Brayfield)
 Walter,³ died 1271
 Walter of Irthlingborough,⁴ appointed 1271
 Richard of Pykeden, appointed 1276
 Roger of Boudon
 Peter of Okham, appointed 1289
 Peter⁵ (Vicar of St. Sepulchre's, Northampton),
 appointed 1296, resigned 1301
 William of Weldon,⁶ appointed 1301, re-
 signed 1313
 John of Todington,⁷ appointed 1313, resigned
 1319
 Robert of Catteworth,⁸ appointed 1319, re-
 signed 1327
 John de St. Maur,⁹ appointed 1327, resigned
 1332
 John de Keynes,¹⁰ appointed 1332, resigned
 1333
 Ralph of Waldegrave,¹¹ appointed 1333
 Richard le Bery, appointed 1352
 Richard Bollesore,¹² appointed 1364-5
 Richard Mandelyn, appointed 1383
 John Pygot,¹³ appointed 1395, died 1406
 John Greiby,¹⁴ appointed 1406, died 1463
 Thomas Ailward,¹⁵ appointed 1463, resigned
 1465
 Thomas Playn,¹⁶ appointed 1465, resigned
 1492
 Robert Sherbourn,¹⁷ appointed 1492, resigned
 1496
 Edward Braye,¹⁸ appointed 1496, resigned
 1505
 Richard Emson,¹⁹ appointed 1505, resigned
 1517

¹ Bridges, *Hist. of Northants*, i. 417.

² These masters are taken from the Lincoln Episcopal Registers; those names for which no reference is given are cited from Bridges' List, *Hist. of Northants*, i. 416, and Baker, *Hist. of Northants*, ii. 45; occasionally a date has been amended. Most of the names appear in Dr. Hutton's extracts from various registers, Harl. MSS. 6959-6962.

³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Gravesend.

⁴ Ibid. Inst. of Dalderby, f. 104.

⁵ Ibid. f. 122d.

⁶ Ibid. f. 137.

⁷ Ibid. Inst. of Burghersh, f. 178.

⁸ Ibid. f. 195.

⁹ Ibid. f. 203d.

¹⁰ Ibid. Inst. of Bokyngham, pt. 1, f. 163.

¹¹ Ibid. pt. 2, f. 178d.

¹² Ibid. Inst. of Repingdon, f. 122.

¹³ Ibid. Inst. of Chadworth, f. 66d.

¹⁴ Ibid. f. 68.

¹⁵ Ibid. Inst. of Russell, f. 65d. He became bishop of St. David's in 1505.

¹⁶ Ibid. Inst. of Smith, f. 185d.

¹⁷ Ibid. f. 224.

Benet Davy,²⁰ appointed 1517, occurs 1536²¹
 Hugh Zulley,²² appointed 1557
 William Richardson,²³ presented 1570

29. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST AND ST. JOHN EVANGELIST, NORTHAMPTON

The exact date of the foundation of this hospital, as well as the name of the founder, is uncertain. Edward I. in 1307 granted to the brethren of the hospital of St. John, Northampton an exemplification of a charter of Henry II., whereby they were licensed to hold whatever they had acquired or should acquire by gifts, purchase, or in frankalmoign.²⁴ It seems probable that the actual date of the foundation was about 1140. An inquisition in 1327 names Walter, archdeacon of Northampton, as the founder of this hospital for the reception and maintenance of the infirm.²⁵ This is probably a clerical error for 'William,' as there was no archdeacon of Northampton of the name of Walter about that period. Leland gives William St. Clare, archdeacon of Northampton, as the founder.²⁶ His name first occurs in 1144, but the date of his actual appointment as archdeacon is not known; he died in 1168.²⁷

The Taxation of 1291 has one reference to this hospital stating that a pension of £2 was received from the rectory of Helmdon, held by the master of St. John's.²⁸ The pope in 1278 directed the collectors of the Holy Land tenth in England not to suffer the monks and brethren of the hospital for the poor of St. John, Northampton, to be molested, according to the general exemption of payment of such tenths granted by Pope Gregory X. to lazar houses, houses of God, and poor hospitals.²⁹

The brethren received frequent licences to acquire land during the fourteenth century. In March, 1299, William de Brampton obtained a grant permitting him to alienate to the hospital lands and rents to the annual value of 100s. in Hartwell, Quinton, Courteenhall, and Pidding-

²⁰ Ibid. Inst. of Atwater, f. 21.

²¹ He was ordered by Thomas Bedyll, as visitor, to go into residence, observe the statutes of the hospital, and plant fresh trees in place of those cut down. Chanc. Misc. bdle. 20, file 1, No. 12.

²² Rymer, *Fœdera*, xv. 467-8.

²³ Bridges, *Hist. of Northants*, i. 417.

²⁴ Pat. 35 Edw. I. m. 36. This exemplification granted on account of the breaking of the seal of the original charter was confirmed by Edward II. in March, 1311-2. Pat. 5 Edw. II. pt. 2, m. 12.

²⁵ Inq. p.m. 1 Edw. III. cited by Bridges, *Hist. of Northants*, i. 456.

²⁶ Leland, *Itin.* (Hearne ed.), i. 10.

²⁷ Le Neve, *Fasti Eccl. Angl.* ii. 55.

²⁸ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 38.

²⁹ *Cal. of Papal L.* i. 456.

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ton.¹ In 1330 William de Horkesle and Emma his wife obtained a licence to grant a messuage in Northampton which was held of the king by a service of 2s. yearly towards the farm of the town payable by the bailiffs to the master and brethren of the hospital of St. John to find a chaplain to celebrate daily in the church of the said hospital for the souls of the faithful departed.² A chantry for the souls of William and Emma was formally ordained in the church by the bishop of Lincoln in 1339.³ In the following year another chantry for the soul of John de Duglington was ordained at an altar on the west side of the lady-chapel 'next the organs.'⁴ Robert de Clendon, clerk, obtained permission in 1337 to grant a messuage and thirty-six acres of land in Piddington to the brethren to provide two wax lights to burn before the altar of the Blessed Virgin in their church on festival days whilst divine service was being celebrated, for the souls of him and his ancestors.⁵

The church of the hospital, towards the rebuilding of which in 1309 Bishop Dalderby licensed the brethren to beg alms, as well as for the maintenance of the poor flocking to the hospital,⁶ seems to have been one of considerable size for an institution of this kind, as the diocesan in 1310 issued a licence for the dedication of four altars therein.⁷ A burying ground, a very important part of a large hospital, was apportioned to the house in early days; according to one of the borough documents a vacant piece of land was conveyed to the brothers of St. John for enlarging their cemetery in 1286.⁸ On two occasions Edward II. exercised the royal prerogative of imposing pensioners as on a house of the king's foundation or patronage. In 1314 Ela Druel was sent to the master and brethren to receive the allowance of a brother in their house,⁹ and in 1325 they were enjoined to admit into their hospital and provide necessary food and clothing for William of the Hall, who had long served the king and his father, and was now wholly unable to work more.¹⁰ In the same year the diocesan issued a mandate desiring the master and brethren to receive William, son of Walter Piddington, into their house as a brother.¹¹

Various debts are recorded about this time.

In July of the year 1325 John of Upton, master of the hospital, in conjunction with Thomas de Chellesfeld of London, and Richard of Oton, dyer of London, acknowledged a debt of £100 due to Adam de Salesbury of London, and in the following August the master acknowledged another debt of 25 marks due to a merchant of Florence.¹² In 1334 the brethren appear as debtors to the amount of £16 10s. to the executors of the will of the late parson of Kislingbury, the enrolment of the debt being subsequently cancelled on payment.¹³

Towards the close of the century the condition of the hospital gave rise to complaint, and on 1 March, 1381-2, the bishop appointed a commission for the administration of the goods and temporalities of the house, having found at a recent visitation that the inmates were neglecting previous injunctions; that they were voluptuous both in food and clothing; and were dissipating the property of the hospital instead of providing for the poor and needy.¹⁴ The master, John of Grafton, obtained a licence in 1387 on payment of a fine of £10 in the hanaper to acquire in mortmain lands and tenements of the yearly value of £10 in aid of the maintenance of poor people living upon alms of the hospital.¹⁵ On John's death, in 1389, the bishop appointed Nicholas Goldsmith of Northampton to the custody of the hospital during the vacancy.¹⁶

Injunctions were issued by Bishop Bokyngham in 1345 for the regulation of the house, to the effect that there was to be silence kept in the church and dormitory and also in refectory when there were no guests; the dress should be uniform, of one colour, and with a black cross on it; the brethren were never to leave the hospital save in the habit; there was to be a weekly chapter, when all sins and excesses should be confessed and redressed without respect of persons; brethren sent out to beg should give a full account of all money or contributions in kind within three days of their return; the constitutions of Bishop Grossetête should be read three times a year, and no novice was to be accepted unless he excelled in reading and was otherwise suitable.¹⁷

The means of the hospital lessened in the fifteenth century, and in 1433 Bishop Gray dispensed the brethren from the obligation of finding a secular priest to celebrate, as their funds were impoverished, and licensed one of the brethren to officiate in his place.¹⁸

Early in the sixteenth century Anne Wake, widow of William Wake of Hartwell, by her

¹ Pat. 27 Edw. I. m. 32.

² Ibid. 4 Edw. III. pt. 1, m. 42.

³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Burghersh, f. 374.

⁴ Ibid. f. 375.

⁵ Pat. 11 Edw. III. pt. 2, m. 6.

⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Dalderby, f. 105.

The brethren obtained a licence to beg for alms again in the year 1321. Ibid. Memo. of Burghersh, f. 39.

⁷ Ibid. Memo. of Dalderby, f. 177.

⁸ *Rec. of Borough of Northampton*, ii. 334.

⁹ Close, 7 Edw. II. m. 10d.

¹⁰ Ibid. 18 Edw. II. m. 12d.

¹¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Burghersh, f. 147d.

¹² Close, 19 Edw. II. m. 30d. 33d.

¹³ Ibid. 8 Edw. III. m. 34.

¹⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Bokyngham, f. 234.

¹⁵ Pat. 11 Ric. II. pt. 1, m. 19.

¹⁶ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Bokyngham, f. 360.

¹⁷ Ibid. f. 42ob.

¹⁸ Ibid. Memo. of Gray, f. 110b.

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will dated 1504, left her body to be buried in the chapel of Our Lady in the hospital of St. John of Northampton.¹

On 20 August, 1534, five signatures were appended to the deed acknowledging the king's supremacy, those of Richard Birdsall, the master, John Calcot, John Nyccolls, John Atkynson, and Edmund Curtes.² The clear annual value of the house according to the Valor of 1535 was declared at £57 19s. 6½d.;³ the return shows that at that time a certain number of aged poor, three men and five women, were maintained in the hospital, and were in receipt of 2d. a day. A certificate of this hospital, in 1546, describes it as founded to maintain a master, two priests, and eight poor people, and to exercise hospitality. The church of the hospital is stated to be no parish church, but only for the company there dwelling.⁴

An elaborate charter of Charles I. granted in 1631 purports to cite the original foundation deed, from which it appears that the practice of the sixteenth century (continued up to recent times) of using the funds for a master, for two co-brethren or chaplains, and eight resident alms men or alms women, was not part of the original scheme, which was to afford temporary entertainment and refreshment for the infirm poor, and for orphans who should be ministered to by resident brethren, whilst the *languidi vel leprosi* were excepted as likely to prove a permanent charge upon the establishment.

It was placed from the first under the immediate patronage of the bishop of Lincoln. Grave charges of mismanagement and monopolization of the funds by non-resident masters were made in pre-Reformation days, and this evil materially increased when the town, on the formation of the diocese of Peterborough, ceased to have any connexion with Lincoln. From that date the mastership of St. John's, Northampton, came to be regarded as a lucrative sinecure in the gift of the bishop of London. The evil first came to a head when Bishop Cooper, in 1573, presented Arthur Wake, M.A., to the mastership. Wake resided in the Channel Islands, and refused to return to England, notwithstanding the vigorous protests of various justices of the county and important townsmen who stated in a petition to the Privy Council, in 1584, that 'hardly the xxth part of the revenues were given to the relieve of any impotent aged or feeble persons.' This is not the place to enter into the grievous post-Reformation abuses of this ancient charitable foundation, and of the constant litigation in connexion therewith, which continued down to the death of Richard Pretymán, one of the sons of Bishop Pretymán, the pluralist, who held the

sinecure mastership from 1814 until his death in 1866.⁵

The master's house and garden together with the chapel were sold in 1870 to the Bedford and Northampton Railway Company, by whom the chapel was sold to Mr. Mullinger, who transferred it to the use of the Roman Catholic congregation. The hospital itself was refounded in 1876 at Weston Favell as a convalescent hospital, which at present accommodates 41 inmates. A chapel has also been erected, and a portion of the funds set aside to provide a weekly pension of 5 shillings for 8 'out-pensioners' over the age of 60. The master now discharges the duties of the two co-brethren.⁶

The hospital, save in a few special charters, appears simply as St. John's; occasionally it was described as dedicated to St. John Baptist, and more rarely as dedicated to St. John the Evangelist. But the correct dedication is the very unusual one of the conjunction of these two saints. Sherborne Hospital and the parish church of Groombridge, Kent, are the only other dedications to the two SS. John of which we are aware.

MASTERS OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST AND ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST, NORTHAMPTON

Warner,⁷ temp. Henry III.

John of Oxyndon,⁸ temp. Henry III.

Richard,⁹ occurs 1245

Richard,¹⁰ occurs 1280

William of Cottesbrok,¹¹ resigned 1291

Richard of Helmdon,¹² appointed 1291, died 1323

John of Upton,¹³ appointed 1323

William of Piddington,¹⁴ occurs 1334

John of Boketon,¹⁵ died 1349

John of Whatton,¹⁶ appointed 1349, died 1376

John of Grafton,¹⁷ appointed 1376, died 1389

Thomas Aldyngton,¹⁸ appointed 1389

Edmund Buckingham,¹⁹ died 1406

Henry Pilton,²⁰ appointed 1406

William Rote, occurs 1455

Richard Cole,²¹ resigned 1475

Richard Sherd,²² appointed 1475, resigned 1498

⁵ The history of the hospital in post-Reformation days is set forth with some fulness in *Rec. of the Borough of Northampton*, ii. 334-339.

⁶ *Ex inform.* Rev. N. T. Hughes, present master.

⁷ *Cal. Anct. D.* (P.R.O.), C. 1584.

⁸ *Ibid.* C. 2059.

⁹ Assize R. 614, m. 44.

¹⁰ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Sutton.

¹¹ *Ibid.* f. 49 d. ¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.* Inst. of Burghersh, f. 170.

¹⁴ Close, 8 Edw. III. m. 34d.

¹⁵ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Gynawell, f. 141d.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* ¹⁷ *Ibid.* Inst. of Bokyngham, f. 206.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* ii. f. 154.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* Inst. of Repingdon, f. 224.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.* Inst. of Rotherham, f. 44.

²² *Ibid.*

¹ Nicolas, *Test. Vet.* p. 458.

² *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* vii. 1121 (34).

³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 317.

⁴ Coll. and Chant. Cert. No. xxxviii.

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Thomas Parmenter,¹ appointed 1498, resigned 1514

William Atkynson, M.A.,² appointed 1514

Thomas Freeman, appointed 1524

John Aras,³ resigned 1530

Richard Birdsall,⁴ appointed 1530, resigned 1544

Arthur Lowe, LL.B.,⁵ appointed 1544, resigned 1569

Arthur Wake, M.A.,⁶ appointed 1569, deprived 1573

Robert Condall,⁷ appointed 1574

William Wake,⁸ occurs 1625, resigned 1638

William Boswell,⁹ occurs 1630

George Wake, D.D.,¹⁰ appointed 1638, died 1682

John Skelton, M.A.,¹¹ appointed 1682, died 1704

Joseph Gardiner, M.A.,¹² appointed 1704, died 1732

Anthony Reynolds, M.A.,¹³ occurs 1733, died 1751

John Kerrick, M.D.,¹⁴ appointed 1752, died 1762

Robert Dowbiggin, B.A.,¹⁵ appointed 1762

George Hubbard,¹⁶ appointed 1795

Richard Pretyman, B.A.,¹⁷ appointed 1814, died 1866

Nathaniel Thomas Hughes, M.A.,¹⁸ appointed 1871

Pointed oval seal taken from a cast at the British Museum. The impression, which is a fine one, represents on the right St. John the Baptist, partially covered with his raiment of camel's hair, holding a staff in the right hand, and pointing to the Agnus Dei on a plaque with the left hand; on the left St. John the Evangelist turned to the right holding a book in his right hand. Over the head of the former the

inscription, *B A P T I*; over the head of the latter, *IO EW A*. Between the saints a slender shaft supporting two round-headed arches, and an early roof and turret with lines representing thatch. In base a crescent, enclosing an estoile of eight points.

Legend in Lombardic capitals runs: *SIGILLI HOSPITALIS . . . IOHIS BAPTISTE ET . . . I EWANG DE NORHAMT*.

The seal which has been used since the time of Charles I. is oval, bearing a badly executed figure of St. John the Baptist seated, partly draped, his left hand resting on a lamb to which he points with his right hand; resting upon his right shoulder is a cross, above his head clouds and rays of light, in the distance on the left a tree.

Legend: *SIGILL HOSPITAL STI JOHANNIS BAPTISTÆ IN VILLA NORTHAMPTON EX FUND CAR REG 1630*.

30. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. LEONARD, NORTHAMPTON

Among the corporation records of Northampton is a valuable collection of early evidences as to the lands pertaining to the hospital of St. Leonard on the south side of the town.¹⁹ The advowson was in the hands of the burgesses from the earliest days. The first of these charters, dated about 1150, is a grant from Adam, the son of Nigel, son of Mervin, to God and the hospital of St. Leonard of Northampton and the sick men serving God there, of his shop in Whimplus Row, in the market of Northampton. The second is a charter of Henry II. granting protection to the lepers of St. Leonard's, Northampton, with permission to receive alms.

Many gifts were added to the hospital during the reigns of Richard I. and John; among these may be mentioned a grant of land at Pitsford, assigned in the latter reign to 'the Blessed Mary and the sick brethren and sisters of the house of St. Leonard at Northampton serving God, St. Mary, and St. Leonard there.'

In 1295 reference is made to the parish of St. Leonard without Northampton; all the rights of a parochial church seem to have been administered to the inhabitants of the district in the chapel of St. Leonard from the time of its foundation. In 1281 the vicar of Hardingstone claimed offerings and tithes from the residents in the liberty of St. Leonard, whereupon evidence was given that the inhabitants from time beyond memory had worshipped in the chapel of St. Leonard, and had the offices of baptism and burial performed by the chaplain. The diocesan decided in favour of St. Leonard's, but ordered

¹⁹ *Rec. Borough of Northampton* (Rev. J. C. Cox, LL.D.), ii. 329-333.

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Smith, f. 213.

² Ibid. Inst. of Atwater, f. 17.

³ Ibid. Inst. of Longlands, f. 111. ⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Peterb. Epis. Reg.

⁶ Peterb. Epis. Reg. Deprived for non-conformity, and retired to Jersey, but apparently managed to retain or recover the mastership.

⁷ Peterb. Induction Reg. He was archdeacon of Huntingdon in 1576.

⁸ Of Courteenhall. Occurs in deeds in hospital chest.

⁹ Mentioned as master in Charles I.'s charter, but apparently supplanted by William Wake.

¹⁰ Peterb. Epis. Reg. Buried in the hospital chapel.

¹¹ Ibid. Archdeacon of Bedford. Buried in the chapel.

¹² Ibid. Sub-dean of Lincoln.

¹³ Occurs in deed of June, 1733, in hospital chest.

¹⁴ Peterb. Epis. Reg. ¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Peterb. Diocese Bk.

¹⁷ Peterb. Epis. Reg. (Information concerning the last twelve masters supplied by Rev. R. M. Serjeantson.)

¹⁸ Present master.

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that in future every chaplain presented by the mayor and burgesses of Northampton should also obtain the consent of the prior of St. Andrew's, rector of Hardingstone, and of the vicar.¹ It is certainly a curious if not unique arrangement to find the chapel of a lazaret used for regular parochial purposes. The chapel and hospital had been founded, however, by William the Conqueror, according to tradition, and by him conferred on the town, and in this case the foundation would precede any special provision for lepers. The sick brethren and sisters would either have a small detached chapel of their own, or else make use of the choir securely screened off from the part used by the general congregation.

Among the numerous evidences in the town muniments is a deed of about 1300, being a grant from the master and brethren of the house of St. Lazarus of Burton (Burton Lazars) to the master and brethren of the hospital of St. Leonard, Northampton, of a toft in the suburb of Northampton, opposite the hospital church, to be held by them of the house of St. Lazarus for a yearly rent at Michaelmas of 12*d.* If ever payment should fail then the brother messenger sent to collect the rent should be maintained in the Northampton house until full payment had been made.

A curious entry in the Patent Rolls, under date of 7 November, 1387, deserves mention in connexion with this hospital: Lucy, sister of the house of St. Leonard, Northampton, received a royal pardon for the death of John Oxyndon, chaplain.² How this death by misadventure occurred is not stated.

Institutions to the incumbency of St. Leonard's are recorded in the diocesan registers from the year 1282; after 1415 there are no more episcopal institutions to the wardenship or chaplaincy entered. In 1220 we read that Bishop Wells granted seven days' relaxation of penance to those who should contribute to the maintenance of the poor lepers of St. Leonard without Northampton.³ In the Valor of 1535 the mayor of Northampton is termed the master, and there is no provision for a chaplain. The clear annual value was £11 6*s.* 8*d.*, and only 26*s.* 8*d.* of this went in alms to a certain poor woman and leprous person.⁴

In the fifteenth century the town adopted the unhappy expedient of leasing the hospital with all its lands, tenements, and rents, and of making the lessee responsible for the dues pertaining to the mastership. John Peck, of Kingsthorpe, the lessee in 1472, covenanted to pay the chaplains eight marks a year, or four marks with food and

drink and three yards of cloth, to pay 5*d.* a week to each male or female leper who might be there, and once a year two gammons of bacon and a bushel of oatmeal, and to keep the houses, buildings, and church in good repair. It was thus obviously the interest of a lessee to keep down as far as possible the number of the inmates.

In 1505 this system proved such a scandal that the corporation determined to keep the management in their own hands, insisting on their mayors taking an oath when elected to manage the hospital personally in conjunction with a corporation committee. The oath (*sacramentum hospital' Sci. Leonardi*) runs as follows: 'Ye shall swere that ye shall well and trewly kepe and governe the hospytale of Seynt Leonarde the abbote in Coton besydes Northampton which hath byn myssused and evyll governed and gevyn away contrary to the Fyrste grannte thereof in tymes passed. Therefore hit is provided and ordeyned by Robarde Shefforde meyre of the seid Town of Northampton and the Combürgesses and Comynatte havyn assented and conducended of an hole mynde and aggrement by the Corporation of the seide towne that in no maner of wise From this tyme Forwarde that the seid hospitale of Seint Leonarde shalbe gevyn graunted or to ferme sette to eny man persone or persones in tyme comyng But that it shalbe allweys remayne for evermore in the meyres handes for the tyme beyng Combürgesses and Comynatte accordyng to their Fyrst grannte And also that they may chose and elect of themselves ii of the meyres Brethren to have the Rule oversight and good governance of the forseide hospitall apperteynyng and belonging And that the seid wardens and overseers with the seide Bailly once in the yere within one monyth after the Fest of oure Lorde next coumyng that they do make their due and lawfull accountes how they have reuled and governed the goodys of the seide place for that yere beyng and how they byn employed to the universall weale of the same to your coumyng and power so helpe you God and all seynts and by that boke.'⁵

Though the use of the parochial chapel of St. Leonard came to an end during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and the inmates were dispersed, the corporation were sufficiently powerful to prevent all falling into the hands of the crown. There was an award in Chancery in 1550 between the mayor and burgesses of Northampton and Francis Samwell, who claimed to have purchased St. Leonard's of the crown in 1549. The award assigned the chapel and churchyard to the town 'to such use and intent as they shall think meet and expedient by their discretion' on a certain payment to Francis Samwell.

In Elizabeth's reign the corporation having

¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Sutton, cited by Bridges, *Hist. of Northants*, i. 363.

² Pat. 11 Ric. II. pt. 1, m. 7.

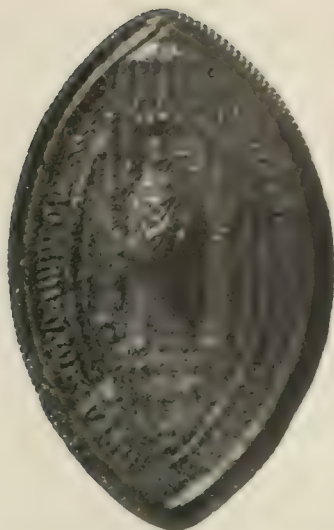
³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Wells.

⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 322.

⁵ Northampton Customary, B. M. Cited in *Rec. of the Borough of Northampton*, ii. 331-2.



COLLEGE OF FOTHERINGHAY



HOSPITAL OF ST. LEONARD, NORTHAMPTON



HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST AND ST. JOHN EVANGELIST, NORTHAMPTON



COLLEGE OF HIGHAM FERRERS



HOSPITAL OF ST. JAMES AND ST. JOHN, BRACKLEY

NORTHAMPTON MONASTIC SEALS, PLATE IV

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

pulled down the chapel and hospital built a small tenement on the site, called the Spittle or Lazar-house, which was occupied by a single poor man, termed the lazarman, rent-free. He received a weekly allowance of two shillings, together with a suit of clothes and load of firewood once a year. The lazarman appears in the town accounts as late as 1740.¹

WARDENS OF ST. LEONARD,² NORTHAMPTON

John of Tuttebery, instituted 1282
 Ralph of Norton, instituted 1282-3
 Roger
 Adam of Gyngs instituted, 1293, died 1305
 William of Coton,³ instituted 1305
 Robert of Duston, instituted 1326
 John le Waydour,⁴ occurs 1330
 Robert Hert of Sautre, instituted 1358
 John of Thrapston, instituted 1368
 John Griffyn of Oxundon, instituted 1397
 William Rodston⁵
 Richard Howet of Wymyngton, instituted 1395
 Nicholas Nycoll of Northampton, instituted 1397
 John Attewode, instituted 1398
 John Mersh, instituted 1402
 William Reynald, instituted 1405
 John Littester of Tykhyll, instituted 1406
 William Reynald, instituted 1407
 John Sherman, instituted 1408
 Thomas Gamull, instituted 1410
 Richard Barkar, instituted 1415

The pointed oval seal of the hospital, though of much interest, is a late and poorly-executed example of about 1450. It represents St. Leonard standing in a canopied niche, with a pastoral staff in his left hand, and a chain fetter in his right. Below the figure is a barbican gateway surmounted by a crown. The gateway probably represents the town gate on the south bridge, close to the hospital, while the crown denotes its royal foundation.⁶

Legend in small black letters runs :

S . COE . DOMVS . SCI . LEONARDI . IVXTA .
 NORHAMPTON

¹ A large number of curious references to the lazarman in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, taken from the town accounts, are given by Dr. Cox in the *Rec. Borough of Northampton*, ii. 332-3.

² A list of masters or wardens up to 1415 is taken from the Lincoln registers, and cited by Bridges, *Hist. of Northants*, i. 363-4.

³ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Dalderby, f. 108d.

⁴ Assize Roll, 635, m. 68d.

⁵ The Patent Rolls under 5 February, 1389-90, give the appointment of William Rythyn. Pat. 13 Ric. II. pt. ii. m. 14.

⁶ The seal is engraved on plate vi. vol. ii. *Rec. Borough of Northampton*, and described on p. 333.

31. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. THOMAS, NORTHAMPTON.

The hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr is usually said to have been founded about 1450 by the burgesses of Northampton. The authority for this statement is Leland, who wrote, in 1538 :—'S. Thomas Hospital is without the Toune, and joineth hard to the West (? South) Gate. It was erected within lesse then a hundred yeres paste, and induid with sum Landes, al by the Citizens of Northampton.'⁷

It seems, however, quite possible that this was but the augmentation and rebuilding on a larger and more definite scale of an older foundation. St. Thomas à Becket was canonized in 1173; a special chapel in his honour was soon afterwards built at Northampton, which was confirmed to the priory of St. Andrew by Bishop Hugh of Lincoln (1209-1235). There was also a fraternity of St. Thomas the Martyr in the town in the reign of Henry III.⁸

From the middle of the fifteenth century the house was under the charge of the mayor and burgesses as trustees. It was founded for the support of twelve poor persons (men or women), who should receive a weekly allowance, with clothing, firing, and washing. The corporation records show that the earlier management was vested in two masters, or wardens. One of them was elected each year, his period of office being two years, during the first of which he was termed minor or junior master, and during the second senior master.

This arrangement was afterwards modified, and in Elizabethan days it became customary to choose one of the aldermen to be alderman of the house, in addition to the two masters. At the October meeting of the assembly in 1604 it was resolved that :—'Mr. Thomas Humfrey be alderman of the almshouses or hospitall of St. Thomas, and that Mr. Hughe Coles shall contynue and be one of the masters of the said almshouses or hospitall for one yeare next ensuing to wit thelder master, and that Mr. Abraham Ventris shalbe thother master for twoe years next also ensuing to wit the first yeare the younger master, and the second yeare thelder master, the saide masters to be accomptable either of them respectivelie, as hath been accustomed.'

Instead of a chaplain, as in pre-Reformation days, the inmates had to be content with the ministrations of a miserably-paid layman. Mr. William Browne, schoolmaster, who read daily prayers to the poor folk in St. Thomas's hospitall,

⁷ Leland, *Itinerary* (Hearne ed.) i. 10.

⁸ *Rec. of Borough of Northampton*, ii. 341. The chapel of St. Thomas named in the thirteenth century may have been the chapel of that name on the south bridge. *Ibid.* 432.

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had his annual stipend raised in 1617 from 16s. to 20s.¹

32. THE HOSPITAL OF WALBEK, NORTHAMPTON

In addition to the important foundation of St. Leonard's by the south gate of Northampton for the service of lepers, there was another lazaret house by the north gate. This hospital is not mentioned by Dugdale or Tanner, and has hitherto escaped the attention of the local historians of the county or borough.

Only two references to it have been noticed, both of them of the fourteenth century and in diocesan registers. In 1301 Bishop Dalderby granted an indulgence in favour of the infirmary of the hospital of Walbek without Northampton;² and in 1322 Bishop Burghersh granted an indulgence for those assisting the poor lepers of Walbek without the north gate of Northampton.³

The name Walbek occurs in one of the corporation deeds of the year 1360, wherein Sir Paynel Gobion granted a life lease of 16 acres of land, lying without the north gate, on each side of the king's highway, from St. Bartholomew's church to Walbek.⁴

33. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. LEONARD, PETERBOROUGH

A hospital of St. Leonard for the service of the lepers was established at an early date in connexion with the great monastery of Peterborough. The first mention of it is at the death of Abbot John of Sééz in 1125, when, as already stated, there were thirteen lepers and three servants in the lazaret house. The next time it is named is in the year 1147, when Robert de Torrell, in his infirmity, came to Peterborough, and there in the chapel of the hospital of St. Leonard before many witnesses gave himself to God, assigning all his lands at Cotterstock and Glapthorn to the monastery, on condition of diet for himself and four servants during his life, and that at his death they should receive him in a monk's habit.⁵

Abbot William of Woodford (1295-9) made special provision for this hospital, ordering that it should be supplied yearly with forty ells of cloth by the almoner at the feast of St. Martin, with a

stone of ointment and a stone of tallow (*sepi*); and with three bacon pigs, namely, one each at Christmas, before Lent, and at Easter. It is interesting to note, as affecting the question of the infection of leprosy, that the monk in charge of the lepers (*servens dictorum infirmorum*) had the right of dining with the abbot's household at Christmas, at Easter, and on the feasts of St. Peter and All Saints.⁶

In this same abbot's time incidental mention is made of the annual payment of a penny on St. Peter's Day to the brethren of the hospital of St. Leonard.⁷ Also in 1296, when a taxation roll of all the goods of the abbey was drawn up, the hospital of the lepers, 'extra Burgum,' is named as taxed at £6, but paying no tithe.⁸

The return of 1535 shows that eight poor men living in the hospital of St. Leonard were then in receipt of 40s. each a year, and that they prayed daily for the souls of the founders.⁹

Dean Patrick says, 'There is still a well near the Spittle, which is called St. Leonard's Well, whose water hath been thought medicinal.'¹⁰

34. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. THOMAS THE MARTYR, PETERBOROUGH

The hospital of St. Thomas of Canterbury was founded at the gates of the monastery by William of Waterville and completed by Abbot Benedict (1177-1194), the great friend and biographer of the martyred prelate, and a former prior of Canterbury.¹¹

Abbot Acharius (1200-1210) granted to the almoner of the monastery the offerings of the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr (where many of his relics were preserved) for the use of the hospital pertaining to it.¹²

The funds were used for the support of resident poor sisters, and for the sick whom they tended. A casual entry in the rough account book of William Morton, the almoner of the monastery in the days of Abbot Ashton, shows that the admission of sisters to this hospital was a duty assigned to that official. In 1455 Joan Gattele was received among the sisters of the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr by the almoner.¹³

The return of 1535 shows that at that time there were eight poor women living in the hospital of St. Thomas, each of whom received the annual sum of 33s. 4d.¹⁴

¹ Full accounts of the later history of the hospital are given in volume ii of the *Rec. of Borough of Northampton*; and there is a good illustrated paper descriptive of the buildings by Sir Henry Dryder, in the *Journal of the Associated Architectural Societies* for 1876, to which future reference will be made.

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Dalderby, f. 40.

³ Ibid. Memo. of Burghersh, f. 78.

⁴ Cox, *Records of the Borough of Northampton*, ii. 167.

⁵ Swapham, f. 115.

⁶ Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xxii. f. 4. Gunton's *Hist.* 38.

⁷ Swapham, f. 241.

⁸ Ibid f. 245.

⁹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 283-4.

¹⁰ Suppl. to Gunton's *Hist.* 317.

¹¹ Gunton, *Hist. of Peterb.* Suppl. 286-7.

¹² Swapham, ff. 104-200.

¹³ Cott. MSS. Vesp. A. xxiv. f. 42.

¹⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 284.

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35. THE HOSPITAL OF PIRHO

It has usually been assumed that the hospital of Pirho of early establishment became united with the collegiate church of Cotterstock during the reign of Edward III., and thereafter ceased to have an independent existence. But this was by no means the case; the advowson of Pirho hospital and priory was simply conferred on the college so that the warden and fellows continued to present the master or chaplain until dissolution of both houses.

One of the earliest references to this house occurs in a final concord of 1282, by which the manor of Cotterstock, the advowson of the church, two mills at Pirho, and the advowson of the priory of Pirho, were transferred from John de Cameys to John de Kyrkeby. Another final concord was arranged at Westminster in 1307, whereby the manor and advowson, etc., of Cotterstock, and the advowson of the priory of Pirho, then held as the dower of Christiana, widow of William de Kyrkeby, were to be transferred on her death to John de Houly and his heirs.¹

This hospital, which had the exceptional joint dedication of St. John and St. Martin, was re-ordained by Bishop Burghersh in May, 1329, when the inmates consisted of three chaplains, one of whom was to be prior; the habit was to be black or russet.²

The foundation charter of Cotterstock College in 1338 contains the grant made to it of the advowson of the hospital of Pirho.³

By the time of Henry VIII. Pirho seems to have ceased to exercise any hospital functions, and was merely a beneficed chantry. The Valor of 1535 gives its clear annual value at £5 9s. 9d.⁴ It is styled a 'free chapel' by the commissioners of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., with a priest to sing there; the chapel is described as distant three-quarters of a mile from the parish church of Southwick, and covered with lead.⁵

The priors, masters, or chaplains of this hospital were subject to episcopal institution, and their names appear in due succession in the diocesan registers from 1289.

PRIORS OR MASTERS OF PIRHO

Philip of Putesle,⁶ instituted 1290, died 1305

Simon of Daventry,⁷ instituted 1305, died 1310

John of Wynceby,⁸ instituted 1310

¹ Soc. of Antiq. MS. xxxviii. f. 119.

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Burghersh, f. 184.

³ Chart. R. 12 Edw. III. No. 15.

⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 293.

⁵ Coll. and Chant. Certificates, Nos. xxxv. 138, xxxvi. 17.

⁶ The death of the preceding master is recorded in 1289. Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Sutton, f. 46.

⁷ Ibid. Inst. of Dalderby, f. 107d.

⁸ Ibid. f. 117d.

John of Veer,⁹ instituted 1330

Henry of Veer,¹⁰ died 1344

Robert of St. Neotts,¹¹ instituted 1344

John of Aylington,¹² died 1358

John Quarrell,¹³ instituted 1373

John Aungevyn,¹⁴ 1382

Thomas Andrew,¹⁵ instituted 1382

Walter Muskham,¹⁶ instituted 1427, died 1432

Thomas Leuer,¹⁷ instituted 1432, resigned 1438

William Appulton,¹⁸ instituted 1438, died 1444

Richard Andrew,¹⁹ instituted 1444

Henry Fyfeld,²⁰ died 1489

John Kyng,²¹ instituted 1489, died 1497

Robert Dethyk,²² instituted 1497, resigned 1518

Robert Barnard,²³ instituted 1518

36. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. GILES, STAMFORD

On the south side of the bridge of Stamford stood a hospital dedicated to St. Giles. The first mention of it occurs in a confirmation charter of all their possessions granted to the abbey of Peterborough by Richard I. on 5 December, 1189. 'St. Giles Hospital,' says Mr. Peck, writing in 1727, 'stood where now the Spital house stands, at the upper end of St. Martin's, and had formerly a fair chappel belonging to it, with lands to maintain a capellan and several poor lepers, but who the founder was I cannot learn.'²⁴

King John gave 5 acres of land to the hospital of lepers at Stamford, that is to say the hospital of St. Giles.²⁵

The hospital of St. Giles is also named as belonging to Peterborough Abbey in the general confirmation charter of 1227.²⁶

On 25 December, 1303, the abbot of Peterborough gave to William Poncyre the wardenship of the hospital of the blessed Giles without Stamford, for life, on condition that he should supply the chantry in the chapel of St. Giles

⁹ Ibid. Inst. of Burghersh, f. 184.

¹⁰ Ibid. Inst. of Beck, f. 61.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid. Inst. of Gynwell, f. 173.

¹³ Ibid. Inst. of Bokyngham, f. 192.

¹⁴ Ibid. f. 210.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid. Inst. of Fleming, f. 73.

¹⁷ Ibid. Inst. of Gray, f. 24.

¹⁸ Ibid. Inst. of Alnwick, f. 118.

¹⁹ Ibid. f. 130.

²⁰ Ibid. Inst. of Russell, f. 69.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid. Inst. of Smith, f. 188.

²³ Ibid. Inst. of Atwater, f. 22. Robert Barnard was a fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford; he also held the chaplaincy of Brackley Hospital, in the gift of that college.

²⁴ Peck, *Annals of Stamford*, vi. 2, 3.

²⁵ Ibid. vii. 12.

²⁶ Close, 11 Hen. III. pt. 1, m. 20.

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three times a week, repair and sustain the buildings, and support the rest of the hospital duties as of old accustomed.¹

On four different occasions in the first half of the fourteenth century we read of indulgences granted to this small lazaret-house for the construction or repair of its hospital or chapel, by Bishop Dalderby in 1304,² and Bishop Burghersh in 1320, 1321, and 1332.³ No further references of a later date relative to this hospital have been discovered.

37. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST AND ST. THOMAS THE MARTYR, STAMFORD

At the south, or Northamptonshire, end of the bridge of Stamford, stood the hospital of St. John Baptist and St. Thomas the Martyr. It was founded towards the end of the reign of Henry II. by Siward, Brand de Fossato, Richard de Humet, and Bertram de Verdun, all of whom are named in the confirming charter of Richard I., cited in an inspection grant of Henry III.⁴ The hospital was, as was usual with such institutions, on the confines of a town, for the double purpose of relieving poor strangers as they passed by with beer, meat, and lodging, and for the constant subsistence of certain of the local poor.⁵

King Richard, on 21 April, 1190, when at Samur in Normandy, confirmed to this hospital, first the site of the ground whereon it was built; secondly, the house and chapel founded by Siward; thirdly, the lands and possessions given by Brand de Fossato; and, lastly, the meadow at the south end of the bridge, given by Richard de Humet and Bertram de Verdun for the building of a church with a churchyard.⁶

A final concord was entered into in 1194 between Akard, brother of this hospital, and the abbot of Peterborough, concerning the advowson, etc., of the church. Akard, on behalf of the prior and brethren, recognized that the lordship and advowson of the hospital pertained to the abbot and convent of Peterborough, with the assent of the palmer of the town of Stamford, by whose alms the hospital was sustained. The charters of the hospital were to be placed by the brethren and palmers in a chest in the hospital, under two locks, one to be kept by the abbot, and the other by the prior of the hospital. They were not to alienate anything without the abbot's assent. The brethren were to make profession in the abbey church to the abbot, saving the right of a silver mark annually to the nuns of

St. Michael, as an acknowledgement of the benefit of cemetery rights.⁷

William Humet, constable of Normandy and lord of Stamford, was a benefactor to this hospital in the reign of John.⁸

The hospital became subject to the great monastery of Peterborough, in whose hands the appointment of the master rested. In the confirmation grant to that abbey of all their possessions in 1227, Henry III. confirmed to it all the lands, mills, churches, etc., on 'this side' the bridge of Stamford, making particular mention of this hospital.⁹ In the same year the king granted the master of this hospital 20 loads of dead wood for his hearth, out of the wood of Duddington. This grant was repeated in 1229, when the master was termed a prior.¹⁰

The appointment of Hugh de Sancto Martino as master was confirmed by the bishop in 1294.¹¹ In April, 1299, Hugh de Clisseby,¹² master of the hospital of St. John Baptist and St. Thomas of Canterbury, at the bridge foot, held also the vicarage of All Saints, Stamford. The house had been reduced to such poverty by his mismanagement that he petitioned Abbot William of Woodford for leave to resign. His resignation was not accepted, but he was temporarily suspended, and the custody of the hospital was assigned to Robert, rector of the church of Northbury, who was to endeavour, with the counsel of Hugh, to put the house in a more flourishing state. In August of the same year Hugh was restored to the mastership, and the books, jewels, and other effects of the house, in the chamber, hall, cellar, kitchen, and bakehouse, formally re-delivered to his custody.¹³

Soon after Hugh de Clisseby was re-admitted to the wardenship Abbot William died, and was succeeded by Abbot Godfrey of Crowland. The new abbot soon had cause of complaint against the master; he was charged with neglecting to say mass in the chapel; with giving very inconsiderable alms to the poor and strangers; with subtracting half a mark from the salary of Robert Wodefoul, a lay brother, whose business it was to relieve the sick and poor under the master. He was also accused of retrenching the lamps of the chapel and the lights of the house, and of either selling, giving away, or suffering himself to be tricked out of certain valuable relics pertaining to the hospital. The chapel was in a scandalous condition, and various rooms intended for the sick and poor travellers were locked up and turned into store-rooms for the warden's

¹ Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xxii. f. 77b.

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Dalderby, f. 69d.

³ Ibid. Memo. of Burghersh, ff. 24, 45, 247.

⁴ Chart. R. 33 Hen. III. m. 2.

⁵ Peck, *Annals of Stamford*, v. 11.

⁶ Ibid. vi. 8, 9.

⁷ Soc. of Antiq. MSS. lx. f. 151b.

⁸ Peck, *Annals of Stamford*, vii. 11.

⁹ Chart. R. 11 Hen. III. pt. 1, m. 19.

¹⁰ Close, 12 Hen. III. m. 15; 14 Hen. III. m. 20.

¹¹ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Sutton, f. 112.

¹² Probably the same as Hugh de Sancto Martino.

¹³ Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xxii. ff. 30, 41.

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goods. Abbot Godfrey visited in person, found the statements true, and at once deposed the master. Thereupon Hugh applied to Bishop Dalderby, and obtained letters of supplication from him and from the archdeacon of Stow and Sir John de Scaleby. On their entreaty, and on Hugh's promise of amendment—taking oath under seal to submit to such reformation in the affairs of the hospital as the abbot should award—the old master was readmitted on Easter Eve. The abbot thereupon decreed that all the income, whether revenue or offerings, should be divided into three parts; one for a chantry priest to celebrate in the chapel, and perform all other necessary offices for the sick and poor strangers, and to buy lights, vestments, and other ornaments, which office Hugh was himself to perform; the second part for Robert Wodefoul, to provide necessities for the sick and poor; and the third part for the support of the master's household. The lamps and lights were to be maintained; the relics recovered; the chapel and all rooms to be kept clean and sweet. On any breach of these articles another master to be at once appointed.¹

Bishop Burghersh in 1323, and again in 1336, granted indulgences to those assisting in the maintenance of this hospital.²

Bishop Gray made an order in 1434 as to rights of burial in the hospital cemetery.³

The masters of this house were not presented to the bishop for institution, but were directly collated by the abbots of Peterborough. On 14 February, 1445, Robert Wymbysh had conferred on him 'the full wardenship and government of the hospital of the blessed St. John the Baptist and St. Thomas the Martyr, unto our collation and appointments belonging,' by Abbot Richard Ashton. Wymbysh had for some time acted as coadjutor to John Combe, the aged master, who then resigned on a pension.⁴ On 12 February, 1448, John Westgate was collated by the same abbot to the mastership.⁵

In the course of the fifteenth century this hospital seems to have ceased its benefits, and at the last only the chapel or church remained as a benefice for the master or chaplain. The Valor of 1535 mentions the Free Chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr on the bridge, and states the annual value as £7 15s. 6d.⁶

The commissioners of 2 Edward VI. gave the income of 'Seinte John baptist Free Chappell apon Stameforde Bridge' as £9 16s. 5d., adding the following:—

'Memorandum: that sythe the survey taken by vertu of the Commyssyon, one John Stodderd

hathe brought before the kinges Majesties Commyssyoners Dyvers Evidences proving the same to be an hospitall, And requyrethe that the Certificate made before the Commyssyoners may be Frustrated and avoyded; but forasmuche as yt hathe not byn used as an hospitall in releving the pore, but the Revenues and proffyttes thereof hathe byn convertyd only to the use of Thomas Stodderd, son of the seyde John, being an infant of the age of 13 or 14 years, Towards his exhibicion at Schole as yt is seyde, The Commyssyoners hathe Commytted the Determynacion thereof to this honorable Courte.'⁷

38. THE HOUSE OF ST. SEPULCHRE, STAMFORD

In the general confirmation grant of Richard I. to the abbey of Peterborough, of 5 December, 1189, among the possessions on the Northamptonshire side of Stamford there is mentioned their right to the patronage of a religious house called St. Sepulchre's.

'As for S. Pulchers,' wrote Mr. Peck in 1723, 'where it was situate, any further than that it stood on the south side of the river, I am not able to fix; and likewise as much to seek about the founder. By the name, however, it appears that it was an house of canons regular, of the order of the holy sepulcher, whose business was here to receive and entertain all such pilgrims and knights of the holy sepulcher as passed by out of the north, on their journey towards Jerusalem.'⁸

Dr. Tanner thought that in this respect Mr. Peck was in error, and conjectured that 'the house was rather an hospital than a priory.'⁹ In the confirmation charter to Peterborough by Henry III. in 1227, 'the house' of St. Sepulchre is again named, and placed in the charter between the 'hospital' of St. John and St. Thomas, and the 'hospital' of St. Giles.¹⁰

We have not been able to find any later mention of this house; it was probably but a small establishment, and became absorbed by the great abbey.

39. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. LEONARD, TOWCESTER

A leper hospital dedicated to St. Leonard was founded at an early date on the outskirts of Towcester, by the north bridge. Simon de Pateshull, sheriff of the county, rendered account in the year 1200 of 40s., the gift of the king to leprous brethren (*fratres leprosi*) of Towcester.¹¹

An early thirteenth-century deed of Robert, son of Roger Forester, conveyed to Lawrence,

⁷ Chant. Cert. No. xxxv.

⁸ Peck, *Antiquities of Stamford*, vi. 2, 3.

⁹ Tanner, *Notitia*, Linc. lxxiii. 12.

¹⁰ Charter R. 11 Hen. III. pt. 1, m. 19.

¹¹ Pipe R. 2 John.

¹ Cott. MSS. Vesp. E. xxii. ff. 51-3.

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Burghersh, ff. 124, 344b.

³ Ibid. Memo. of Gray, i. f. 156b.

⁴ Peck, *Annals of Stamford*, xiv. 19.

⁵ Ibid. xiv. 21.

⁶ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 143.

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son of Simon Ters, an acre of land in the south field of Towcester, between the land of Baldwin and the lepers' hospital of St. Leonard.¹ Another deed of 1286, giving boundaries, mentions the court of the hospital of Towcester.²

In 1384 letters patent were granted by Richard II. in ratification of the estate of John Forster, clerk in the chapel of St. Leonard, Towcester.³ In 1387 John Forster resigned, and the mastership of the hospital, with the chapel of St. Leonard's, was granted for life to William de Horbury, king's clerk.⁴ In the following year the mastership was granted to Nicholas Boteway, a clerk of the chapel within the royal household; these last patents state that the wardenship was then in the king's gift by reason of his custody of the land, and heir of John de Hastings, earl of Pembroke.⁵

The date of the decay of this hospital is not known, but it was probably before 1447, as there is no mention of it in the bequests made by Archdeacon Sponne in his will of that year.

MASTERS OF ST. LEONARD'S TOWCESTER

John Forster,⁶ resigned 1387.

William de Horbury,⁷ appointed 1387.

Nicholas Boteway,⁸ appointed 1388.

40. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. LEONARD, THRAPSTON

The existence of a lazaret-house at Thrapston was unknown to Dugdale and Tanner, as well

as to the county historians. The knowledge of it comes solely from the forest pleas and other forest documents of the Public Record Office. It was part of the old Norman forest law that an inquest should be held on any unauthorized slain deer or venison that might be found, and the flesh sent to the nearest hospital for lepers, a proof in itself of the common character of the disease, and of the multiplicity of lazaret-houses.

On the morning of the Sunday after the Epiphany, 1246, one Maurice de Meht was passing through Sudborough with Sir Robert Passelewe,⁹ justice of the forest, when he saw three men carrying a sack. Suspecting them, he followed with his bow stretched, when the men threw away the sack and fled. In the sack was a flayed doe and the snare with which it had been caught. Maurice went into the church of Sudborough and made known what had happened to the whole township. On the morrow an inquest was held before the verderers and foresters of Rockingham, with the result, *inter alia*, 'that the flesh of the doe was given to the lepers of Thrapston.'¹⁰ Again, in 1248, four limbs of a deer were found in a ditch near Boughton by a forester, and as a result of the inquest all this venison was sent to the lepers of Thrapston.¹¹ In a third case, in 1305, when a freshly-killed deer was found by the roadside, pierced with two arrows, in the township of Wadenhoe, the flesh was sent 'to the lepers of St. Leonard's, Thrapston, being the nearest Spital.'¹²

COLLEGES

41. THE COLLEGE OF COTTERSTOCK

The retired village of Cotterstock is remarkable as having been the seat of one of the largest—probably the largest—colleges of private foundation, of a chantry character, throughout the kingdom.

John Gifford, clerk, rector of the church of Cotterstock, resigned the living in 1317, and being then possessed of considerable means, farmed the manor or rectory, and eventually purchased them. He was one of numerous instances of servants of the crown to whom was granted a variety of benefices, and he eventually became a considerable pluralist. In May, 1313, he was attached to the service of Queen Isabella, and in that capacity obtained letters of protection to accompany her across the seas; a passport for

similar reasons was granted him in February, 1314.¹³ He gained the special favour of the queen, and soon afterwards became steward of her lands beyond Trent, a position of considerable importance. This office he held until 1330, when the queen dowager having resigned to the king all her castles, boroughs, honours, hundreds, manors, and lands beyond Trent, John Gifford became steward and surveyor of the same under the crown, and was henceforth known as a king's clerk. He was deputy justice of South Wales, 1331-2, and afterwards for a time justice, and held a variety of other crown appointments.

In 1332 he was appointed to the prebend of Grindale, as a canon of York, where he occasionally resided, and about the same date he was also given the Wells prebend of St. Decuman, and the Salisbury prebend of Yat-

¹ Fermor Evidences, cited by Baker, *Hist. of Northants*, ii. 320.

² Ibid.

³ Pat. 8 Ric. II. pt. 1, m. 24.

⁴ Ibid. 11 Ric. II. pt. 1, m. 23.

⁵ Ibid. 11 Ric. II. pt. 2, m. 4.

⁶ Pat. 11 Ric. II. pt. 1, m. 20.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid. 11 Ric. II. pt. 2, m. 4.

⁹ The clerk whom the king in vain tried to force Bishop Grossetête to institute to the rectory of St. Peter's, Northampton.

¹⁰ Turner, *Select Pleas of the Forest* (1899), 84.

¹¹ Ibid. 89. ¹² Forest Proc. Tr. of Rec. No. 79.

¹³ Pat. 6 Edw. II. pt. 2, m. 9; 7 Edw. II. pt. 2, m. 22.

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minster Netherbury.¹ In 1336 John Gifford received the very lucrative appointment of master of the wealthy hospital of St. Leonard's, York.² All these benefices he held until his death from the plague in 1349.

Affection for his native county and the place of his first preferment, coupled with great loyalty to his royal benefactors, was probably the motive that caused Gifford to establish so considerable a college at Cotterstock.

Between 1317 and 1333 John Gifford made four appointments to the rectory of Cotterstock, the last being John Ward of Holt. In February, 1335, the said John Ward and his brother Peter acknowledged their indebtedness to Gifford for the sum of eighty marks, to be levied on their lands and chattels in the county.³ It was just at this time that Gifford began to formulate his plans for a college on a great scale, and through the rector's indebtedness to him was doubtless able to prevent any opposition from that quarter. The Patent Rolls have a variety of full entries sanctioning the first inception of this project and its gradual accomplishment; but it was not until 5 December, 1339, that the scheme received the necessary episcopal sanction, whilst the formal appropriation of the rectory to the college was only accomplished on 19 February following.⁴ When the rectory was appropriated, the bishop of Lincoln retained a pension out of it of 40s., the dean and chapter of Lincoln of 20s., and the archdeacon of Northampton of 6s. 8d.⁵

This college, or very large chantry, was to consist of a provost, twelve chaplains, who might be either secular or religious, and two clerks, to say daily mass in the church for the good estate of the queen dowager as well as of the king and queen and their children, and for their souls after death; and for the good estate of John Gifford and his brother William and heirs, and afterwards for their souls, as well as for the souls of their parents, and of all benefactors of the college. The charter, granted by the king on 23 June, 1338, was evidently regarded as a document of grave importance. It is witnessed by many magnates of the realm, the first being the archbishop of Canterbury.⁶ The original en-

dowments for sustaining this great foundation were the manor of Cotterstock, with two mills, an acre of meadow at Pirho, a certain fishery in the waters of the Nen, eighty-five acres in the forest of Rockingham, with pasture rights throughout the whole forest, and the advowson and rectory of Cotterstock, together with the advowson of the hospital of Pirho. The king also granted the provost and chaplains free warren over their forest lands, and immunity from every conceivable kind of toll. In acknowledgement of these special quittances to the college of St. Andrew's, Cotterstock, John Gifford paid over to the collectors of the customs of wool in the port of Kingston-upon-Hull twenty sacks of wool.⁷

A confirmation of the first charter of endowment, granted 21 April, 1340, gives a variety of interesting additional particulars. In addition to lands, John Gifford granted to the provost and his twelve chaplains the following chattels:—21 oxen, 6 plough horses, 6 cart horses, 24 cows, 2 bulls, 500 sheep (of which 40 were muttons and 100 ewes), 6 sows with 80 swine and little pigs (half of the age of one year or more), 40 swine of the age of two years or more, and 2 boars.

The full dedication of the college or chantry was in honour of the most Holy Trinity, and of the glorious and most blessed Virgin Mary, the most sweet Mother of God and of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the blessed Apostles, and especially of the blessed Andrew, and of All Saints in the church of St. Andrew of Cotterstock. The provost and chaplains should be men of letters and of good fame, free from all forms of luxury and from quarrels and strifes; they should study divinity after the example of the blessed Titus and Timothy, and strive to be a fragrant example to other priests. On the death or resignation of the provost, the chaplains should within ten days choose two of their number the best fitted to succeed, and send their names to the bishop of Lincoln, who within ten days of such presentation should collate one of the two to the provostship; in default of the bishop or his vicar-general, the collation was to pass to the chapter of the cathedral church of Lincoln. The provost was to take an oath of personal and continuous residence at the chantry. The provost, with three or four of the chaplains, should prepare a balance-sheet of the affairs of the college yearly, about the first day of May. On a vacancy among the chaplains, the provost and chaplains should choose another within twenty days, and to insure the vacancy being speedily filled were ordered to fast on bread and water every day until the appointment was made. Each chaplain was to take an oath of canonical obedience to the provost. The two clerks were to be men of regular life, and thoroughly com-

¹ Le Neve, *Fasti Eccl. Angl.* i. 196, iii. 190, and Pat. 14 Edw. III. pt. 2, m. 22.

² Close, 10 Edw. III. m. 19d. Separate letters nominating attorneys to act for him as holder of these three prebends and the hospital mastership were granted in the year 1340, when he was about to visit the court of Rome; at the same time other letters of attorney were granted him as lord of Cotterstock. Pat. 14 Edw. III. pt. 2, m. 22.

³ Close, 9 Edw. III. m. 35d.

⁴ Pat. 10 Edw. III. pt. 3, m. 40; 11 Edw. III. pt. 3, m. 6; 12 Edw. III. pt. 1, m. 2; pt. 2, m. 34; 14 Edw. III. pt. 1, m. 14; Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Burghersh, f. 232.

⁵ Pat. 14 Edw. III. pt. 2, m. 15.

⁶ Chart. R. 12 Edw. III. No. 15.

⁷ Pat. 12 Edw. III. pt. 3, m. 11.

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petent to read and sing. Mattins, and the other hours up to vespers, in addition to masses, were to be solemnly sung daily in the chancel at the accustomed times after the use of Sarum, and that distinctly and fitly with good psalmody. The hebdomadarian was to be careful, when singing the daily hours, before each prayer to pronounce slowly the 'Hail, Mary.' The mass of Our Lady was to be sung daily, as well as a mass *de Angelis* for Queen Isabella whilst living, and a mass *de defunctis* after her death; the chaplains were then to return to the choir and sing another mass, with deacon and sub-deacon in dalmatic and tunicle as laid down in the use of Sarum. The mass *Salus populi* was also to be daily celebrated. Every Sunday there was to be mass of the Trinity; on Monday, of the blessed Andrew; on Tuesday, of St. Thomas of Canterbury; on Wednesday, of St. John Baptist; on Thursday, of Corpus Christi; on Friday, of the Holy Cross; and on Saturday, of St. Martin.

There was also to be sung daily another mass for the dead, or of some special saint, according to the rota laid down by the provost. Each chaplain celebrating mass should remember the founder and other benefactors, the kings and queens of England and their progenitors and children, the father, mother, and relations of the founder, Henry, bishop of Lincoln, and the canons of the cathedral church; William de Kyrkeby, Christina his wife, John de Honby, John Knyvet, Joan his wife, Richard Knyvet, Joan his wife, and Walter de Honby, their heirs and children. The anniversaries of Queen Isabella, and of the founder and his parents, were to be specially observed after the use of Sarum. The provost and chaplains were to be clad in black or russet colour, without red, and when in church at the divine offices they were to wear black tippets with black fur or lining and surplices or rochets, after the manner of the vicars of the church of Lincoln. But from Easter Eve to the festival of the Exaltation of the Cross it was permitted to lay aside the copes, and to wear only the surplices. They were to have large definite and uniform crowns to their tonsures, suitable for canons. The provost and chaplains were to live in common, and not to have more than two kinds of fish or flesh. On Sundays and festivals their meals were to be neither too slender nor too excessive. All their meals were to be in the hall or frater, when there was to be silence, one of their number reading from the Bible (*de biblia*) or the lives of the saints. Their goods were to be in common, neither provost nor chaplains selling anything or appropriating it to his sole use. The provost was to have yearly 40s. for his necessary purposes and for the honour of the chantry, and to give a strict account of its expenditure. The chaplains were all to sleep in a common dormitory, without any division, but the provost, with his various occupations, might

have a separate chamber. The infirm were to occupy another room, and to have suitable food. The provost and brethren were yearly to choose one of their number who was to be called the college warden (*custos collegii*), who should rule in the absence of the provost. Another was to be appointed sacrist, and have charge of the books, ornaments, and lights of the church, and of all valuables, books, vestments, and silver of the college, and specially of two silver cups, one of which he should retain and the other be kept with the muniments. The warden should be responsible for the administration during the vacancy of the provostship. No chaplain should play at tables either out of doors or in houses or elsewhere, nor visit anywhere save for some special reason, and with the leave of the provost or warden. Nevertheless he might once a year visit his friends by leave of the provost. A small bell was to be rung for dinner and supper. The common seal was to be kept under four different keys in the respective custody of the provost and three chaplains selected by the rest; the seal only to be used by common consent, or at the will of the majority. The founder reserved to himself, during his life, with the consent of the ordinary, full power of interpreting, correcting, adding to, diminishing, and altering the statutes of the college.¹

The possessions of the college were increased in 1343 by certain tithes in Horshaw and Calonheye,² in 1345 by Thomas Wake, of Blisworth, who gave them two hundred and fifty acres of land in the forests of Rockingham and Whittlebury;³ and in 1357 by several messuages and ninety-six acres of land in Cotterstock, Glapthorn, and Southwick, from Richard de Spalding, chaplain, and three other donors.⁴

A difficulty speedily arose with respect to the royal gift of the tithes of the wastes and assarts (forest clearings) of Horshaw and Calonheye, which were within Rockingham Forest. The gift exempted such wastes and assarts as were within a parish that had a parish church, and the parson of Kingscliffe wrongfully received them, for Horshaw and Calonheye were extra-parochial. The provost and brethren of Cotterstock took action against the Kingscliffe parson, but when the matter came into the ecclesiastical courts no cognizance could be taken of the suit, for these courts knew nothing of such terms as 'wastes' or 'assarts'! Thereupon, in 1347, the college of Cotterstock petitioned for a more explicit definition of the king's grant, and the crown entered on the Patent Rolls that they were

¹ Pat. 14 Edw. III. pt. 1, m. 3 and 4.

² Close, 17 Edw. III. m. 5.

³ Rot. Fin. 19 Edw. III. m. 28. This gift was confirmed by the bishop in the same year. Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Beck, f. 52.

⁴ Inq. p.m. 31 Edw. III. No. 23.

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entitled to the tithes of all wastes and assarts or clearings in woods, lawns, heys, and parks outside parish boundaries.¹

In 1403 the provost and chaplains secured confirmation from Henry IV. of the charter of Edward III. on payment of four marks,² and in 1468 the college secured a like favour from Edward IV. for half that sum.³

The last institution of a rector of the church of Cotterstock was that of William de Stoke on 17 December, 1339, on the presentation of the provost and brethren of Gifford's chantry, with the express consent of Canon Gifford.⁴

There is a beautiful canopied brass, nearly perfect, to the memory of Provost Wyntryng-ham, who resigned in 1398, on the south side of the chancel. The provost wears a full surplice with wide hanging sleeves and a canon's tippet with long ends; over this is a cope with orfreys and a clasp embroidered with fleurs-de-lis. The hands are joined in prayer; at the wrists are shown not only portions of the sleeves or cuffs of the cassock but also of an inner vest. The figure stands under an arched canopy with crocketed finial and pinnacles; the base of the canopy rests on a bracket supported by a single pillar. Round the margin of the stone is a ribbon inscription, having the evangelistic symbols at the corners. The legend runs:—*'Hic jacet magister Robertus Wyntryngham, nuper Canonicus Ecclesie Cath. Lincoln et Prebendarius de Ledyngton ac Prepositus prepositur, sive Cantarie de Cotherstoke qui obiit quinto die julii Anno domini Millmo ccccxx' cujus amime (sic) ppicietur Deus. Amen.'* Between every word one and sometimes two cinquefoils are engraved, and one between each letter of the final *Amen*, so as to fill up the space. The whole is a particularly nice example of its date.

Bridges gives a list of fourteen provosts (and their patrons), from the Lincoln register, appointed between the death of Wyntyrngham and Edmund Oliver, who was the last to hold office as warden of the college.⁵ It is remarkable that the right of appointing the head of the college, from 1398 down to its dissolution, passed from the college itself to the lord of the second or Holt manor of Cotterstock. Members of the Holt family or their trustees presented to the provostship until the death of Richard Holt without issue in 1452, when Simon Norwiche was declared heir. Simon's grandson of the same name, after prolonged litigation, secured the manor of Cotterstock and consequently wrecked the college, which was formally dissolved in 1536.

The Valor of the previous year, when the college was under Provost Richard King, gives the profits of the rectory, house, glebe, and certain rents at £46 18s. 2d. From this there was deducted the bishop's pension of 40s., the dean's and chapter's of 20s., the archdeacon's of 5s., the prior of Fineshade's of 6s. 8d., and procurations and synodals 10s. 7d., leaving the net income at £42 15s. 11d.⁶ Much of the original endowment had by this time disappeared.

In the Chantry and College certificates, *temp.* Henry VIII., Cotterstock is described as a hospital or college, and it is stated that it was dissolved on 4 February, 1536. The document of dissolution was exhibited to the commissioners by Edmund Oliver, late provost of the college,⁷ by whom it was stated that the provosts, since the first foundation in the time of Edward III., had been parsons of the benefice and church of Cotterstock, and the parsonage there their chief mansion house; that John Craye, at Michaelmas 1538, by a writ of entry recovered against Edward Astwick,⁸ late provost, the manor of Cotterstock, 12 messuages, two mills, two dove-houses, 400 acres of arable land, 100 acres of meadow, 400 acres of pasture, 100 acres of wood, etc., as well as lands in Glapthorn, Southwick, and Benefield; that Symon Norwiche, Esquire, patron of the church of Cotterstock, entered into the premises, and various discords and suits began; that eventually judgment was given by the Lord Chancellor and others on 28 November, 1539, in favour of Norwiche's title to the manor lands.

The provost-manor of Cotterstock was granted by Edward VI. to Sir Robert Kirkham,⁹ who occupied the large collegiate or chantry house near the east end of the church. As the college gradually lost its lands the number of the chaplains was perforce considerably reduced. Leland, writing about 1538, says:—*'Malory¹⁰ told me that there was a late Collegiate Church at Cotterstoke almost in the middle way betwixt Foderingey and Undale, but cuming from Foderingey onto Undale it standith a little out of the way on the right hand. In this College was a Mr., a three prestes, and a three clerks. The Parsonage of Cotterstock was appropriate to it, and praty Landes beside. One Gifford was, as I hard, the first Founder of it. One Nores clayming to be Founder even of late hath gotten away the Landes that longid to it. So that now remainith only the Benefice to it.'*¹¹

⁶ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 293.

⁷ Oliver must have succeeded King in 1535, directly after the Valor was taken. He was instituted as vicar of Cotterstock in 1544 by the bishop of Peterborough.

⁸ Instituted 22 September, 1532.

⁹ Pat. 1 Edw. VI. pt. 6.

¹⁰ George Malory was provost from 1528 to 1532.

¹¹ Leland, *Itin.* (Hearne ed.), iv, 29.

¹ Close, 17 Edw. III. pt. 1, m. 5; Pat. 21 Edw. III. pt. 3, m. 27.

² Rot. Fin. 4 Hen. IV. m. 4.

³ Pat. 8 Edw. IV. pt. 2, m. 10.

⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Inst. of Burghersh.

⁵ Bridges, *Hist. of Northants*, ii. 439, 440.

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PROVOSTS OF COTTERSTOCK¹

Richard Catel, instituted 1340
 William of Walcote, instituted 1341
 Robert Hokkle, instituted 1349
 Robert of Wyntrynham, resigned 1398
 William Smyth *alias* of Wyntrynham, instituted 1398
 Robert of Wyntrynham, reappointed 1401
 John Bishopestre, instituted 1420
 William Maydewall, instituted 1420
 John Grendon, occurs 1432
 Robert Yerburch, instituted 1434
 Richard Hephyl, instituted 1439
 Thomas Salysbury, instituted 1444.
 John Sconce *alias* Burgh, instituted 1447
 Walter Oudeby, instituted 1467
 John Deye, instituted 1498
 Robert Barnard, instituted 1510
 Robert Letheley, instituted 1521
 George Malory, instituted 1528
 Edward Astwick, instituted 1532
 Richard King, occurs 1535
 Edmond Oliver,² occurs 1536

42. THE COLLEGE OF FOTHERINGHAY

Simon de St. Liz, the second earl of Northampton, founded a Cluniac nunnery at Fotheringhay, but in Stephen's reign it was removed to Delapré on the south side of Northampton. The church of Fotheringhay remained appropriated to the abbey of Delapré until the beginning of the fifteenth century; the last appointment of a vicar by the Delapré convent occurred in 1388.

Edmund of Langley, duke of York, was the first to form the idea of a grand collegiate church at Fotheringhay, and, in the lifetime of his father, built a large and magnificent quire at the east end of the old parish church.³ He did not live to accomplish his intention; but, after his death in 1402, his eldest son (by Isabel of Castile), Edward of York, desired to carry out his father's wishes, and to rebuild the body of the church on a like plan with the quire. For this purpose he appointed trustees, the first two of which were the cardinal bishops of Winchester and Durham. The college was founded in 1411, 6 acres of land between the castle and the rectory house being allotted for the purpose. This was the site on which the Cluniac nunnery had formerly stood. Edward, however, fell in the vanguard of the fight at Agincourt in 1415. Neither college nor church was yet finished, but his body was brought to Fotheringhay and interred in the church on 1 December. His will is reproduced

¹ This list is taken from the Lincoln registers cited by Bridges, *Hist. of Northants*, ii. 439-40.

² The last provost must have been appointed after the Valor of 1535.

³ Leland, *Itin.* (Hearne ed.), i. 5-7; Bonney, *Fotheringhay* (1821), p. 41.

in the Lincoln registers; he left his body to be buried in his college of Fotheringhay, in the midst of the quire under a flat piece of marble at the quire steps.⁴

This royal college consisted of a master, twelve chaplains or fellows, eight clerks, and thirteen choristers, and was dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin and All Saints. The chief duty of the members of the college was to pray for the good estate and for the souls of the king and queen, the Prince of Wales, the duke of York, and all the royal family, as well as for all faithful souls. It was indeed a great chantry, on dignified lines, with a specially-ordered common life for the chantry priests. The endowment charter of Henry IV. granted the college a yearly charge of £67 6s. 8d. from the manors of Newent, Gloucester, and Kingston, Hertford, belonging to the alien priory of Newent, which was a cell of the abbey of Corneilles, as well as all the possessions, spiritual and temporal, and all manorial rights that had pertained to that priory and to the alien priory of Avebury, Wiltshire, a cell of St. George Bocherville.⁵

A saving clause as to these two alien priories was inserted in the Act passed at Leicester in April, 1414. In the same year the convent of Delapré gave up to the college the church of Fotheringhay in return for a small pension.⁶

In the following year (5 August, 1415) the duke of York obtained letters patent for the further endowment of the college, assigning to it the manors of 'Fasterne,' Old Wootton, Tockenham, Chelworth, Winterbourne, Compton-Bassett, and Sevenhampton, the advowson of the church of Tockenham, the town of 'Wotton Burgus,' and the hundreds of Highworth and Cricklade in Wiltshire; the manor of Dognton, Gloucestershire; the manor of Anstey in Hertfordshire, and the advowson of the church; the manors of Nassington and Yarwell; and the castle, manor, and town of Fotheringhay, in Northamptonshire; with the castle, town, and manor of Stamford, the town and soke of Grantham, in Lincolnshire; and the castle and manor of Conisbrough, 'Braiwell,' Clifton, Hatfield, Fishlake, and Thorne, in Yorkshire.⁷

Before the duke sailed for France he entered into an explicit indenture with William Harwod, freemason of Fotheringhay, by which the duke was to find stone, timber, scaffolding, lime, and everything necessary to the work, and to pay £300 at stated periods. The whole of this interesting indenture has been several times printed.⁸ The duke's death at Agincourt (Leland tells us

⁴ Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo. of Repingdon, f. 124.

⁵ Pat. 13 Hen. IV. pt. 1, m. 14. Cited in full in Nichol, *Bibl. Topog.* vol. iv. No. 40, pp. 82-7.

⁶ Fine R. 2 Hen. V. m. 4.

⁷ Pat. 3 Hen. V. pt. 2, m. 43.

⁸ Both editions of Dugdale, and Nichol, *Bibl. Topog.*

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he was exceeding fat, and got smothered in the encounter) a few months later put a check on the work and on the organizing of the college; but his successor, Richard, duke of York, after some years, took the matter up and obtained in 1432 a yearly pension of 100*s.* towards completing the college.¹ In 1439 the college was granted powers to enclose 20 acres within the forest of Rockingham.²

Duke Richard fell in battle at Wakefield on 31 December, 1460, and was at first interred at Pontefract. Soon after his accession the attention of Edward IV. was directed to the still incomplete Yorkist foundation at Fotheringhay. In the first year of his reign he granted the college a new charter and refounded it, bestowing on it 100 acres of land, with divers liberties and privileges.³

In March, 1461-2, the king granted to Thomas Buxhale, the master, and the fellows of the king's college of Fotheringhay, a tun of red wine of Gascony yearly, in the port of London, at Christmastide, for the celebration of their daily masses, for ministering the holy sacrament at any time, and for their sustenance; at the same time he gave them 4 acres of land, with a limekiln, and a house at Woodnewton.⁴

In August of the same year there was granted to this same king's college the more substantial endowment of the alien priory and manor of Beckford, with its appurtenances in Gloucestershire and Lincolnshire; the lands of Ashton-on-Carraunt, Gloucester, sometime parcel of the alien priory of 'Baylbek'; and the alien manors of Brixton and Charlton, Wiltshire, and Wilsford, Lincolnshire, with all appurtenances.⁵

In March, 1465, Edward granted to Thomas Buxhale (who is described as one of the king's chaplains as well as master of the college), and the fellows, the whole of the possessions, spiritual and temporal, of the alien priory of Charlton.⁶ A year later the college received from Simon Norwyche the handsome endowment of 85 acres in the forest of Rockingham, for the alienation of which in mortmain the donor paid 10 marks.⁷

On 24 November, 1480, Edward IV. granted to William Field, the master, and the fellows of the college, quittance of all tenths, fifteenths, or other contributions or subsidies granted by the clergy of the realm of either province, or by the commons of the realm, or of any tallage on the king's demesne lands, or tenth, or other quota imposed by the pope.⁸

John Russell was the last master; in 1534, in

conjunction with Thomas Birde, the precentor, and the rest of the fellows, he made formal submission to Henry VIII. as the head of the Church. His name also occurs in the Valor of the following year, when the considerable possessions of the college in the counties of Gloucester, Hunts, Lincoln, Middlesex, Northants, Rutland, Suffolk, Wilts, and Worcester, realized an annual value of £419 11*s.* 10*s.*⁹

A rubricated copy of the statutes exists among the Augmentation Office records; from the entries at the end of the volume this was clearly the official copy of the statutes drawn up in the time of Henry V.¹⁰ The following is an abridgement or summary of their contents rendered in English:—

1. The first statute names Edward as the founder, and limits the number to a master, a precentor, eleven other chaplains, eight clerks, and thirteen choristers.

2. Every chaplain on admission to take an oath, in the presence of the master and precentor, of canonical obedience to the master, and to the lawful mandates of the precentor; to keep all the statutes and ordinances in their plain, literal, and grammatical sense; to show all loyalty to the college and its founders; to abstain from every form of detraction, strife, or quarrel; and if expelled through neglect of duty or other cause, not to molest or disturb anyone, etc.

3. Chaplains, clerks, and choristers to be chosen by the majority of the fellows when there is a vacancy. In the case of the boys, a candidate must not be more than nine if he only knows plain song, but if fully taught he must not be above twelve. A suitable chaplain to be chosen from the fellows by the precentor and three seniors, called the chantry chaplain, to instruct the choristers in grammar, receiving 12 marks as salary. Another fellow to be chosen in like manner to instruct in singing at a salary of 40*s.*

4. The master to have a salary of 20 marks, the precentor £10, each chaplain fellow 12 marks, each deacon clerk 10 marks, each subdeacon clerk 8 marks, and each chorister 4 marks.

5. The income to be spent, after payment of salaries, on the necessary maintenance, repair, and building of the college, and the balance to be kept in the common treasury, provided that a portion be distributed every year to Christ's poor, according to the wish and decision of the founder.

6. The master to be a man of good and honest conversation, well educated, and of approved manners and condition of life, discreet in spiritual and temporal matters, prudent and circumspect. Within twenty days of a vacancy occurring the fellows are to be summoned by the precentor to the chapter house, no licence being sought from founders or patrons, and after certain formalities

¹ Close, 11 Hen. VI. m. 1.

² Pat. 18 Hen. VI. pt. 3, m. 9.

³ Chart. 1 Edw. IV. pt. 2, m. 7.

⁴ Pat. 2 Edw. IV. pt. 1, m. 9.

⁵ Pat. 2 Edw. IV. pt. 2, m. 17.

⁶ Ibid. 5 Edw. IV. pt. 1, m. 17.

⁷ Ibid. 6 Edw. IV. pt. 2, m. 14.

⁸ Ibid. 20 Edw. IV. pt. 2, m. 21.

⁹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 287.

¹⁰ Aug. Off. Misc. Books. No. 147.

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the mass of the Holy Spirit is to be solemnly sung. If a unanimous election cannot be secured, three scrutineers are to be appointed, who shall vote secretly in writing, and if all or two agree on the same name, that one shall be elected; if there shall not be this majority, then the decision from the three names shall be left to the bishop of Lincoln or his vicar general. The master, on his election, shall swear implicit obedience to the statutes, and faithful rule and correction over the whole college.

7. The master to have full power of correcting, punishing, and castigating over all the persons of the college. In difficult negotiations he should consult the precentor and senior fellows. In his absence the college to be ruled by the precentor with the advice of the two senior fellows. For each outsider invited to the table of the fellows 3 pence to be paid out of the common stock, and if at the table of the choristers or servants 2 pence.

8. The precentor to have the rule over the fellows and choristers in quire and in the church, and to have power (with the consent of the master or, in his absence, of the senior fellow) to correct and punish for any fault during the divine offices, or for any error in singing or corrupt reading.

9. The master and precentor to sit at the chief table in hall, with the senior and more learned fellows, and not to exceed four dishes; the other fellows (and clerks) to sit at tables on each side of the hall; and the choristers and other boys and servants at a table in the centre. All to keep silence, and to listen to the reading of the Holy Scriptures.

10. The father, brother, near relative, or friend, of any of the fellows, clerks, and choristers, may dine in hall if they behave quietly and honestly, for two days and not more, save by special licence of the master, but at their own expense.

11. The master, fellows, clerks, and choristers, yearly at Christmastide, to have clothes of one and the same cut and colour at the common expense. The master and precentor to have 11 yards of cloth divided between them; each fellow and clerk to have 4 yards; each chorister under twelve years $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards, and boys over twelve 3 yards. The cloth for the fellows and clerks not to exceed 26*d.* a yard, and that for the choristers not to exceed 22*d.*

12. If any of the fellows, clerks, choristers, or servants shall quarrel, they shall be called before the master and two senior fellows, and if peace cannot then be obtained, five other discreet fellows shall help to adjudicate, and if any one does not at once accept their decision he shall be expelled.

13. If the master should neglect his duties by absence or carelessness, or cause loss to the spiritualities or temporalities of the college, the precentor and majority of the fellows have power to call on him to resign, and if he refuse, to

report him to the bishop, who has power to remove him.

14. Fellows, clerks, and choristers may, for legitimate cause, have leave of absence for a month in the year. Such leave not to be taken at Christmas, Easter, or Whitsuntide. Not more than two fellows, or two clerks, or two choristers to be absent at the same time.

15. The occupation of all the chambers of the college to be arranged by the precentor.

16. The church, hall, and all the buildings of the college, erected with so much labour at the cost of the founder, are to be maintained in good repair.

17. Bailiffs, proctors, farmers, wardens, and others, are to present annual balance-sheets at Michaelmas, to be examined by the master, precentor, and five selected fellows.

18. In the more important business of the college, such as benefices, farms, and manors, the master is to consult the fellows in the chapter-house, and to abide by the decision of the majority.

19. Advowsons of churches, lands, tenements, rents, etc., are not to be alienated or sold.

20. Neither master, fellows, nor clerk shall be upholders of quarrels or other litigious business, and if they persist in such action they may be expelled.

21. The college to remain indebted in 500 marks to John Bokeland, whom Edward the founder made master, in which sum John was bound to the abbess and nuns of Delapré.¹

22. The master, within a month after Michaelmas, before the precentor and six senior fellows, to present a balance-sheet of all receipts and payments, to be deposited in the treasury.

23. A summary of the financial statement to be indented, whereof one part to be kept by the precentor, and the other placed with the archives in the principal chest of the college.

24. The college to have four or five servants (not more) for serving in the pantry, buttery, kitchen, and other offices. One of them to be the barber, and also skilled in the repairs and mending of vestments, copes, and other ornaments of the church.

25. The master to have three horses, with hay and litter, and (blank) quarters of oats or pease for their sustenance.

26. The master and college to have a common seal and three common chests in a certain house called the treasury in the form of a tower, constructed over the church porch. In the treasury are to be kept the seal, vestments, jewels, money, and muniments of the college in safe custody. In the larger chest all the more precious vestments, chalices and censers, parcel-gilt, and other ornaments which are not required for actual and daily use. The precentor

¹ This statute has faint cross lines through it, and 'vacat' written in the margin.

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and sacrist are to have two different keys of the door of the treasury, and two of the chest. The contents of the chest to be examined four times a year by the master and three times by the fellows, and all to be cleansed and repaired. Other chests to be kept in the porch of the church, to contain vestments, chalices, etc., in daily use; the keys to be kept by the sacristan. The second chest in the treasury to contain all registers, charters, muniments, and evidences, with three keys, one for the master, one for the precentor, and one for an appointed fellow. The common seal only to be used in the chapter-house with the consent of the college. The third chest in the treasury to contain the common gold and silver of the college, together with the principal relics and jewels, and to have four keys in the respective custody of the master, precentor, and two appointed fellows. An indented inventory of the contents of the chest to be taken, one copy to be in the hands of a fellow who has not a key, and the other in the keeping of the precentor.

27. The statutes to be read in chapter of the whole college twice yearly, namely, on the morrows of the feasts of the Purification and of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin.

28. One of the fellows to be chosen sacrist, and to have charge of all the valuables of the church, with a salary of two marks.

29. The books, ornaments, and vestments to be openly, visibly, and distinctly shown to the master and all the college at Ascensiontide, to see if any are torn or missing.

30. No book, ornament, jewel, or vestment of the college to be sold, pledged, or removed from the college, under any pretext whatsoever, save books requiring binding, or anything to be repaired.

31. Any member of the college guilty of heresy, theft, homicide, adultery, incest, or like notorious crimes to be expelled. If any one is a hunter or common fisherman who brings any scandal on the college, he is to be warned first by the master, then by the master and two fellows, and for the third offence by the chapter, and if then incorrigible, to be expelled.

32. A warden to be appointed to look after the money of the choristers. If any chorister die before the age of 14, his money to be divided into three parts, one part to the college, another for funeral expenses, and the third to his parents or relatives.

33. The master to have power of proving the wills of those dying in the college.

34. No one to depart from the college in debt.

35. No one of the college (including the master) to wander alone outside the college precincts into any house in the town or neighbourhood, nor to enter any tavern save in the presence of some one of sufficient dignity and honesty, under pain of correction by the master, and of expulsion if repeated.

36. The fellows, clerks, and choristers, daily, when compline is finished, standing in quire before they depart, shall sing in unison the antiphons of St. John Baptist, and of St. Edmund, king and martyr; and at the altar step, kneeling, the antiphon of the Blessed Virgin. Then to form round the tomb of Edward the founder, and to chant the 'De profundis.'¹

37. The fellows, clerks, and choristers are to be humble, modest, and careful, in entering and departing from the church, and to abstain at mattins and all the hours from talking, whispering, laughing, or making any noise or disturbance.

38. The master's place in quire is the first on the right, and the precentor's on the left, the rest as they are ordered by the master and precentor.

39. All members of the college on rising from their beds, and on lying down at night, and at all hours of the day and night, when meeting with any hindrance, shall say in honour of the Trinity the antiphon, *Libera nos*, and a special prayer for blessing on the founder's work. Every day after nones and compline, and in Lent after vespers, shall be said in the church special prayers for kings Richard, Henry, etc., and the founder.

40. From 1 May to 1 September the bell to ring at eight o'clock, and the rest of the year at seven, and on the bell ceasing the anthem of the Blessed Virgin to be said by every one of the college, whether within the precincts or cloister, or gates, or outside, pausing as they say it.²

41. The principal and smaller gates of the college to be closed after the bell at the west end of the church has rung the Angelus. The doors to be kept closed till daybreak, and the keys to be handed to the master. Any one remaining outside, without leave of the master, to forfeit for first offence commons and salary for fifteen days, for second offence a month, for third offence six months, and for a further repetition to suffer expulsion.

42. Evensong, mattins, mass, and all the day hours to be attended by all in the church. The bell for mattins on the night of the Nativity to ring at one o'clock, and mattins to begin at two; on the principal feasts and the greater doubles, the bell to ring at four, and mattins to begin at five; on other festivals and ordinary days, the bell to ring at five, and mattins to begin at six.

43. Solemn processions are to be made round the cloister, following in all things the use of Sarum, and in the mass, the canonical hours, and in all other observances, the same use to be observed. The feasts of St. Lawrence, St. Edmund

¹ They were also to make stations before the two images of the Virgin against the pillars of the nave of the church, but this part is erased, and 'vacat per mandatum dni. Regis Hen. VIII.' is written in the margin.

² By the side in a late hand is written: 'Vacat antiphona salve regina.'

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king and martyr, and blessed Edward king and martyr, and St. Katherine, are to be celebrated as doubles. Also on the morrow of All Souls Day solemn mass to be sung of St. Winifred virgin and martyr, and on the vigil of the Nativity of St. John Baptist solemn mass to be sung of St. Etheldreda.

44. There are to be sung three masses daily, together with the chapter mass, when it happens, after the Sarum use; the first, the mass of our Lady, to be sung in the lady chapel with the choristers; the second, without note, a mass of requiem for Richard II., Henry IV., and for Edmund and Isabella, children of Edward the founder, Henry V. the patron (when departed), and Edward the founder, and all faithful souls; the third, a sung mass of the day according to use of Sarum.

45. In addition to these three regular masses, a mass of the Holy Spirit for the good estate of Henry V. to be sung on Passion Sunday, with special collects; also a private mass for a like purpose every Sunday.

46. On Trinity Sunday, Michaelmas Day, the feast of St. John Baptist, on St. Lawrence Day, and on the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, a special mass to be sung for Edward the founder.

47. The three ordinary masses, and the chapter mass when it happens, are to be celebrated by those chaplains who can best be spared from the quire and singing according to a table put forth by the precentor. All other masses to be taken in turn by the fellows. The master to celebrate at high mass on the principal feasts.

48. Each chaplain celebrating a special mass for Henry V. or the founder to receive two pence from the common fund at the hands of the master.

49. The master, precentor, and all the fellows to say a mass of requiem on the last day of February for Richard II.; on St. Cuthbert's Day for Henry IV.; for Edmund, the father of Edward the founder, on 1 August; and for Isabella, the mother of the founder, on 23 December.

50. On the obit of the founder the master and precentor to receive 12*d.*, each chaplain celebrating 6*d.*, each clerk present 4*d.*, and each chorister present 2*d.*

51. All to be present at evensong, mattins, masses, and other hours. Every Saturday corrections or fines to be imposed by the master and precentor for all absences or late comings, or other offences (especially in quire), committed during the week. For neglect of the offices, castigation or fines are to be imposed, and as a last resource expulsion.

(A later insertion.)

Any one late at mattins to be fined 1*d.*, or late at prime, terce, sext, nones, or compline $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*; any chaplain on the mass rota neglecting to

attend, a groat. Such fines to be divided among those present.

52. Every member of the college taking part in any service by reading, singing, or saying anything in the canonical hours, or in divine services, shall before leaving read, sing, or say at the steps of the quire, in English, the Our Father and the Hail Mary for the soul of the founder.

53. Anathema pronounced on any one who shall interpret these statutes after a sinister or evil fashion, twisting them from their natural and grammatical meaning.

54. A formal conclusion and final commendation of the statutes.

This is followed by a declaration or modification of the statute (No. 5) concerning the treasury, so far as it affected a distribution of a certain portion of the income to the poor. In accordance with the will of the founder, it had been laid down that, as soon as the church and houses of the college were constructed, without any delay a house for the poor, or almshouse, should be constructed at the charge of the college, to contain at least ten beds, tables, clothes, and garments for Christ's poor of either sex. The master or precentor and two senior fellows to receive and give hospitality to the inmates, who should be chosen from the infirm poor or those in specially needy circumstances, and particularly those who had been servants or tenants of Edward the founder or his parents in the towns of Fotheringhay, Nassington, or Yarwell. No poor person to be twice received or entertained in one week. But if there should not be in those towns and lordships sufficient poor requiring the assistance of the house, then they might be received from other towns and places. That each poor guest should receive once a day a good dish of bread and beer, with flesh or fish and one penny. On the first day of the week the poor guests should be received in honour of the Holy Trinity, the second day in honour of St. Michael and the nine orders of angels, on the third day St. Thomas of Canterbury, on the fourth day St. John Baptist, on the fifth day St. Lawrence, on the sixth for love and honour of the Five Wounds, and on the Saturday in honour of the Five Joys of Mary. Neglect of this hospitality to incur malediction.

An additional statute (amending Nos. 7 and 10), agreed to in chapter by the whole college, provided that no member of the college should admit any outsider within the precincts without the express sanction of the master, or in his absence of the precentor.

Then follows an entry relative to the gift by Henry VI. in 1447 of 20 acres of wood in the forest of Rockingham to Richard Vantort, master, and John Brounyng, precentor, and the rest of the college, and providing for a solemn mass for the good estate of the king and Queen Margaret, and after their death for their souls.

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Another volume at the Public Record Office contains the accounts of John Gilbert, fellow and sacrist of the college from Michaelmas, 1536, to Michaelmas, 1548.¹ These accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the sacrist are of considerable value, as showing the nature and amount of the various offerings of the faithful, and from them might be constructed a fairly accurate parish register of Fotheringhay for those twelve years, as the names of the contributors are given in full.

In 1541 complaint was made by the clerks of the college against the master, that he withdrew their wages, that they were not chosen fellows, and that they were not suffered to marry and tarry in the college. A decree was issued on 30 June, which is entered in full at the end of the volume of the statutes by the 'queens grace's honourable councell,' and signed by Thomas Denys, chancellor to the queen, as well as by the queen's attorney, vice-chancellor, and clerk of the council, entirely in the master's favour, and exhorting the clerks to implicit obedience to the master in accordance with the statutes. Queen Catherine was lodged at Fotheringhay Castle during June, 1541, and advantage seems to have been taken of the presence of the queen's court to secure a judgement after a somewhat irregular fashion. Meetings of the privy council were held at Fotheringhay in October of the same year during the king's progress.²

A third volume at the Public Record Office contains full accounts of the whole of the estates of the college for the year 1544-5.³ In this large paper book the details of the management of their farms, mills, etc., are set forth with much nicety. The management and administration seem to have been good. The salaries of the master, precentor, and the eleven other fellows amounted to £64 11s. 0d.; that of the nine clerks, including extra pay for one who had the custody of the clock, to £18 5s. 0d.; that of the choristers to £9 3s. 8d.; and of the servants to £18.

With the volume of sacrist's accounts are bound up various inventories which show the great wealth, particularly in vestments, of the king's college of Fotheringhay.⁴

An indented inventory of seven folios was made on 31 March, 1546, between Edward Gryffyn, solicitor-general, and two fellow commissioners, John Marshe and Francis Southwell, on the one part, and John Russell, master of the college, on the other part, whereby all the ornaments and chattels enumerated were left in the charge of the master until the king's pleasure should be further known.

¹ Aug. Off. Misc. Bks. No. 145. Full transcripts of the more important parts of this book were given by Rev. Dr. Cox in *Arch. Journ.* lxi. No. 244, pp. 241-275.

² *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xvi. 1269, 1272.

³ Aug. Off. Misc. Bks. 146.

⁴ *Ibid.* 145.

This inventory included 'Jewels belonging to the Church' and 'Parcell of Plate belonging to the College, to be used in the House' (the total of all the plate amounted to 1,450 ounces), followed by an imposing list of vestments, chasubles, altar cloths, etc. The quire books included eleven antiphoners, nine of which had the psalter and two lacked it, three legends, one of which was divided into two volumes, and a mass book for the high altar. Fuller details in a roughly written inventory of the 'chauncell' mention twelve 'grayles covered with lether,' and 'a boke of Venite in parchment.' Also twenty-three processional, four psalters, a mass book of prick-song for the Lady Mass, one fair antiphoner, and an ordinal. Also 'ii faire pair of organs, thone of iii stops very good and lyght, the other of ii stops lesser and wors, with ii desks and stairs for the players at the same.' The rough inventories of copes, vestments, etc., in the reign of Edward VI. include 'a banner of whyte sarcenet with tokens of ye passyon,' 'an old penon of changeable sylke with the Armes of Ye Duke of York,' 'a faire herolds cote of tharmes of Ingland of gold, the ground velvet,' 'xlii banners and streamers of sylke of dyverse colors, and xli painted with Armes and conysannces of gold, and xl lytell streamers with stripes of dyverse sortes.' The chancel inventory included 'one table of ii yardes length and one ell of depth annexed to the high Aulter the ground thereof of blewe velvet wherein is imbrodered the Assencion of our Ladye with iii Angells of ether syde of the seid Image. And in the same table bee vi Images, so all the seid Assencion Angells and Images bee sete with rayed perels.' The commissioners were ordered to dispatch this reredos to London. In the Lady Chapel was a candle standard of five branches of laton and also 'two paires of crutches tipped with silver,' which might possibly be votive offerings from those recovering from some form of lameness or accident to the legs.⁵

A later inventory in 1548 specifies various plate which had been omitted in the 'King's inventory' of 1546, and enumerates 'diverse parcells of silver and plate not found at Fotheringay on the dissolution of the seyd College which by report of Thomas Gyles ought to have bene there.'

Among the rough notes of inventories it is stated that there were ninety-three books in the library, all chained to the desks; and that all the books of the church, with those in the master's chamber, had been piled up in the lower vestry; that there were five chests and one double box filled with the evidences of the house in the master's chamber; that in the cloister yard there was a fair well covered with lead, a little cistern

⁵ Mr. St. John Hope suggests that the silver-tipped crutches may have been staves for the rulers of the quire.

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of lead attached to the well, and a lead pipe to convey the water to the buttery. In the master's chapel there were three chests with locks, one of which had painted on the side 'a man and woman pulling apples of a tree'; the taker of an inventory for confiscation purposes was apparently shy of referring to the first sin of Adam and Eve. In another of the chests that was banded with iron were some organ pipes. Two clocks were mentioned, one with 'a lyttell chyme.' Mention is also made of a large number of hangings for the quire of divers colours, some of which were of silk embroidered in gold; they were all ringed for speedy use; of two pieces of white silk with the founder's arms; of three lectern cloths with flowered changeable silk; of 63 albes and the like number of amices; of 'the vele of lynyn stayned, which hunge before the quire in lent'; of 'two red clokes of red sarcenet for lent'; two pairs of organs and their cases, with two chairs belonging to them; the 'latten lecterne with the egle; and the brase that covereth the founder's grave.'

Almost immediately after the completion of this second edition of the Fotheringhay inventories, the goods of the college were seized by the commissioners of Edward VI., and the church, which had sustained one of the most stately rounds of continuous services of a melodious and magnificent character throughout the whole of England, was stripped of all the beautiful accessories of worship.

At the Dissolution all the fellows and servants of the college received their full salary for one quarter. Of the fellows, Richard Ward, chaunter, received 36*s.* 8*d.*; Thomas Topclyf, overseer of the choristers, 22*s.* 6*d.*; John Gylbert, sacrist, 26*s.* 8*d.*; John Stanyborne, steward, 23*s.* 4*d.*; Thomas Styrope, John Flynt, Thomas Thorp, Robert Stores, Robert Webster, Robert Hemsley, and John Horton the curate, each received 20*s.*; whilst John Rysham received 1*s.* 3*d.* more because he kept the clock key. Of the seven clerks, Richard Ball received 25*s.*; and the rest, including John Robynson, 'organ-pleyar,' 15*s.* Twelve of the thirteen choristers received 3*s.* 4*d.*, but Richard Wattell only 20*d.* The thirteen house servants received sums varying from 8*s.* 4*d.* to the cook, down to 3*s.* to the under-brewer; the payments to seventeen husbandry servants varied from 10*s.* to 5*d.*

The pension list was drawn out on 6 March, 1548. Richard Ward was assigned £8, Thomas Topclyf and John Gilbert £4 6*s.* 8*d.*, John Stangare £4 3*s.* 4*d.*, and the rest of the fellows £4. Master Russell must have died before this date. No pensions were assigned to the clerks or choristers, though they were on the foundation; but small sums were bestowed on them when they were discharged to the total of £6 16*s.* 8*d.*, the largest share of which, 26*s.* 8*d.*, went to the organist.

The certificate as to the value of the college in 1547 gives £536 19*s.* 7½*d.* as its income, and £471 11*s.* 6¾*d.* as its expenditure.

The actual surrender of the college and its liberties to the crown took place in 1539, but it was allowed, as we have seen, to continue until the second year of Henry VIII.'s successor.

The commissioners of 2 Edward VI. declared the clear annual value of this college to be £535 6*s.* 2*d.* 'Memorandum that for as muche as my Lorde Admeralle Smith had entryd in the seyde College and Surveyed the same before we came downe to survey the same We are not able to make any perfecte Certificate of the state of the same howse.'¹

The college was granted by Edward VI. to Dudley, duke of Northumberland, who immediately pulled down the quire of the great church (the nave was parochial) and unroofed the college buildings for the value of the lead. On the duke's execution, the site of the college reverted to the crown and was sold shortly before Queen Mary's death, in July, 1558, to James Cruys. From an estimate made previous to the sale, it appears that the site of the college with its two courts, woodyard, orchards, and garden occupied nearly 3 acres. At that time there was in the eighty-eight windows or lights of the cloister a good deal of painted glass, but much broken and considered of no value when pulled down. The library must have been a fine room; it had seven windows. In the rooms and chambers of the cloister were eighteen doorways of freestone, valued at 3*s.* 4*d.* a door.² The cloister windows had been glazed, *temp.* Edward IV., when William Fielde was master, with pictures of the miracles of the Old Testament, with verses below them from the Eclogues of Theodulus.³ When Queen Elizabeth first visited Fotheringhay, she professed herself dismayed and shocked at the desecrated and despoiled tombs of the royal dukes of York, Edward and Richard, and of Cicely Nevil, Richard's wife. The queen ordered the disinterment of the bodies from amid the ruins of the quire, and their re-burial at the east end of the parish church, with monuments over them, which Camden rightly described as 'very mean for such great princes, descended from kings, and from whom the kings of England are descended.'⁴

MASTERS OF FOTHERINGHAY⁵

John Buckland
John Maston, 1423
Thomas Peckam, 1434
Richard Vautort, 1437
Thomas Buxhall, 1461
William Feild, about 1480
Robert Bernard, about 1500
John Russell, 1521

¹ Chan. Cert. xxxv. 48.

² Harl. MS. 608, ff. 61b, 62.

³ Leland, *Itin.* i. 5-7.

⁴ Camden, *Britannia* (Gibson), i. 407.

⁵ The Episcopal Registers at Lincoln supply the following list of masters.

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The pointed oval seal of the college, taken from a cast at the British Museum,¹ represents the Annunciation in three canopied niches; on the right the Virgin with nimbus standing on a plinth, lifting up her right hand; in the centre a lily flower growing out of a tall pot having a scroll entwined in the foliage and inscribed AVE MA.; on the left the Archangel Gabriel with nimbus, wings outspread, kneeling on a plinth. One of the fragments of a seal attached to a Sloane charter² gives a part wanting in the cast, showing above the canopy a shield of the royal arms of Henry IV. In base a similar shield of arms with label of three points Edward Plantagenet, second duke of York, co-founder 1411.

The legend, which is defaced, runs: SIGILLUM COMMUNE COLLEGIUM B[EA]TE MARIE & O[BI]T SC[OL]ARUM DE FO[UN]TINGHEY.

43. THE COLLEGE OF HIGHAM FERRERS

Henry Chicheley, archbishop of Canterbury, who was born at Higham Ferrers, founded here a college for eight secular canons or chaplains, eight clerks, and six choristers, in the year 1422. One of the eight chaplains was to be master and responsible for the rule and governance of the college, one of the chaplains or clerks should be grammar-master, and another quire-master. It was dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin, St. Thomas of Canterbury, and St. Edward the Confessor. Divine service was to be celebrated daily for the good estate of the king, Henry V., and of the queen, Katherine, and of the archbishop, during their lifetime, and for their souls after death; and also for the souls of the king's father and mother, the parents and benefactors of the archbishop, and for all the faithful departed. The king granted 3 acres of land at Higham Ferrers, parcel of the duchy of Lancaster, in free alms for the erection of the church and chapel of the college, and for all the necessary buildings. At the same time Henry V. granted to the archbishop, and to William Chicheley, archdeacon of Canterbury, the suppressed alien priory and manor of West Mersea, Essex, as an endowment of the college. This priory had been a cell of the abbey of St. Ouen, Rouen, and had been granted by licence of Henry IV. to John Doreward and Isabel his wife for their lives; consequently the college did not come into possession until after the death of Isabel, which occurred in 1426.³

¹ B. M. lxix. 74.

² xxxiii. 72.

³ The pancarta of 7 November, 1427, confirms the above grants, also letters patent of Henry VI. licensing the archbishop to grant the castle and manor of Higham to the college, with confirmation of the bishop, and of the dean and chapter of Lincoln. Pat. 6 Hen. VI. pt. 2, m. 21-24.

The preamble to the archbishop's formal declaration and ordination in the parish church of Higham Ferrers, 28 August, 1425, is of much interest. It recites the desire the archbishop had long felt to found a college in the place where he was baptized, and the sanction he had obtained from both pope and king. He appealed also for the sanction of the inhabitants and those connected with the church, stating that he had invited the dean and chapter of the new collegiate church of St. Mary, Leicester, the rectors of the parish church of Higham Ferrers, and also and especially the vicar and parishioners, to be present, that they might give their consent or otherwise to the foundation. The declaration, under seal of John Bolde, notary public, appended to the archbishop's letters, states that the dean of St. Mary, Leicester, attended in person, that the chapter were represented by two proctors, and that the vicar and parishioners in large numbers were also present. After the formal proposition for the foundation of the college and its objects had been duly set forth, and the letters of the pope and king read, those present were asked to express dissent or consent for their interests in common or severally. No one appeared to gainsay the proposition, and those present having consented with acclamation, the archbishop decreed that the foundation should proceed, and, by virtue of apostolic authority committed to him, as well as by his authority as ordinary in the voidance of the see of Lincoln, declared the college duly established, saving the rights of the parish church of Higham Ferrers, and appointed John Small, priest, as first master or warden, declaring the office perpetual and compatible with the perpetual vicarage of the parish church. The archbishop reserved to himself and his heirs the right of introducing chaplains, clerks, and choristers up to the appointed number, and endowed the master and college with the grounds of the college and all buildings built or to be built thereon, together with the alien priory of Mersea. Finally he placed a curse on those who should attack the foundation, and blessed those who should defend it.⁴

On 26 July, 1427, Henry VI. granted a licence to the college to acquire in mortmain lands and rents to the value of 40 marks a year; that the king, his heirs and progenitors, and particularly Henry V., might be specially mentioned in their prayers,⁵ and in 1434 and 1435 the endowments of the college were augmented by the gift of the manor of Chesterton with

⁴ Ibid. Stow MS. 931 is a chartulary of this college containing fifteen charters, and ranging from 1422, the year of the foundation, to 1437. These are followed (f. 76b) by an ordinance of Bishop Gynwell concerning the portion to be assigned to the vicar of Higham Ferrers by the dean and chapter of the collegiate church of Leicester.

⁵ Ibid. 4 Hen. VI. pt. 2, m. 9.

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60 acres of wood in Huntingdonshire, 'Overdene' in Beds, and the manor of Barford by Newnham called Veysis, also a messuage called le Swan on the Hope, 60 acres of land and 10 acres of meadow in Higham Ferrers and Newton, Northamptonshire.¹ Sir Robert Chicheley, a brother of the archbishop, Lord Mayor of London in 1411 and 1421, left by his will several houses in the parish of St. Antholin to the college of Higham Ferrers; he died in 1440.²

The college made formal acknowledgement of the king's supremacy on 31 August, 1534. The deed was signed by William Fauntleroy, Thomas Frear, Robert Goldson, Thomas Gamon, Thomas Mylys, and Thomas Pyck.³ According to the Valor of 1535, Gilbert Gulson was entered as master; in another part of the return, however, he is rightly given as Robert Gulson (Goldson). His stipend was £30; that of Thomas Frear, the vice-warden, £16 19s. 2d.; Nicholas Stere, the grammar-school master, £21 11s. 3d.; Thomas Gamon, chaplain, £14 17s. 11d.; Thomas Pykkell, chaplain, £14 17s. 11d.; Roger Browne, chaplain, £13 11s. 3d.; and Hugo Garfett, £13 11s. 3d.⁴ The annual sum of £19 15s. 5d. was paid at the rate of 1d. a day to thirteen poor persons daily praying for the soul of Henry Chicheley, the founder. The barber's annual fee for shaving the bedesmen was 6s. 8d., the oil for the lamp burning at night in their dormitory cost 5s., and other incidental expenses brought the expenditure for these pensioners to £23 19s. 1d. The clear annual value of the college was £93 1s. 9½d.⁵

The college was 'surrendered' to Henry VIII. on 18 July, 1542. The surrender deed was signed by Robert Goldson, Thomas Frere, and Thomas Graive.⁶ On 7 August of the same year the whole of the college property was granted to Robert Dacres, a member of the king's council.⁷ There was, however, a rent charge reserved on the property of the dissolved college for the maintenance of the pensioners of the bedehouse. In 1665 this rent charge was £25. John Willis, bedesman, was then commonly called the prior in respect of his seniority, but he had not been formally elected to that office, and received the same allowance as the rest.⁸

The bedehouse founded at Higham Ferrers by Chicheley, in a building, though long disused for its original purpose, still standing to the south of the parish church and away from the college,

was a part of the college foundation, and under the superior control of the master and his brethren, and is therefore not separately considered under the head of hospitals. In the bedehouse resided twelve poor men, with one woman to wait on them. One of them, sober and wise, was chosen to be their governor, and called the prior; any withstanding him was to be expelled. Every man chosen had to be 'sworne on a book that hath the Gospel in it' before the warden or sub-warden that he would be true to the house and help to maintain it. Each of them received, as has been already mentioned, a penny a day. Pensioners were not to be under fifty years of age, and were under obligation to pray daily for the king, the founder, and their benefactors. They need not rise till seven in the summer and eight in the winter, when they should go to church, returning at nine 'to take such meat as God had sent them.' Each on being admitted to the house should bring with him a bedstead, a mattress, bolster and pillow, two pairs of sheets, a blanket, and a coverlet; also a brass pot of two gallons, a brass pan and pewter dish, and a saucer. Immorality entailed expulsion, and after the fourth warning brawling and disorder were similarly punished. There should be a box with a hole in the lid placed in the centre of the dormitory for well-disposed people 'to put in their charity'; the box should have two locks and two keys, the warden of the college to keep one and the prior of the bedehouse the other, and should be opened once a year, on St. Thomas's Day, when the contents should be equally divided among the inmates. Certain brethren were appointed at particular seasons to 'go abroad to gather up the devotions of the brotherhood.' At two o'clock in the afternoon the brethren went to the church and remained there till four, when they came home to supper. At six o'clock the bell at the west end of the hospital was rung for half an hour to call all the brethren together, and then every man knelt at his chamber door (*i.e.* the cubicles opening out of the hall), and there prayed for the king's majesty and all their well-wishers until seven, and at eight they went to bed. It was ordained that only those who were 'clean men of their bodies, without blotches, blains, or boils,' should be admitted, and if anyone contracted a disease noisome to the others he should go to his friends until cured. Every inmate might visit his friends for a week in the year and receive his daily wage, but if he tarried longer the daily penny was to be forfeited. Every Friday a barber attended to shave and dress their heads. A lamp was to be kept burning in the midst of the dormitory during the winter from six to eight, and then to be extinguished. Each brother on his admission, if he possessed no gown of his own, should have the best gown of his deceased predecessor, for which he should pay 3s. 4d., together with 4d. for the brethren to make merry withal, 6d. for oatmeal and salt, 2d.

¹ Ibid. 12 Hen. VI. pt. 1, m. 14; 13 Hen. VI. pt. 1, m. 20.

² J. Cole, *Hist. of Higham Ferrers* (1838), p. 173.

³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* vii. 1121 (65).

⁴ These sums include not only stipends but money for obits and daily distributions.

⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 307-9.

⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VII.* xvii. 509.

⁷ Ibid. 714 (8).

⁸ Lambeth MS. 951.

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to the bedmaker, and *1d.* to the barber. The woman chosen to be bedmaker and attendant was to be fifty years of age, of good name and fame, and ready to help the poor men if they fell sick. Each brother should buy his meat on the Saturday and bring it to the woman, telling her what portion she should cook for the morrow, and the remainder she was to 'powder up' (sprinkle with salt and pepper) against Wednesday. On Sunday she was to set on the pot and make them good potage, giving each man his own piece of meat and a mess of potage in his dish, and saving the rest for Monday's dinner. On Wednesday she was to set on the pot and give them potage and meat as on Sunday. On Friday she should go into the town and get barm to make them good bread. She should wash the men's clothes on Monday, and on that day and no other was she entitled to hired help. In the spring-time the poor men were to dig and dress the garden, those absent paying the dressers a penny a day. The woman should rise every morning and make a fire before the men rose, and set a pan of fair water and a dish by it for them to wash their hands. She should sweep the house daily and attend to any one who might be ill in the night. The wages were to be delivered to the prior on Friday by noon, and by him to be distributed to the men and the woman. The woman should have as much for her pains as any of the twelve men in every respect; she could be dismissed by the warden of the college and the prior if she did not keep the statutes. The men were not to wander abroad without leave from the prior, and they should always return home again at night to prayers. In addition to *7d.* a week in wages to each of the thirteen, they were to have yearly as much black frieze as would make them a gown apiece at Christmas, including the woman; *5s.* yearly for their lamp; *3s.* for the barber; nine loads of wood delivered without charge, and *10s.* for other fuel.¹

The house seems to have been intended more for those in reduced circumstances, with no one to care for them, than for those only in great poverty; for men of moderate means were admitted on condition that they should after death bestow their land or tenements freely on the hospital for ever. Before the foundation of Chicheley's college, or bedehouse, there was a hospital dedicated to St. James at Higham Ferrers. All that is known of it are two presentations to the mastership made by Bishop Gravesend in 1258 and 1265.² The last three masters of the college, Richard Whelley,³ William Fauntleroy,

and Robert Goldson, were also vicars of the parish church. This was not, however, the church of the college, as mistakenly asserted in the extended Monasticon, and by Dean Hook in his *Lives of the Archbishops*. The collegiate church or chapel stood to the south of the college quadrangle. The remains of the college, the bedehouse, and the school, will be discussed in the topographical section.

Pointed oval seal of the fifteenth century taken from a cast at the British Museum⁴ representing the Virgin and Child between St. Thomas on the left and St. Edward the Confessor on the right, standing in three canopied niches. In base a shield of arms per pale *dex.* See of Canterbury, *sin.* a chevron between three cinquefoils; Archbishop Chicheley, founder, between two cinquefoiled flowers. Legend partly defaced:—

• • • • • MARIE VIRG' • THŌE MĀTYRIS •
ET • EDWARDI CONFESSORIS • DE • HEIGH •

44. THE COLLEGE OF IRTHLINGBOROUGH

In 1353 Sir Simon de Drayton conveyed his manor in Irthlingborough to John Pyel, citizen and mercer of London,⁵ who, a few years later, became possessed of other property in the neighbouring lordships of Cransley, Sudborough, and at Woodford, where he purchased a moiety of the manor and the advowson of the church.⁶ In 1371 John Pyel was appointed one of the commissioners to Flanders for redressing the grievances of the English merchants,⁷ and in the following year he became Lord Mayor of London. In 1375 he obtained a royal licence to found in the church of St. Peter, Irthlingborough, a college for six secular canons—one of whom should be dean—and four clerks,⁸ but died before his intention was actually carried out. The design was eventually accomplished by his widow, Joan, in 1388.⁹

The letters patent, for which Joan paid a fee of twenty marks, provided that the abbot and convent of Peterborough, patrons of the rectory of St. Peter's, should have alternate patronage with the heirs of the founders to both canonries and clerkships. The scheme was not to come into operation until the death or resignation of the then rector.

Catt and Elizabeth his wife, of association and participation in all the prayers and celebrations in the collegiate church and chapel throughout their lives. Stowe, MS. 931, f. 82b. ⁴ B. M. lxix. 75.

⁵ Vincent MSS. College of Arms, cited by Bridges, *Hist. of Northants*, ii. 235.

⁶ Ibid. pp. 89, 91, 254, 265.

⁷ Rymer, *Fœdera* (Rec. Com.), iii. pt. 2, pp. 921, 932, 933, 939, 943, 1026.

⁸ Pat. 49 Edw. III. pt. 1, m. 33.

⁹ Ibid. 11 Ric. II. pt. 2, m. 21.

¹ The original statutes are given in Lans. MS. 846, f. 78, and are set out at length in a revised form in Cole's *Hist. of Higham Ferrers* (1838), 75–83.

² Bridges, *Hist. of Northants*, ii. 178.

³ On the last folio of the college chartulary is an entry recording a grant made by Richard Wylles, warden, and the fellows of the college, to Sir John

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The Lincoln registers supply the names of the successive deans of Irthlingborough; the other canons and clerks do not appear to have received episcopal institution.

In a Peterborough register the presentation by the abbey of Thomas Othemoor to an Irthlingborough canonry is entered, under date 8 June, 1410, *hac vice spectante*.¹ In the same volume the receipt of the pension of 13s. 4d. from Dean Martefield is recorded in February, 1411;² whilst under the year 1416 a full account is entered of the ordination of the college of St. Peter, Irthlingborough, with the statutes pertaining to the election of the dean, canons, and clerks.³

On 29 August, 1534, William Stokes, dean, Henry Bird, and four other canons, signified under their common seal submission to the king's supremacy.⁴

The Valor of 1535 testifies that the college was in receipt of rents from Irthlingborough, Wellingborough, Finedon, and Northampton, to the extent of £17 16s. 10½d., and £36 from the rectory of St. Peter's, Irthlingborough. In addition to this it received rents from the parish of St. Martin's-juxta-Ludgate, London, of £17, giving a total income of £70 16s. 10½d. Its outgoings included a pension to the bishop of Lincoln of 13s. 4d.; to the archdeacon of Northampton of 3s. 4d., and to the abbot of Peterborough of 33s. 4d., and 10s. 7d. for procuration and synodals to the archdeacon. Amongst London outgoings was the sum of 5s. to the churchwardens of St. Martin's. The salary of William Stokes, the dean, was £13 6s. 8d., whilst Giles Cowper, Robert More, Henry Birch, John Halesworth, and William Francis, chaplains and fellows, each received £8. Henry Birch also received an additional salary of 13s. 4d. for celebrating the divine offices and administering the sacraments to the parishioners. Twenty-five shillings were annually distributed in pence to the poor of Irthlingborough on the obit or anniversary of Sir Thomas Pyel, in accordance with the 23rd chapter of the college statutes. Two clerks of the college (the number had been reduced from the original four) each received £4 3s. 4d. The cost of the wax and oil for use in the church the previous year was 10s.; and 8s. 11d. had been spent at the obit of Sir Thomas Cheney. There was a balance in hand of 3s. 0½d.⁵

The certificate of Henry VIII. states that the college of St. Peter's was founded to find a dean or master and five canons, and 'to kepe hospitalite'; that the college church was the parish church of Irthlingborough, and served by one of the canons; that its annual value was

£73 4s. 10d.; that the king's tenths were £6 9s. 3½d.; rents 61s. 1d.; the master's stipend £13 6s. 8d.; the five canons £46 13s. 4d.; the organ player £4; and steward's fees 53s. 4d., leaving a balance of 56s. 10½d. The value of the goods and chattels was estimated at £6 13s. 4d.⁶

On the suppression of the college, William Alcocke and the other canons were granted yearly pensions of £6, Alcocke's services being also retained as vicar. This pension Alcocke and three others were still drawing in 1553.⁷

DEANS OF IRTHLINGBOROUGH⁸

Richard Frysseby, died 1400⁹
 Richard Martefield of Frisby, occurs 1410¹⁰
 Thomas More, instituted 1415
 John Blaunchierd
 Richard Lynne, instituted 1453
 Thomas Honyborn
 John Townesende, instituted 1483
 Roger Tockett, LL.B. instituted 1490
 William Rawlyns, instituted 1491
 John Wyseberde, instituted 1494
 Giles Cowper, instituted 1509
 William Taillard, LL.D., instituted 1518
 Richard Stocks, S.T.B., instituted 1519
 William Lane, LL.B. instituted 1526
 William Stokes, instituted 1528
 William Alcocke, instituted 1537

Pointed oval seal of the fifteenth century taken from cast at the British Museum represents a saint seated with defaced emblems in a canopied niche. An ivy leaf in base.

Legend defaced: SIG . . . COLLES . . .¹¹

45. THE COLLEGE OF ALL SAINTS, NORTHAMPTON

The fifteenth-century college of All Saints is an interesting instance of a union of the priests of an important town church for the better and more economical church work of the parish. The college held property in common, the members lived and boarded together, and owed obedience to their warden; but they had no cloister nor chapter-house like other similar foundations on a larger scale.

The object of the foundation of this union of priests is clearly specified in the licence for its

⁶ Coll. and Chant. Cert. xxxvi. 3.

⁷ Browne Willis, *Mitred Abbies*, ii. 159.

⁸ These names, save the second, are taken from the Lincoln registers, cited by Bridges, *Hist. of Northants*, ii. 237.

⁹ The date of the death of the first dean is given on 'an antique marble' within the chancel of the church. *Ibid.* 238.

¹⁰ Add. MS. 25,288, f. 19b.

¹¹ B. M. Seals, lxix. 95.

¹ Add. MS. 25,288, f. 17b.

² *Ibid.* f. 19b.

³ *Ibid.* ff. 65b-72.

⁴ Rymer, *Fœdera*, xiv. 522.

⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 309, 310.

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creation on the Patent Rolls of 1460. It is there stated that it was founded of the pious devotion and religious purpose of William Breton, D.D., vicar of All Saints, who had already for a long time lived a common life with other stipendiary priests of the church, to the number of sixteen, the chaplains of the fraternities of the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin, Corpus Christi, St. George, the Rood, St. John Baptist, and St. Katharine, and who desired that this system should be kept up and definitely maintained in the future. 'And because they, the vicar and priests aforesaid, have spent and are spending their lives—especially in the time of the said vicar—away from the society of lay folk, constantly day and night observing (like fellow members of a college) divers statutes, ordinances, and laws, not only in the church, as is fitting, but in a certain messuage or close, commonly called the priests house (le Prestis house), the vicar humbly entreated the crown to establish them as a perpetual college, consisting of a warden and fellows. Thereupon the petition was granted, and it was ordained that the vicar and his successors, and the fraternity chaplains and their successors, should henceforth form a perpetual corporate body, to implead and be impleaded under the title of 'The Wardens and Fellows of the College of All Saints, in the town of Northampton.' They were entitled to acquire augmentation of their funds to the value of 20 marks a year, without any fine or fee, and were empowered to make statutes and ordinances among themselves for celebrating mass, for divine service, for the observance of good morals, and the extirpation of evil, and for the good estate of the king and queen and Prince Edward, and for their souls after death.¹

The actual rules and statutes drawn up by this self-denying band of town clergy have not come down to us, but the kind of life they led can be gleaned from some of the pre-Reformation wills cited by Mr. Serjeantson. Thus the vicar of St. Giles, in 1531, left 'to every preste dwelling within the college of all hallowes going to their comons a crysom to be ther napkyns.' Agnes Tuttam, of All Saints parish, left, in 1517, 'to an honest preste to syng in Saynt James' chapell for a whole yere, he to bord in ye college and kepe dayly serving as hys bretheren do, viii marks sterlyng.' In 1528 Richard Bott bequeathed 'to the colege a gardyn that William Dixson hathe. I will that they syng a diryge and masse for me every yere. Also I will that the Mayr offer at the masse and take up viijd. of the forsayd gardyn.'

¹ Pat. 38 Hen. VI. pt. 2, m. 1. A full translation of these letters patent appears in Mr. Serjeantson's *Hist. of the Church of All Saints, Northampton* (1901); the 6th chapter of this work, pp. 67-72, gives all the available information respecting this college.

The Valor of 1535 shows that the actual clear annual value of the college (apart from the stipends) in rents and dues was merely 39s. 4d. From the same source we learn that the vicar, who was also the warden, paid the college 16d. for the privilege of having a private entrance.²

The College and Chantry Commissioners of Edward VI. describe this college, 'or prestes house,' as the place for the habitation and boarding of the vicar and priests serving the church, and give its clear annual value of 34s. 10d.³

The attenuated possessions of this college did not save it from confiscation. The site of the college was granted in 1548 to William Ward and Richard Venables, and the fellows' garden in College Lane, and another garden and stable belonging to the college, were sold at the same time to Francis Samwell; they only realised 18s. 4d. In the particulars of sale it is stated 'there is no leadde belonging to the seyde college, but there is one bell which hangeth on the hall to call the Prestes to Dyner prayssyd at Vs.'⁴

VICARS OF ALL SAINTS, WHO WERE WARDENS OF THE COLLEGE⁵

William Breton, S.T.P., died 1472
John Lumbery, S.T.P., died 1472
John Trentham, S.T.P., died 1475
Robert Medilham, S.T.P., died 1480
Hugh Myllyng, S.T.P., died 1511
John Bell, M.A., died 1530
Thomas Malory, died 1539
William Ermystead, S.T.P., died 1545

46. THE COLLEGE OF TOWCESTER

William Sponne, rector of Towcester and archdeacon of Norfolk, founded a small college or chantry of two priests, to say mass for his soul in the chapel at the east end of the south aisle of the parish church. Licence was granted for the endowment in 1448, the year after his death.⁶

In the year 1440 John Lord Clinton sold a messuage in Towcester, called the Tabard, with lands and appurtenances in the fields of Towcester, Wood Burcote, and Caldecote, to William Sponne, and Thomas Lane, clerk. Thomas Lane, by deed dated January, 1451, delivered this messuage and lands to William Hall and Nicholas Germaine, chaplains of Sponne's chantry, and to thirteen other honest men, parishioners of Towcester, according to the request of Master Sponne, the income derived from which should be spent in maintaining the

² *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 315, 320.

³ Coll. and Chant. Cert. xxxv. 2 Edw. VI.

⁴ Aug. Off. Misc. Bks. lxviii. f. 404.

⁵ Serjeantson, *All Saints, Northampton*, 182.

⁶ Pat. 27 Hen. VI. pt. 1, m. 27.

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obit of the founder, in keeping the buildings in good condition, in maintaining the pavements of the town, and in distributing alms to the poor. The sum of 40*d.* was also to be assigned yearly to the chaplains for the repair and renewal of the books and ornaments of the chapel.¹

Bishop Chadworth confirmed the foundation of this college in 1457. In 1510 John Godrich, rector of Middleton Cheney, obtained papal dispensation to hold a chaplaincy with his rectory, a rule having been expressly laid down by the

founder that the chaplains should hold no other benefice beyond the space of one month.⁷

The Valor of 1535 gives the clear annual value of 'Towceter Colleg' as £19 6*s.* 8*d.*, of which sum £12 was assigned to 'Willin Reynolde p'sedens,' and £7 6*s.* 8*d.* to 'John Stevenson secundar.'⁸

The college, part of which still remains, stood to the north-west of the church.

The further history of the Sponne Grammar School is dealt with elsewhere.

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47. THE PRIORY OF EVERDON

Soon after the Norman occupation the manor of Everdon was bestowed on the abbey of St. Mary of Bernay (Eure, Normandy) in the diocese of Lisieux, which had been founded about 1025 by Judith, wife of Richard, fourth duke of Normandy. Henry II., by charter of 1156-7, granted to the monks there serving God all that they had held in the time of King Henry his grandfather.² This included, amongst the English possessions, the manor of Everdon.³ The same charter names the manor of Creting (Gratingis), Suffolk, first in the short list of English possessions. Tanner says that Everdon was sometimes considered a distinct alien priory, but at other times reckoned as parcel of Creting, which was the chief English cell of the Benedictine abbey of Bernay.⁴

In the reign of Henry II. the monks of Bernay held 2½ hides and 2 small virgates at Everdon.⁵ According to the Testa de Nevill, the abbot of Bernay possessed about the year 1250 4 hides in Everdon, which were held (saving 10 virgates) by him as lord of the manor; but the abbey did suit twice a year in the hundred court of Fawsley and rendered 4*s.* annually to the king.⁶

At the time of the Quo Warranto proceedings in 1329 the abbot claimed a view of frankpledge, or right to hold a court leet, in return for the yearly payment of 4*s.* to the crown. He also claimed waifs on the manor, but the jury found that the abbots of Bernay had never possessed liberty of waif at Everdon, although the abbot had seized a brood-mare worth 3*s.* under that pretence. They also found that he had punished offenders against the assize of bread and beer by fining them

1 mark instead of imposing the legal corporal punishment of tumbrel and pillory. For these offences the court leet was taken into the king's hands, but it was restored to the abbey on payment of a fine of half a mark.⁹

The advowson of the rectory of Everdon was in the hands of the abbey of Bernay. The Lincoln episcopal registers give a long series of institutions to this rectory, from 1218 downwards, on the presentation of the proctor of the abbot of Bernay. In March, 1347, the king presented, as the temporalities of the abbey were in his hands owing to the war with France. In 1367 a rector was instituted on the presentation of Roger Faber, prior of Everdon, who had been a monk of Bernay, but in 1404 the advowson was again in royal hands on the renewal of the war.

When the revenues of the alien priories were seized in the time of Henry V. the small priory of Everdon ceased to exist and was retained by the crown until its site and possessions were given by Henry VI. to his newly founded college of Eton in 1440.¹⁰ This gift was confirmed by Edward IV. in 1462.¹¹

The Valor of 1535 estimates the annual value of the rents, etc., of Everdon to the college of Eton at £15 13*s.*¹²

When Bridges wrote, about 1720, he said: 'The remains of the priory, which bear many marks of antiquity, are still to be seen in the lordship house which belongs to the college of Eton. In a close adjoining are the appearances and hollows of ponds.'¹³ The priory stood at the east end of the village, but this 'lordship house' has long since disappeared.

48. THE PRIORY OF WEEDON BECK

The celebrated abbey of St. Mary of Bec-Hellouin, in the diocese of Rouen, was founded

¹ Sponne, *Evidences*, cited by Baker, *Hist. of Northants*, ii. 334.

² Round, *Cal. Doc. France*, i. 137.

³ 'Ebredona.' This manor is conjectured to be that of Eversden, Cambs, in the index to the calendar, but there is no doubt that it is the Northants manor.

⁴ Tanner, *Notitia* (ed. 1787), Northants, xv.

⁵ Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xxii. f. 94.

⁶ *Testa de Nev.* (Rec. Com.), 37.

⁷ Bridges, *Hist. of Northants*, i. 277.

⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii. 334.

⁹ *Plac. de Quo Warr.* (Rec. Com.), 533.

¹⁰ Pat. 19 Hen. VI. pt. 3, m. 20.

¹¹ Ibid. 1 Edw. IV. pt. 3, 24.

¹² *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 217.

¹³ Bridges, *Hist. of Northants*, i. 58.

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in 1034 by Hellouin or Herlewin, who became its first abbot. He had for his disciples two of the great ecclesiastics of the eleventh century, intimately associated with the church of England, Lanfranc and St. Anselm (the second abbot), both in turn archbishops of Canterbury. Roger de Thebovill gave a moiety of the manor of Weedon to the abbey of Bec, a gift which was confirmed amongst many others by a charter of Henry II.¹ Before, however, the end of this reign, the whole of Weedon was acquired by the abbot and monks of Bec-Hellouin, and hence became distinguished as Weedon-Beck, though sometimes known as Weedon-le-Street from its situation on the Watling Street road. It was certified in the *hydarium temp.* Henry II. that the monks held four hides at Weedon, of the fee of Leicester, including both Domesday manors.²

In 1203 the abbey of Bec was charged at the Exchequer for a fine of one hundred marks for holding forty-eight acres of new assarts and two acres of old assarts in the manor of Weedon and for a royal charter exempting their Weedon tenants from attendance at the swainmote or forest court for ever; the chief justiciar found, however, that the heavy fine of £66 13s. 4d. had been already paid by the monks to Hugh de Nevill, from whom it was due to the Exchequer.³

These privileges were confirmed by Henry III. in 1227, and again in 1253 with the addition of free warren.⁴ In 1276 the abbot of Bec sustained his right to have gallows at Weedon, as well as free warren and court-leet.⁵

The abbey of Bec had large possessions in England, and its chief cell or priory was that of Okeburn, Wilts.⁶ Apparently for the better management of their manor and small priory at Weedon, the monks of Bec assigned their Northamptonshire property towards the end of the thirteenth century to the rule of Okeburn (Ogbourne) Priory. The Valor of 1291 states that the prior of Okeburn held at Wendon or Weedon lands, rents, pannage, and court profits to the annual value of £16 2s. 8d., and crops, flocks, and herds to the annual value of £2 10s. 10d.⁷

In 1302 John de Brochull of Weedon was found by a jury to be a villein of the abbot of Bec, and taxable at pleasure; but being contumacious, William Grafton, steward of the abbot, took him and set him in the stocks.⁸ In 1329 the abbot, at a 'quo warranto' inquiry at Weedon, held on the Saturday after Ascension Day, satisfied the jury, through the attorney, Richard Blount,

that he had every conceivable right and privilege in all his demesne lands at Weedon.⁹ Express mention is here made of the prior of Weedon, so it is clear that the ecclesiastical establishment of the monks at Weedon Beck was not a mere grange.

The priors of Okeburn (Ogbourne) appear in the Lincoln episcopal registers as patrons of the vicarage of Weedon Beck in the fourteenth century. At the general suppression of the alien priories in 1414, Weedon, with the other English possessions of the abbey of Bec, escheated to the crown. The advowson of the church was soon afterwards granted to the provost and fellows of the royal free chapel of St. George at Windsor, who presented to the vicarage of Weedon in 1421. In 1437 the king granted a life interest in the manor of Weedon Beck to Henry, earl of Stafford.¹⁰ He was slain at the battle of Northampton in 1460, and Weedon was soon afterwards granted for life to Thomas Seyntleger for his services.¹¹ In February, 1462, the same manor, described as parcel of the alien priory of Okeburn, was granted by the owner to William Beaufitz for ten years.¹² The reversion of the manor was granted to the provost and fellows of Eton College by Henry VI. and confirmed by Edward IV.¹³

There are no remains of the priory or grange of the monks of Bec; there is not even a tradition as to its site. Bridges, writing about 1720, states that the privileges and annuities of the monastic tenants were traditionally remembered. 'A furlong in the commonfield is yet called gallow-furlong, and the stump of the gallows is visible not far from the high road.'¹⁴

The Valor of 1535 estimated the annual value to Eton College of the manor and appurtenances of Weedon Beck at the considerable sum of £40.¹⁵

49. THE PRIORY OF WEEDON PINKNEY OR WEEDON LOIS

The Benedictine abbey of St. Lucien in the diocese of Beauvais, Oise, France, was originally founded in the sixth century. A priory, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, as a cell of the French abbey, was established at Weedon Pinkney by Ghilo de Pinkney in the reign of Henry I. The Pinkneys were lords of this and several adjacent manors. The grandson of the founder, named Gilbert, and his great-grandson Henry, confirmed and increased the original endowments, which consisted of certain lands in Weedon, a mill with adjacent meadows, and tithes of all the

¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 1068.

² Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xxii. f. 95.

³ Madox, *Hist. of the Exch.* i. 203.

⁴ Chart. R. 2 Hen. III. m. 28; 37 Hen. III. m. 7.

⁵ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 10.

⁶ Baker makes a curious slip in stating that Okeburn was the principal cell of the abbey of Bernay.

⁷ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), p. 54.

⁸ *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 246.

⁹ *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 583.

¹⁰ Pat. 16 Hen. VI. pt. 2, m. 33.

¹¹ Pat. 1 Edw. IV. pt. 3, m. 21.

¹² *Ibid.* pt. 4, m. 22.

¹³ *Rot. Parl.* (Rec. Com.), v. 77.

¹⁴ Bridges, *Hist. of Northants.* i. 94.

¹⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 217.

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demesne lands of the family wherever situated, together with the advowson of the parish church. This endowment was slightly increased by Robert de Pinkney, son of Henry, but with his gift the whole emoluments of the priory came to an end.¹ Little is recorded of this alien house beyond entries in the diocesan registers recording the presentation of priors by the abbey of St. Lucien and their admission by the bishop of Lincoln; these, however, are of a somewhat varied nature owing to the vexed question of the right form of presentation to the ordinary on the part of alien houses. The rule of heads of this dependent cell was in most cases short, and terminable by the superiors of the parent house. In 1265 Matthew Pressour resigned within a year of his appointment,² an inquiry was held by the dean of Brackley into his administration, and he was found to have brought the priory into debt. On the resignation through illness of Walter Glayne in 1286 Thomas de Compendio was presented by the parent house; the form of presentation, however, was not found correct, and he was admitted to the custody of the priory only as a simple monk till another had been procured;³ he held the office for a year, when Thomas de Sancto Marcello was appointed; the bishop in this instance refused to admit the newly-appointed prior until he had received the resignation of Thomas de Compendio.⁴ In 1291 we read that Hugh de Patay was appointed (revoking the previous presentation of Thomas de Marcello) on the resignation of Prior Thomas.⁵

Thus it is not surprising to find some confusion occasionally arising as to the head of the priory. In 1293 Hugh de Tyenloy appeared with letters of presentation to the bishop, but found that Hugh de Tilloy had been already admitted.⁶ It is recorded of Hugh de Tyenloy that he was eventually instituted by Bishop Sutton on the promise that he would keep residence, but that he speedily left for foreign parts.⁷ He was succeeded by Peter de Ayion in 1302,⁸ who was summoned to resign in 1315 and Thomas de Neufville appointed to succeed him;⁹ nevertheless, Peter contrived to evade the order of his superior, and retained his post till the year 1322, when he was called on to resign under pain of ecclesiastical censure.¹⁰

The insignificance of its endowment and the long continuance of the war with France made this priory of so little value to the monks of St. Lucien that they sought and obtained licence in

1378 to assign it to the Cistercian abbey of Biddlesden, at a yearly rent of £8 to the king so long as the war should last. On 6 May, 1386, Richard II. presented William West to the living of Pinkney, as the priory was at that time in the king's hands owing to the war with France.¹¹

Although a licence was obtained for the conveyance of the priory to Biddlesden in 1378, the transfer was not legally executed until fourteen years later. By deed dated 30 May, 1392, the abbot and convent of St. Lucien conveyed to the abbot and convent of Biddlesden at perpetual farm the priory of Weedon Pinkney with all spiritual and temporal possessions and rights, to hold on either of the two following conditions at their choice—(1) That whenever England and France should be at peace they should pay to the abbot of St. Lucien £8 as a yearly pension for ever on the feast of St. John Baptist in the church of St. Mary, Calais, and should also pay £66 13s. 4d. at the Nativity of St. John Baptist next ensuing in the church of St. Donatian at Bruges, and a further sum of £33 6s. 8d. on the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula, 1393; or (2) they should hold the priory free of any pension, provided they would be ready to pay £200 in two instalments, to be completed on the last-named feast. Thomas Ludlowe, prior of Weedon, was a witness to the deed.¹²

The purchasers adopted the first of the two alternatives, but the total acquisition did not remain long in their hands, and in 1440 they had to surrender the manor of Weedon to the warden and scholars of All Souls, Oxford, to whom it had been granted, *inter alia*, by the crown for royal chantry purposes.¹³ The abbey still retained the rectory and advowson of the vicarage with certain rents. The Valor of 1535 shows that the college of All Souls held the manor of Weedon of the annual value of £19, from which 6s. 8d. was deducted for their steward, and 5s. for their bailiff; at the same time Biddlesden Abbey received yearly rents from Weedon Pinkney to the value of £1 1s. 9d. and £13 6s. 8d. from the rectory.

Even the site of this priory was unknown as far back as the time of Bridges. Another name for the priory and parish was Weedon Lois, Loys or Lees, from its association with the abbey of St. Lucien, the apostle of Beauvais. His shrine was the great attraction of the abbey, and some of the relics appear to have been brought by the monks to Northamptonshire and deposited in the parish church of Weedon Pinkney. When a vicarage was ordained early in the thirteenth century, the vicar was assigned a fourth part of the altarage, but special exemption was made of the offerings to the relics in the church of Weedon,

¹ From the chartulary of the abbey of Biddlesden, Bucks. Harl. MS. 4714, cited by Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 1018.

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Gravesend.

³ Ibid. Roll of Sutton.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid. Inst. of Sutton, f. 48.

⁶ Ibid. f. 34d.

⁷ Ibid. Memo. of Sutton, f. 216.

⁸ Ibid. Inst. of Dalderby, f. 104d.

⁹ Ibid. f. 128d.

¹⁰ Ibid. Inst. of Burghersh, f. 168

¹¹ Pat. 9 Ric. II. pt. 2, m. 16.

¹² Harl. MS. 4714, f. 250.

¹³ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 1018, from Pat. 18 Hen. VI. pt. 2, m. 11. Confirmed in 1461; Pat. 1 Edw. IV. pt. 5. m. 10.

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which went to the priory.¹ Belcher, writing in 1614, says: 'In this church was the memorial of St. Loys² kept, whither did many resort for the cure of their horses; where there was a house at the east end thereof, plucked down within a few years, which was called St. Loys house.'³

PRIORS OF WEEDON PINKNEY

Odo⁴

Adam⁵

Philip⁶

Nicholas,⁷ occurs 1232

Matthew Charite,⁸ resigned 1264-5

Matthew Pressour,⁹ appointed 1265, resigned 1265

¹ *Liber Antiquus Hugonis Wells.*

² There seems to have been some confusion between St. Lucien of Beauvais and St. Eligius (St. Loy), a better-known Frankish saint invoked by horse-owners and metal-workers. According to the Golden Legend, St. Loy was in early life a goldsmith, who made for King Dagobert 'two right fair saddles of gold and of precious stones.'

³ Cited by Bridges, *Hist. of Northants*, i. 258.

⁴ He was a witness to the charter of Gilbert de Pinkney. Harl. MS. 4714, f. 248d.

⁵ Occurs as witness to another charter of Gilbert. Ibid. f. 248d.

⁶ Occurs as witness to a charter of Henry, son of Gilbert de Pinkney. Ibid. f. 249.

⁷ Was a witness to the charter of Robert, son of Henry de Pinkney. Ibid. He is said to have presented to the church of Weedon in that year. Bridges, *Hist. of Northants*, i. 257.

⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Roll of Gravesend. ⁹ Ibid.

Matthew,¹⁰ appointed 1265

Walte Glayne,¹¹ resigned 1286

Thomas de Compendio,¹² appointed 1286, resigned 1287

Thomas de Sancto Marcello¹³ appointed 1287, appointment revoked 1291

Hugh de Patay,¹⁴ appointed 1291, resigned 1293

Hugh de Tilloy,¹⁵ appointed 1293

Hugh de Tyenloy,¹⁶ appointed 1293, resigned 1302

Peter de Ayion,¹⁷ appointed 1302, resigned 1322

Thomas de Neufville,¹⁸ appointed 1315, and in 1322

Robert de Calceyn,¹⁹ appointed 1330

William de Meiaco,²⁰ appointed 1342

Robert de Neufville,²¹ appointed 1360

John Malengiene,²² appointed 1365

Ralph de Ponte,²³ appointed 1368

Thomas Ludlowe,²⁴ occurs 1392

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid. Roll of Sutton.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid. Inst of Sutton, f. 48d.

¹⁵ Ibid. f. 54d.

¹⁶ Ibid. Inst. of Dalderby, f. 104.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid. f. 128d. In the Inst. of Bishop Burghersh, Thomas de Neufville is given in the year 1322 on the resignation of Peter de Ayion, f. 168.

¹⁹ Ibid. f. 188d.

²⁰ Ibid. f. 244.

²¹ Ibid. Inst. of Gynwell, f. 183.

²² Ibid. Inst. of Bokyngham, f. 164.

²³ Ibid. f. 172d.

²⁴ Harl. MS. 4714, f. 253d.

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART AND INSCRIPTIONS

AT the time of the conversion of central England to Christianity, after the death of Penda in 654, what is now the county of Northampton formed part of the Anglian kingdom of Mercia, and occupied a diagonal strip along its southern border extending from Peterborough on the north-east to Banbury on the south-west. After the treaty of Wedmore in 878, the kingdom was divided into English Mercia on the west and Danish Mercia on the east, Northamptonshire lying on the Danish side of the boundary between the two.¹ It is therefore to be expected that the earlier group² of pre-Norman Christian monuments in Northamptonshire will be of Anglian rather than Saxon type, and that the later group³ will be of Danish or Scandinavian type. Probably none of the monuments are older than the time of King Offa, during whose prosperous reign the conditions were more favourable for the progress of ecclesiastical art than they had ever been before.⁴

The sites where Saxon churches still exist, or where they are known from historical records to have at one time existed, do not necessarily correspond with the sites where sculptured monuments have been found. None of the seats of the Mercian bishoprics⁵ were situated within the county of Northampton, but there were religious houses at the following places :—

Castor (monastery under an abbess in the seventh century).

Peterborough (abbey founded 650).

Weedon (religious house presided over by St. Werburgh in the seventh century).

Oundle (a small monastery where St. Wilfrid died in 709).

Brixworth (a daughter house of Peterborough, c. 680).

ANGLO-SAXON INSCRIPTIONS

The only inscription of the Anglo-Saxon period now existing in Northamptonshire is upon the font in Little Billing, on the north side of the river Nen, 4 miles east of Northampton.

The font, which is of local sandstone stained brown with iron, has a round bowl and a round stem with a triple bead moulding between the bowl and the stem, the whole resembling one of the turned baluster shafts of the

¹ See maps in Green's *History of the English People*.

² Of the eighth and ninth centuries.

³ Of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

⁴ Mercia was more powerful and exerted greater power over the other kingdoms of the Heptarchy during the reign of Offa than at any other period. The intimate friendship which existed between Offa and Charlemagne at the time of the revival of learning must have had a beneficial influence on the art of both England and of the Frankish kingdom.

⁵ Lichfield founded 656, Hereford 676, Worcester 680, Leicester 680, Dorchester 888.

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Saxon period. It is 3 feet 2 inches high by 2 feet 9 inches in diameter at the bottom, and 2 feet 5 inches at the top.

The inscription runs round about a third of the circumference of the bowl at a depth of 5 inches below the top, the letters being $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch between the lines. The inscription is in two horizontal lines of Anglo-Saxon capitals and reads as follows :—

WIGBERHTVS ARTIFEX ATQ CEMENTARIVS HVNC FABRICAVIT
QVISQVIS SVVM VENIT MERGERE CORPVS PROCVL DV BIO CAPIT

“Wigberht the artificer and mason made this (font)

Whoever comes hither to dip his body let him take it (the rite of Baptism) without doubt.”

The peculiar angular letters which indicate a pre-Norman date¹ are

Æ C G Ð Σ W

The font at Little Billing has been described and illustrated in Baker's *History of Northamptonshire*, i. 30, and in Paley's *Baptismal Fonts*.

ANGLO-SAXON SCULPTURE

Examples of Anglo-Saxon sculpture have been found at the following places :—

Barnack, Brixworth, Burton Latimer, Castor, Clapton, Desborough, Earls Barton, Gunwade, Helpston, Longthorpe, Lutton, Mears Ashby, Moreton, Moulton, Nassington, Northampton St. Peter, Oundle, Peakirk, Peterborough Cathedral, Stow Nine Churches.

The monuments and structures upon which the sculpture occurs are as follows :—

CROSS-HEADS.—Brixworth, Gunwade Ferry, Mears Ashby.

CROSS-SHAFTS.—Clapton, Desborough, Earls Barton, Longthorpe, Moreton, Moulton, Nassington, Northampton, Peakirk, Peterborough, Stow Nine Churches.

CROSS-BASE.—Castor.

HEAD-STONE.—Helpston.

FOOT-STONE.—Peterborough.

RECUMBENT CROSS-SLABS.—Peterborough, Helpston, Lutton.

SHRINE-SHAPED MONUMENT.—Peterborough.

SLAB BUILT INTO WALL.—Barnack.

ARCHITECTURAL DETAILS.—Barnack, Earls Barton.

Most of the monuments have been found in a fragmentary state during repairs to churches, either built into the walls or under the foundations, so that they can only be conjecturally restored by comparing them with more perfect examples in other districts or by piecing together portions from different places. Thus, judging by the fragments at Gunwade and Mears Ashby, the Anglo-Saxon crosses of Northamptonshire had heads with expanded ends to the arms and a circular ring connecting them. The shafts of the crosses appear to have been in most cases of rectangular cross-section, and had two wide faces and two narrow faces. The best specimens are those at Desborough, Moulton, and Nassington.

¹ There is only one other font in England with an inscription in similar angular capitals. This is at Potterne, near Devizes, Wilts, and is inscribed—

SICVT CERVVS DESIDERAT AD FONTES, etc. (Psalm xlii. 1).

An illustration of it will be found in the *Sketch Book of the Ilam Anastatic Drawing Society* for 1876, pl. 25.

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART AND INSCRIPTIONS

BARNACK.—In the interior of the tower of the church, in the west wall, part of a cross shaft is built in, having a four-cord plait on it. On the outer face of the same wall is another small piece of similar work.

BRIXWORTH.—Built into the west jamb of the south doorway of the nave is the arm of a cross on which is carved in low relief an eagle with wings outspread on each side of its head.

BURTON LATIMER.—In the tower of the church is a stone with plaitwork.

CASTOR.—See below.

CLAPTON.—Part of the label of the thirteenth-century chancel arch of the old church, destroyed in 1864, was a stone with plaitwork carving.

DESBOROUGH.—Two fragments of cross-shafts were found here. One is 2 feet 4 inches long by 1 foot 7½ inches wide by 1 foot 3½ inches thick, with cable moulding on the angles.

On the front are two panels, the upper one containing two beasts back to back, with a human head between them. The lower panel has two twisted bands with a ring in the centre, the bands ending in Stafford knots. On the right side of the stone are two beasts, one below the other; the lower has a knotted tail and a piece of interlaced work passing round the neck in a loop, then on each side of the body, forming a Stafford knot below the belly. Blank spaces in the field in both cases are filled with circular bosses.

The second fragment, which may belong either to a cross shaft or to a slab, being 1 foot 8 inches long by 1 foot 6½ inches wide and 4 inches thick, is carved on one face only, with two twisted bands combined with circular rings.

EARLS BARTON.—See below.

GUNWADE FERRY.—Part of a cross-head with expanded arms.

HELPSTON.¹—(1) A piece of a grave-slab like those at Peterborough, described below.

(2) A headstone with a circular cross.

LONGTHORPE.—In a cottage garden at the east end of the village, in an angle formed by the main road and a side path, is a cross-shaft 6 feet 9 inches high, standing in a base 2 feet 6 inches square. The shaft tapers from 1 foot 5 inches by 10 inches at bottom to 1 foot 3 inches by 8 inches at top, and on one of the narrow faces has a four-cord plait of angular plaitwork. Otherwise it is plain.

LUTTON.—In the north wall of the church tower is part of a cross-slab with panels of interlaced work.

MEARS ASHEY.—A cross-head of Celtic form, 1 foot 4½ inches in diameter. The arms are expanded, and their ends connected by a circular ring, the intervals being pierced with round holes 1½ inches in diameter. The edges are moulded, and both faces are covered with interlaced work of debased style. A tenon is worked on the head.

MORETON.—In the church is a piece of a cross shaft 2 feet 2½ inches long, having on the front a beast with paw raised, biting his tail, and below him a double row of spiral knots. On one side of the shaft is a double row of spiral knots in a continuous band.

MOULTON.—Fragment of cross-shaft. See below.

NASSINGTON.—In the church is part of a cross-shaft 2 feet 9 inches long, having on the front the lower part of a human figure, and below it a crucifixion, with Sol and Luna above the arms of the cross, and below two soldiers with the spear and the sponge on a reed. On the back a circular knot is repeated four times; on the right side is a band of figure-of-eight knots, and on the left a foliage pattern consisting of an undulating stem with short branches and fruit in the hollows.

NORTHAMPTON ST. PETER.—In the Northampton museum are two fragments of cross-shafts, which, till the restoration of the church in 1850, served as bases to the west responds of the nave arcades.

On one is a panel of interlaced work composed of a series of figure-of-eight knots. On one side of the same stone is a defaced foliage pattern.

On the second is some much-damaged conventional foliage.

PEAKIRK.—A piece of a cross-shaft 1 foot 9 inches high. On the front is a dragon with interlaced tail, on the back another with knotted tail; on the right side is foliage, and on the left a beast, much damaged. This is in the 'Hermitage' chapel, now used as a reading-room.

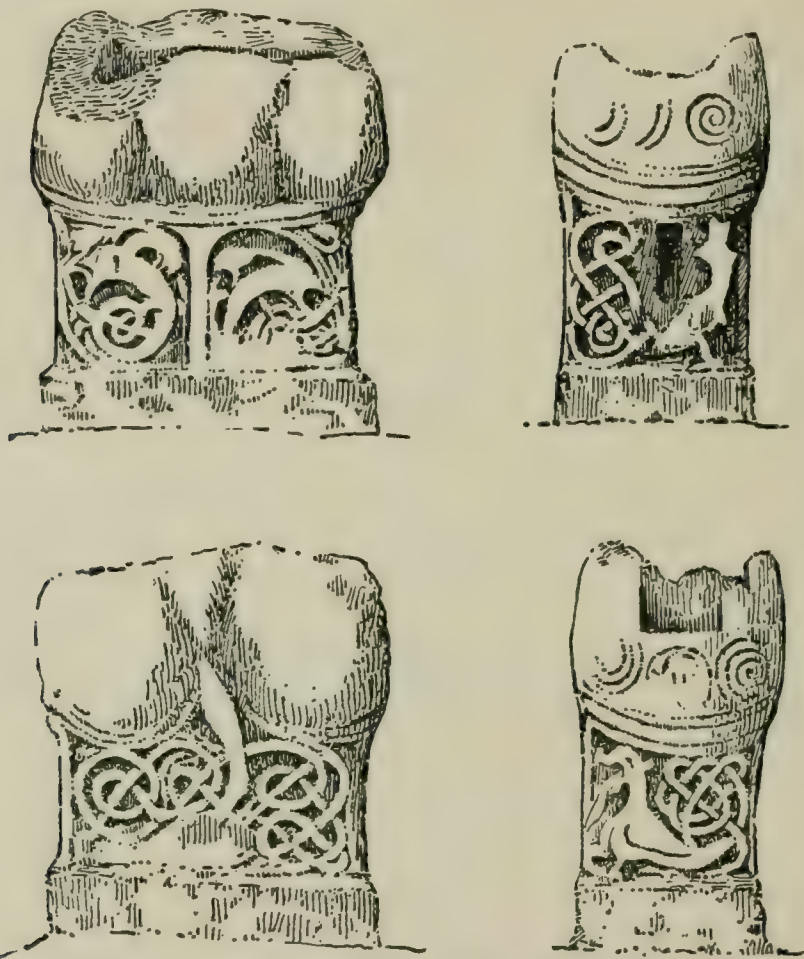
PETERBOROUGH.—See below.

STOW NINE CHURCHES.—Two fragments of cross-shafts. The first, 2 feet 3 inches high, has cable mouldings on all its angles. On the front is an interlaced band of six-cord plait, and a double band of figure-of-eight knots, with four-cornered knots at intervals—a very unusual pattern; on the back is some defaced foliage; on the right side the looped tail of a dragon (?), and on the left the ornament has been dressed off. The second fragment is only 10¾ inches high, and has a pattern of spiral knots on one face only.

¹ *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xlv. 179.

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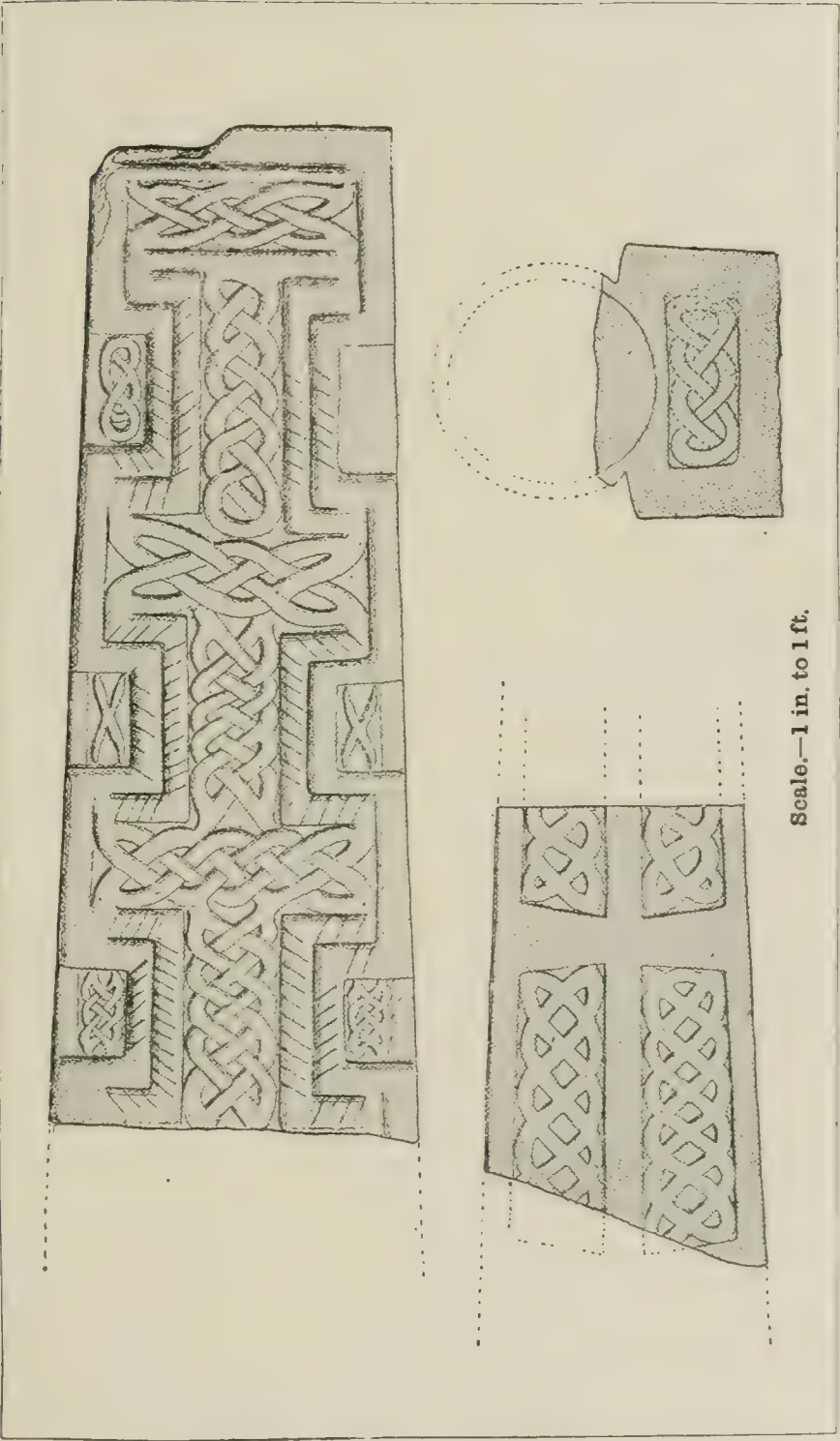
Many of the crosses were no doubt erected in the ground without any socket stone, but at Castor there is still to be seen *in situ* a finely ornamented cross-base. In its general appearance it is not altogether unlike a Roman altar. It is of Barnack stone, and is fixed in a step 2 feet 9 inches square. The base is 2 feet 2 inches high by 1 foot 10½ inches wide by 1 foot 2 inches thick. At the bottom is a moulded plinth 4 inches high, above this a band of ornament 1 foot 1 inch high, and at the top a plain portion with curious bulbous projections at the four corners. The decoration consists of interlaced work and winged dragons, the tails of which form intricate knotwork.



CROSS-BASE IN CHURCHYARD, CASTOR. (From a drawing by J. T. Irvine)

The recumbent cross-slabs at Peterborough and Helpston belong to a class of monument chiefly found in the eastern counties¹ of England. The one at Helpston is only a fragment 1 foot 6 inches long by 1 foot 4 inches wide, with a plain band in the middle, and a plait of four cords on each side. It was found during the rebuilding of the tower of the church in 1860, together with a headstone having a circular cross about 1 foot 3 inches in diameter on both front and back. In Peterborough Cathedral there is one nearly perfect cross-slab of the same kind and a portion of another, which were brought to light in July, 1888, in the course of the excavations necessary for

¹ As at Cambridge; Rockland All Saints, and Cringleford, Norfolk; Ixworth, Suffolk; and Lincoln (see *Arch.* xxvii. 269; *Arch. Journ.* xii. 201; *Norf. Arch.* xiv. 99; and *Proc. Suff. Inst. Arch.* iii. 298).



CROSS-SLABS AND FOOTSTONE IN PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

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the underpinning of the west wall of the north transept.¹ The cross-slabs were lying horizontally *in situ* close to the west wall of the north transept, at a depth of about 1 foot 6 inches below the level of the floor of the cathedral, which was 5 inches above the Norman floor. The more perfect of the two slabs was damaged at the wider end next the head, but the other end was intact, and the erect footstone was still in its place, although broken off at the top. The portion of the recumbent slab which remains is 5 feet 3 inches long by 1 foot 10½ inches wide at the end next to the head, and 1 foot 6 inches wide at the other end. The decorative design upon the slab, which is extremely rich, consists of a cross extending the whole length of the stone, and having a base and two cross-bars projecting from the shaft, thus forming a sort of triple cross. The outline of the cross is emphasized by a double cable moulding, and the whole surface is ornamented with three and four-cord plaitwork. The rectangular spaces forming the background of the cross are also ornamented with plaitwork. The erect footstone is, in its present broken state, 2 feet 6¾ inches high by 1 foot 6 inches wide by 4 inches thick. The head, which is now missing, was probably circular, and below it is a small panel of three-cord plaitwork. The second recumbent slab lay near the one just described in the north transept of the cathedral. It is broken away at both ends, and now measures 2 feet 5 inches long by 1 foot 3¼ inches to 1 foot 5¾ inches broad by 4½ inches thick. There is a plain cross in the middle with panels of four-cord plaitwork on each side. The great interest of the finds made during the restoration of Peterborough Cathedral is that they show exactly how this particular kind of monument was used. The cross-slab was of such a shape and size as to completely cover the grave when laid in a horizontal position, and at the head and foot were small erect crosses.²

There is yet one more class of sepulchral monuments to be considered, of which there is a single example in Peterborough Cathedral. This is the so-called 'Hedda's stone' now placed in the 'New Building.' It is made in the

¹ See the *Builder*, 26 August, 1888.

² Acca's grave at Hexham is described by Symeon of Durham (Sec. 36) as having two stone crosses wonderfully carved, one at the head and the other at the feet, the former bearing an inscription stating that he was buried in that place. There are some grounds for believing that these are the crosses from Hexham now preserved in the cathedral library at Durham (see Canon Greenwell's and Bishop Browne's *Theodore and Wilfrith*, 257). Acca died in 740, so that there is documentary evidence to show that in the eighth century it was the custom to mark the burial places of deceased persons by means of erect crosses decorated with sculpture and inscribed; but as no mention is made of a recumbent slab covering the grave, it is probable that monuments of this class were not introduced until a later period. At Helpston, Cambridge, and Peterborough, small headstones bearing crosses have been found with recumbent slabs, which seems to indicate that they were used together as parts of a single monument. Except for such finds as the one at Peterborough, it would be impossible to form any idea of the general appearance of a pre-Norman Christian burial ground. The Norman builders showed but little respect for the sepulchral monuments of their Celtic and Saxon predecessors, and when about to erect a church or cathedral the first thing they did was to break up all the crosses which were on or near the site and use them as wall-stones. There are notable instances of this kind of vandalism at Durham Cathedral (Canon W. Greenwell's *Catalogue of the Sculptured Stones at Durham*) and at St. Andrews in Scotland (Allen and Anderson's *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, 361). Although the pre-Norman graveyards have been destroyed in such a ruthless manner, a fortunate accident has preserved the monks' burial ground at Strata Florida, Cardiganshire, exactly in the same state as it was in the twelfth century. The fall of the south wall of the presbytery covered the burial ground with a mass of débris, under which it remained concealed until 1889, when the site of the abbey was thoroughly explored by the late Mr. Stephen W. Williams, F.S.A. (see *Arch. Cambr.* ser. 5, vi. 32). A row of eight graves, each lying east and west, was discovered outside the abbey in the angle between the east wall of the south transept and the south wall of the choir. Each grave was covered by a roughly shaped rectangular slab of slate, in one instance marked with a plain Latin cross lying in a recumbent position. All of the graves appear to have had erect head and foot stones, although the tops of some of them were broken. The footstones were plain, but the headstones were marked with crosses, two of which were formed of interlaced bands, evidently a survival from

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shape of the metal shrines of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and is probably similar to the tomb of St. Chad at Lichfield, which Bede¹ says was 'made like a small dwelling-house.'² The monument is rectangular in plan: the two gabled ends are vertical, and the two sides incline slightly towards each other: and the two top faces meet in a ridge like the roof of a house. It is 3 feet 5 inches long by 2 feet 4 inches high by 1 foot 2 inches wide. The two ends are plain. The two sides are each sculptured with an arcade of six round-headed arches, with pairs of leaves in the spandrils, and a figure of a saint under each arch. The figures are draped, and have a nimbus round the head. In one case the nimbus is cruciform, showing that the figure is intended for Christ. The figure to the right of Our Lord holds a key, and that on the left a lily, being the symbols of St. Peter and the Blessed Virgin. Some of the figures have books in their hands, and one has a beard and the hair on the head sticking up in a very curious fashion. These figures are probably meant for the Apostles, but they do not carry any emblem by which each individual can be identified.³ The pupils of the eyes of the figures are indicated by small drilled holes. The two sloping sides of the roof of the monument are each divided into four panels containing scrolls of foliage with birds perched on the branches and dragonsque creatures whose tails form interlaced work. There are three round holes bored in the front of the stone, and two in the back, looking as if they were intended to receive metal bars for some purpose.

Nothing is known of the history of this tomb, nor is there anything to connect it with the abbot Hedda (who with his monks was slaughtered by the Danes in 870) except the account given by the spurious Ingulf of the monument erected to their memory. Mr. M. H. Bloxam supposes it to be more probably of the eleventh century, and suggests that it may have been placed over the body of St. Kyneswith after its translation from Castor to Peterborough by Abbot Ælfsi. Mr. J. T. Irvine believed that it formed a portion of a shrine, the remaining fragments of which are built into the exterior walls of the chancel of Fletton church near Peterborough.⁴

The only Saxon churches in Northamptonshire which afford examples of symbolical or decorative sculpture in their architectural details are those at Barnack and Earls Barton.

The following pieces of sculpture are to be seen on the exterior of the Saxon tower at the west end of Barnack church:—

South Side.—Close to the top of the upper story and nearly in the middle a triangular-headed window with pierced tracery formed of two bands twisted together and interlaced with two circular rings. Below this window and immediately above the string-course at the bottom of the upper

an earlier style. At Heysham in Lancashire there is a row of graves (perhaps of the Anglo-Saxon period) cut in the solid rock, and at the head of each is a rectangular socket, evidently intended to receive the tenon of an erect cross (see E. L. Cutts' *Manual of Sepulchral Slabs*, 14). Towards the end of the pre-Norman period the recumbent slab became more important than the erect crosses at the head and foot of the grave, and was highly ornamented, as in the example at Peterborough. In the twelfth century the head and foot stones were discarded, and the recumbent cross-slab was henceforth the most usual kind of sepulchral monument.

¹ *Ecc. Hist.* iv. 3.

² Another shrine-shaped monument corresponding exactly to this description, and having the roofing tiles indicated, was found a few years ago at St. Andrews (see *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, 361).

³ It was not until a late period that a separate emblem was assigned to each of the Twelve Apostles (see J. R. Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism*, 314).

⁴ See the *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* ser. 2, xiv. 156, where the monument is illustrated. It is also described in a paper on 'Early Christian Sculpture in Northamptonshire,' by J. R. Allen, in the *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* xix.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 1.

See p. 192.

THE SO-CALLED 'HEDDA'S STONE' IN PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

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story a slab built into the wall,¹ having upon it scrolls of foliage branching out from each side of a central stem, with a bird resembling a cock perched on the top. Nearly in the middle of the lower story and some feet below the string-course at the top a circular sundial,² the lower half of which is marked with the hour-lines and the upper half ornamented with foliage. Below the sundial, and about half-way up the lower story, a round-headed window with a rectangular frame round it, and in the spandrels on each side at the top a pair of birds facing each other.

West Side.—At the bottom of the upper story above the string-course and nearly in the middle a slab built into the wall similar to that on the south side, having scroll foliage and a bird with outstretched wings upon it. In the lower story, built into the wall just below the triangular-headed west window, a small carved fragment, probably part of a cross-slab. In the lower story under the string-course a small carved fragment of a cross.

North Side.—In the upper story just above the string-course and nearly in the middle a slab built into the wall, like those on the south and west sides, with scroll foliage and a bird bending down to peck at the leaves upon it. Also a triangular-headed window with pierced interlacing tracery.

At Earls Barton the sculptured portions are also on the exterior of the western tower, which is well known as one of the most perfect specimens of Saxon architecture in England. They are as follows :—

South Side.—In the lower story, just below the string-course at the top and nearly in the middle, a pair of windows with elliptical heads, with crosses in relief on each of the lintel-stones. The window openings are cruciform on the inside, and are ornamented with three projecting balusters on the outside. Touching the lower part of the westernmost of the balusters is a circular cross built into the wall and projecting slightly beyond the face of it.

West Side.—In the lower story, just below the string-course and nearly in the middle, the top-stones of a pair of windows (like those on the south side, but with round heads), having a cross in relief carved above each window.³

With regard to the art of the Anglo-Saxon sculptured monuments of Northamptonshire it cannot be said to be of very high character, and is distinctly inferior to that of the crosses in the more northerly part of Mercia now occupied by the counties of Derby and Nottingham. The best specimens in Northamptonshire are the fragments of cross-shafts at Desborough, Moulton, and Nassington, the recumbent cross-slab and shrine-shaped monument in Peterborough Cathedral, and the slabs with foliage built into the upper story of the west tower of Barnack Church. The interlaced work on the shafts at Moulton and Nassington is good of its kind, but is not in any way remarkable. Key patterns and spirals are conspicuous by their absence on the Northamptonshire stones. Foliage occurs at Barnack and Nassington. At the former place the foliage is combined with birds, and at the latter the vine is reduced to its simplest elements, being conventionally represented by an undulating stem destitute of leaves, and with bunches of four grapes in each bend. The beasts on the cross-shafts at Desborough and Moulton have double outlines to the bodies, gaping mouths, tails forming knotwork, and round pellets in the background, all of which are indications of Scandinavian influence and probably of late date. The only symbolical figure subjects are Christ and His Apostles on the shrine-shaped stone at Peterborough and the Cruci-

¹ This slab seems to form part of the scheme of architectural decoration of the tower.

² For information about Saxon sundials see D. Haigh in the *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* v. 134.

³ It is most unusual to find crosses placed over windows, although they are to be seen continually above doorways in early churches either built into the wall (as at Skellig Michael, co. Kerry, and at Stanton Lacy, Salop) or on the lintel stone (as at Fore, co. Westmeath), or on the tympanum (as in a large number of Norman churches in England). The practice of placing a cross over the doorway of a church was probably borrowed from the pagan custom of protecting the inhabitants of a dwelling-house from the Evil Eye, lightning, and bad spirits by hanging a charm of some kind above the entrance. In the early Christian buildings in Palestine the Chi-Rho monogram of Christ occurs over the doorways in the same position as that occupied by the cross in later times (see De Vogué, *La Syrie Centrale*).

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fixion on the cross-shaft at Nassington. The Crucifixion on the latter is of the usual Saxon type, copied from a Byzantine original and treated in the same way as upon the Carolingian ivories, of which several fine examples may be seen in the South Kensington Museum. Sol and Luna are introduced on each side above the horizontal arms of the cross, and the soldiers with the spear and sponge below.

NORMAN SCULPTURE

Examples of symbolical sculpture occur on architectural details of Norman churches in Northamptonshire at the following places :—

FONTS.—Aston le Walls, Braybrooke, Finedon, Haddon (East), Haddon (West), Harpole, Raunds, Wansford.

TYMPANA OF DOORWAYS.—Barton Seagrave, Castor, Pitsford.

MISCELLANEOUS ARCHITECTURAL DETAILS.—Castor, Northampton St. Peter, Northampton St. Sepulchre, Wakerley.

SEPULCHRAL SLABS AND CROSSES.—Northampton, Messrs. Manning's office ; Rothersthorpe.

Examples of decorative sculpture occur on architectural details of Norman churches in Northamptonshire at the following places :—

FONTS.—Bradney St. James, Dodford, Eydon, Green's Norton, Paulerspury, Thornby, Tiffeld.

MISCELLANEOUS ARCHITECTURAL DETAILS.—Castor, Wakerley.

ASTON LE WALLS.¹—The font in the church has a square bowl without any stem, resting on a step. It has the head of a beast with ears at each of the upper corners, and is sculptured on four faces with (1) an arcade of intersecting arches ; (2) a pair of circular rings interlaced with a ring having four pointed loops ;² (3) a geometrical diaper pattern ; and (4) the Tree of Life.

BRAYBROOKE.—The font in the church had originally a square bowl, but the angles have been chamfered at some period subsequent to the twelfth century. The stem is round.

The bowl is sculptured on four faces thus :—

(1) Two serpents with twisted and looped bodies interlaced with two circular rings. The serpents terminate in heads at both ends of the body, making four heads, one at each corner of the rectangular panel. The bodies of the serpents are ornamented with a row of small pellets in the centre, and the background is ornamented with larger pellets and foliage. Above and below the rectangular panel is a horizontal band of three-cord plaitwork with pellets in the background. This extensive use of pellets produces a very rich effect.

(2) A ring with four pointed loops, interlaced with a circular ring on a background of pellets and foliage. This device occurs on some of the Norman fonts in Norfolk and on the Scandinavian chess-men from the Island of Lewis, now in the British Museum.

FINEDON.³—The font has a bowl which would be rectangular if the upper corners were not splayed and the vertical angles chamfered. On one side are sculptured two figures under round-headed arches. The figure on the right is seated and holds a cross in the left hand. The other figure, on the left, is kneeling down facing the seated figure. In the spandril at the top between the two arches is a bird with outstretched wings. It has been suggested that the subject here represented is the Annunciation.

EAST HADDON.⁴—The font has an approximately cylindrical bowl, 2 feet 3 inches in diameter by 1 foot 6 inches deep outside, supported on a modern stem and base. The lower part of the bowl is ornamented with an arcade of intersecting arches above which is sculptured a draped figure standing between two winged dragons. The figure has its hands resting on the necks of the dragons ; each dragon holds in its mouth a round object, and the tails of the dragons branch off into foliage covering the whole of the rest of the surface of the bowl.

WEST HADDON.⁵—The font has an approximately square bowl, measuring 2 feet 4½ inches across one way, and 2 feet 5½ inches the other, by 1 foot 2¼ inches deep⁶ outside, supported on a

¹ Engraved in G. Baker's *Hist. of Northamptonshire* and in Paley's *Baptismal Fonts*.

² Devices of this class are to be seen on some of the Norman fonts in Norfolk.

³ Engraved in Parker's *Churches of Northamptonshire*, 132.

⁴ Engraved in Paley's *Baptismal Fonts*.

⁵ Engraved in Paley's *Baptismal Fonts* ; Parker's *Churches of Northamptonshire*, 233 ; and *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* xx.

⁶ About 4 inches of the bottom has been cut away.

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modern stem and base. The interior of the bowl is round, 1 foot 11 inches in diameter, by 10½ inches deep. The four spandrils at each corner of the top of the bowl¹ are enriched with foliage, and on each of the vertical angles are grotesque human heads with foliage issuing from the mouths.

The four faces of the font are sculptured thus:—

North Side.—The Nativity of Christ.—On the left is the Blessed Virgin in a bed, her head only appearing above the bed covering. The 'Dextera Dei,' or Right hand of God, is placed over the figure of the Virgin, with the two forefingers in the attitude of giving the benediction pointing towards the face. At the foot of the Virgin's bed is the Infant Saviour, wrapped in swaddling clothes, lying in a manger, above the top of which appear the heads and necks of the ox and the ass. On the extreme right is St. Joseph, having his two hands upraised in an attitude of adoration, close to the head of the Infant Saviour. The background is formed by two round arches with a small conically roofed turret in the spandril. The couch on which the Virgin reposes is ornamented below with an arcade of four arches, and the manger has a double row of pellets on the under side. This is the usual conventional way of representing the Nativity in twelfth-century art. The only uncommon feature is the introduction of the Dextera Dei above the Virgin. The meaning of the symbol is either that God is communicating some message to the person over whom it occurs, or that the person is at the moment specially under the protection of God or receiving His blessing.

Most of the pictures of the Nativity in the MSS. of this period have a background of Byzantine buildings, many of the details of which are a subject of interesting study for the architect.

South Side.—The Baptism of Christ.—The Saviour is represented as nude, immersed up to the waist in a font ornamented with a row of pellets. He has the nimbus round the head. On the right is an angel holding the tunic of the Saviour whilst He is being baptized, and on the left another angel holding up a book with the left hand and pointing to it with the right. Two of the blank spaces in the background are filled in with ornamental rosettes. The absence of the dove symbol above the head of the Saviour is remarkable.

West Side.—The Entry of Christ into Jerusalem.—On the left side the Saviour is represented as riding on a colt the foal of an ass and holding the reins in His right hand, the left being hidden. On the right, in front of the ass is a man holding a palm branch in each hand, and behind the ass is a conventional palm tree. An ornamental rosette fills in the blank space at the back of the Saviour.

East Side.—Christ in Glory.—The Saviour is represented as enthroned within a vesica-shaped aureole, giving the benediction with the right hand. The left hand and leg are defaced. On each side of the central aureole is an oval frame; that on the right enclosing the eagle symbol of St. John, and that on the left the angel symbol of St. Matthew.

To those who can read it aright, the four scenes represented on the font at West Haddon contain an epitome of the whole Christian faith; first, Christ born to redeem mankind; then the manifestation of the Trinity at His baptism; His triumphal entry into Jerusalem with which the series of the Passion commences; and, lastly, Christ the Righteous Judge of Mankind.

HARPOLE.²—The font has an approximately cylindrical bowl, 2 feet 5½ inches in diameter, and 1 foot 5¾ inches deep externally, supported on a modern stem and base. Along the rim at the top is sculptured a band of scroll foliage, and below a conventional tree with a pair of beasts placed symmetrically on each side of it,³ biting the branches. Behind the beast on the right is another smaller beast with its tail in its mouth, and behind the beast on the left are two more conventional trees. The remainder of the surface of the bowl is ornamented with a scale pattern copied from roofing tiles.⁴

¹ The tops of Norman fonts are very seldom ornamented, but there are other instances at Lenton, Notts, and on the fonts of the Winchester type.

² Engraved in Baker's *Hist. of Northamptonshire and Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* xx.

³ This subject occurs more often on Norman tympana than on the fonts of the same period, there being examples at Dinton (Bucks), Fritwell (Oxon), Ashford and Swarkeston (Derbyshire), Lullington (Somerset), and Treneglos (Cornwall). A tree with beasts placed symmetrically on each side of it was a religious symbol amongst the Assyrians, which may have degenerated into meaningless ornament when copied by the ancient Greeks and Romans. When at a later period the design found its way into mediæval art of the west its symbolical use may have been revived, but with a new Christian significance attached to it. On some Norman tympana instead of a tree being the central object we have the Agnus Dei or a cross, or a circular rosette. This would seem to show that the Tree of Life had the same meaning as Christ if the Agnus Dei or the cross could be substituted for it. The tree with a beast on each side of it may therefore perhaps be intended to show that as animals are largely dependent on the vegetable world for their food so Christians must derive their spiritual sustenance from the Tree of Life, that is from Christ.

⁴ At Llantwit Major and Kenfig, Glamorganshire, there are Norman fonts decorated entirely with scale work; and this ornament, originally used for imitating the tiles on roofs of stone, was afterwards transferred to fonts and the vertical surfaces of walls (as at Christchurch, Hants), and tympana of doorways.

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RAUNDS.¹—The font has an approximately cylindrical bowl, which is quite plain except for a ram's head sculptured in relief on one side. This feature is unique as far as fonts are concerned, although rams' heads are occasionally used in the decoration of Norman corbel-tables. It is doubtful whether the sculpture at Raunds has any special symbolical meaning.

WANSFORD.²—The font has a cylindrical bowl, ornamented round the top with a narrow band of foliage, and having sculptured below an arcade of thirteen round-headed arches enclosing the following subjects :—(1) A conventional tree, perhaps intended for the Tree of Life ; (2 and 3) The Baptism of Christ ;³ (4) A vine scroll ; (5) A man standing with his left hand upraised, palm outwards ; (6) A man standing with the right hand upraised, and holding a book in the left ; (7 and 8) A combat between two men armed with clubs and shields,⁴ round at the top and pointed at the bottom ; (9) Foliage partially defaced ; (10) Saint with nimbus round the head, standing holding a book in the right hand, and the forefinger of the left pointing upwards ; (11) Man standing holding a book in the left hand ; (12) Saint with nimbus round the head, standing with hands outstretched in the attitude of preaching ; (13) Man holding a book against his breast with the left hand.

BARTON SEAGRAVE.⁵—The tympanum is over the north doorway of the nave, and is built up of eight separate stones in two horizontal rows one above the other. The lower row consists of three stones forming the lintel, the middle stone having notched joints on each side to prevent its falling out.

On this stone is sculptured the head of a man with a beard, and on the stones on each side a beast with a long jaw, that on the left holding a human head in its mouth.⁶ On the two stones of the upper row on the left are sculptured the heads of goats, and on the three remaining stones on the right a geometrical star pattern.

CASTOR.—There are two tympana in the church : one built into the gable wall of the porch, sculptured with a figure of Christ in Majesty giving the benediction, and the other bearing the following inscription :—⁷

XV^O KL
MAI DEDICA
TIO HVI ECLE
A D M^OCXXIII

PITSFORD.⁸—The tympanum is over the south doorway, having been moved from its original position in the south wall of the nave when the new aisle was added some years ago. As at Castor, the figure-sculpture is enclosed within an ornamental frame, consisting here of a cable moulding with rectangular blocks at regular intervals, having nine or more small circular bosses projecting from each. The subject of the sculpture is a contest between a man and a huge beast. It may be observed in passing how skilful the early designers were in arranging all the accessories of the scenes they depicted so as to fill up the whole available space. The beast on the Pitsford tympanum is probably intended for a lion. It occupies a prominent position on the left. The tail, which is ornamented with a row of pellets along the centre, is bent between the two hind legs and behind the body, the foliated termination appearing above the back. This foliated termination is probably nothing more than an artistic method of treating the tuft of hair which is so conspicuous a feature at the end of a lion's tail. Afterwards it was applied also to beasts that were not intended for lions. The mane of the lion is indicated in a conventional way by rows of scale-like markings, and his mouth is armed with formidable-looking teeth. Below the hind-quarters of the lion, at the left-hand corner of the tympanum, is a winged dragon with two fore-feet only, and a tail forming interlaced work, ornamented with a row of pellets along the centre. Underneath the fore-paws of the lion is another winged dragon with a head behind as well as in front, unless perhaps the artist intended to represent two separate dragons. Between the dragons, and passing behind the middle of the body of the lion, is a conical object placed vertically, perhaps a tree. It is covered with horizontal rows of scales, and has three round bosses at the base. In front of the lion stands a man holding a sword or large knife in his left hand, whilst with the right he grasps the upper jaw

¹ Engraved in Parker's *Churches of Northamptonshire*, 62.

² Engraved in Simpson's *Baptismal Fonts* and the *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xlii. 238.

³ For other examples, see J. R. Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism*, 286.

⁴ This subject occurs on the west capital of the south tower arch of Castor, near Peterborough, and also on one of the tiles from Chertsey Abbey.

⁵ Engraved in Parker's *Churches of Northamptonshire*, 150 ; C. E. Keyser, *Norman Tympana and Lintels*, Fig. 67.

⁶ For other examples of this subject, see J. R. Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism*, 372.

⁷ Rickman, *Gothic Architecture*, 93. C. E. Keyser, *Norman Tympana and Lintels*, xxvi.

⁸ Engraved in Baker's *Hist. of Northamptonshire* ; *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* xx. ; C. E. Keyser, *Norman Tympana and Lintels*, Fig. 152.

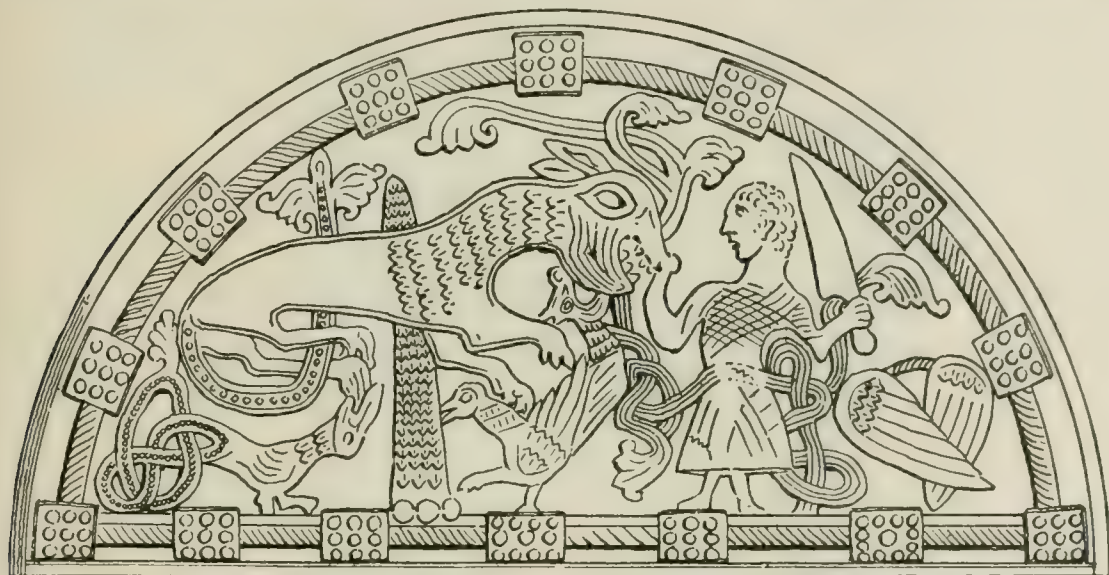


THE FONT, WANSFORD.

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART AND INSCRIPTIONS

of the beast. The man is surrounded by interlaced bands terminating in leaves ; and behind him, at the right-hand corner of the tympanum, are a pair of wings fastened together at the top by a cord.¹

The most interesting of the miscellaneous architectural details decorated with symbolic figure-sculpture in Northamptonshire are on the capitals of the columns of the arches beneath the central tower of Castor Church and on the



TYMPANUM OVER SOUTH DOORWAY, PITSFORD CHURCH

capitals of the chancel arch in Wakerley Church. The subjects represented on the capitals at Castor are as follows :—

CHANCEL ARCH, NORTH SIDE.²—*Centre Capital*, man with three hounds hunting a wild boar ;³ *Right Capital*, Samson or David rending the lion's jaw (?) ;⁴ *Left Capital*, bull and foliage (restored).

¹ In Christian art, scenes representing either men or angels fighting with beasts or dragons are used to symbolize the everlasting conflict between the powers of good and evil. Taken from Scripture are Samson and the Lion, David and the Lion, and St. Michael and the Dragon. To these from legendary sources is added St. George and the Dragon. The sculpture on the Pitsford tympanum does not resemble any of the well-known conventional ways of treating these subjects. Neither Samson nor David was armed with a sword when overcoming the lion. St. George is almost invariably depicted as a warrior on horseback, as at Ruardean, in Gloucestershire, and St. Michael on foot, his angelic character being indicated by wings, as at Hoveringham, in Nottinghamshire. What can be the meaning of the extraordinary accessories introduced on the Pitsford tympanum, the conical object and the pair of wings ? I think there can be no doubt that, whatever the subject may be, the symbolism is the same as that of St. Michael and the Dragon. The only question is whether the sculptor may not have substituted for the Scripture scenes, which are universally recognized as typifying the contest between good and evil, some similar incident taken from the literature of folk tales of the period.

² These capitals have been much restored (Sweeting, *Parish Churches in and around Peterborough*, 1868, 17).

³ Hunting scenes occur with great frequency on the early sculptured stones of Scotland, and also not uncommonly in Norman sculpture. In the former case the stag is generally the object of the chase, but in the latter the wild boar. On the capital at Castor the hunter is on foot and armed with a spear. One of the three hounds has been ripped in two pieces by the boar's tusks, the head and forepaws being on the ground whilst the hind-quarters have been tossed in the air. The other two hounds are following behind, baying vigorously and eager to avenge their comrade's untimely end. Similar scenes are sculptured on the capitals of the chancel arch of Liverton in Yorkshire, and on the medallions on the doorway at Brayton in the same county. It is well known that the chase was used for purposes of symbolism in the literature of the Middle Ages, and when it appears in the decoration of an ecclesiastical building there seems little reason to doubt that it was intended to be something more than mere ornament. At Liverton the chase is associated with such a purely Scriptural subject as the Temptation of Adam and Eve ; and at Castor it is placed side by side with Samson or David rending the lion's jaw.

⁴ Samson or David and the Lion was a favourite subject on the early crosses in Ireland and Scotland as well as in Norman sculpture (see J. R. Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism*, 203).

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CHANCEL ARCH, SOUTH SIDE.—*Centre Capital*, tree with winged dragon on each side ;¹ *Right Capital*, two beasts with their tails over their backs ; *Left Capital*, foliage.

NAVE ARCH, NORTH SIDE.—*Centre Capital*, grotesque head with foliage issuing from the mouth ; *Right Capital*, ditto ; *Left Capital*, bird pecking at the eye of a serpent whose body is tied in a Stafford knot in two places.

NORTH ARCH, SOUTH SIDE.—*Centre Capital*, foliage ; *Right Capital*, two birds pecking at fruit ;² *Left Capital*, foliage.

NORTH TRANSEPT ARCH, EAST SIDE.³—*Centre Capital*, winged dragons with scaly bodies, teeth and claws, having their tails knotted together ; *Right Capital*, man and two beasts (restored) ; *Left Capital*, man bending down and cutting branch of tree with pruning hook.⁴

NORTH TRANSEPT ARCH, WEST SIDE.—*Centre Capital*, foliage ; *Right Capital*, beast ; *Left Capital*, foliage.



CAPITALS AT WAKERLEY CHURCH

SOUTH TRANSEPT ARCH, EAST SIDE.—*Centre Capital*, man with basket in his right hand gathering fruit from tree with left hand ;⁵ *Right Capital*, beast biting its tail ; *Left Capital*, beast with human head and dragon with its tail tied in a Stafford knot.

¹ Perhaps this may have the same meaning as the tree with a beast on each side of it already referred to when describing the font at Harpole.

² Possibly intended for a pair of doves and a bunch of grapes, as on the font in Winchester Cathedral.

³ These capitals have been much restored (Sweeting, *Parish Churches in and around Peterborough*, 1868, 17).

⁴ This resembles one of the labours of the twelve months or four seasons taken from the ecclesiastical calendars.

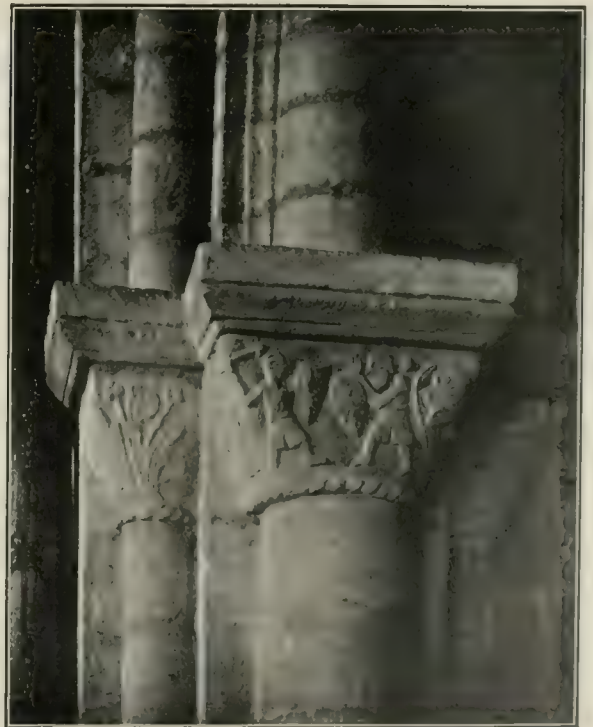
⁵ Notwithstanding the crude way in which this subject is treated, it is evidently the lineal descendant of the vintage scenes which are so common in early Christian art of the first four centuries, and which in their turn were evidently borrowed from pagan classical sources. It will be noticed that although in the process of successive copying the proper form of the vine leaf has been entirely lost, yet the bunches of grapes (being the more essential feature) are still represented with sufficient realism to be easily identified. Any doubt that the tree here shown is really intended for a vine will be removed by comparing the scene depicted on the capital at Castor with an exactly similar subject sculptured at Vezelay in France (see the *Builder*, 20 December, 1884),



NORTH CAPITAL OF EAST ARCH.



WEST CAPITAL OF SOUTH ARCH.



EAST CAPITAL OF SOUTH ARCH.

CAPITALS OF THE TOWER ARCHES, CASTOR CHURCH.

EARLY CHRISTIAN ART AND INSCRIPTIONS

SOUTH TRANSEPT ARCH, WEST SIDE.—*Centre Capital*, two men armed with shields and clubs fighting, and a woman weeping in the background ;¹ *Right Capital*, foliage ; *Left Capital*, ditto.

Two of the capitals at Wakerley² are decorated with interlacing foliage, and one of them has sculptured upon it a knight on horseback with another figure behind him pointing upwards with the index finger of the right hand. In the background on each side are domed buildings of the usual Byzantine type.³

where the vine leaves and bunches of grapes are exactly copied from nature. The vintage combined with a pair of peacocks occurs on a sculptured stone in Rous Lench Church near Evesham, Worcestershire. The vine was adopted as a symbol of Christ from the earliest period.

¹ The representation of the two men fighting with clubs is a very curious one. It has already been pointed out that the same scene occurs on the font at Wansford, but without the female spectator in the background. The clubs have a round knob at the end. The shields are rounded at the top and pointed at the bottom, and there is a boss near the top. The lady is evidently an interested spectator of the combat, and may even have been the cause of a dispute which has led to a mortal duel. At all events, there is no necessity here to say 'Cherchez la femme.' The lady is shown clearly enough evincing her grief by tears. She is fashionably attired with the inordinately long sleeves of the period, seen from the front instead of sideways, a most unusual feature. Perhaps the scene may have been taken from one of the mediæval romances or some other literary source familiar to the Norman ecclesiastics. It suggests a moral which the celibate monks were never tired of dwelling upon, namely, that in order to live happily in this world and the next it was essential to avoid the society of women, and thus escape all the evils they have brought on mankind.

² Illustrated in *Journ. Brit. Arch. Ass.* new ser. i. 319.

³ Mr. J. T. Irvine, in the paper just referred to, conjectures that these buildings are intended for the churches of S. Sophia at Constantinople and of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. He thinks that the scene represents a knight on his way to the Crusades bidding farewell to his lady beneath the walls of Byzantium, whilst she lifts her hand heavenwards to imply that she commits her lord to the protection of the Almighty during the remainder of his journey. Representations of domed buildings are not very common in Norman sculpture, but there are other instances on the font at Lenton (Notts), on the capitals beneath the central tower of Southwell Minster, in the same county, and on a capital from Lewes Priory, now in the British Museum (see J. R. Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism*, 298 ; *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* xix. ; and *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* ser. 2, vol. xv. 199).

SCHOOLS

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, like other counties, can boast not a few schools of ancient date and great renown, though none which can prove or reasonably assert a pre-Conquest or even pre-Plantagenet origin. Peterborough, as Medehampstede or Burgh, was famous in early English times, but as an abbey, not as a town. Northampton, the county town, was but an insignificant place in old English days, and was almost a creation of the Conqueror. But the fertile valley of the navigable Nen was crowded with well-to-do towns, as evidenced by the number and size of the churches, and in almost every one of them there seems to have been a grammar school.

As the case stands at present the schools which can show a pre-Reformation existence, before the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII, or before the dissolution under Edward VI of the colleges and chantries which were the main provision for schools, are those of Northampton in the reign of Henry II, Higham Ferrers, which existed in the time of Richard II, Towcester, founded in the reign of Henry VI, Fotheringhay and Oundle under Edward IV, Blisworth in the reign of Henry VII, and Peterborough, where the school is mentioned at the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. Kettering School was in Charles II's time found to have existed from time immemorial. Brackley was converted from a chantry into a school by Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1548, when dissolution was actually impending, and so escaped destruction. Wellingborough, although in all probability maintained by the gild before, can only be found actually to have enjoyed the endowment of the gild after the Dissolution; while at Daventry, though the origin of the school may be suspected to be found in the Trinity Brotherhood, no connexion with it can be shown. Besides the endowed grammar schools, which provided for secondary education, there were many elementary schools, a good number no doubt unendowed, but some endowed; most of them song schools, which also almost invariably and necessarily taught reading and generally the accidence or inflexions of Latin grammar; some specifically reading schools. Thus at Northampton the organist of the gild of early fourteenth-century foundation taught a song school; at Barnack, 1359, the rector had licence to found a reading, song, and grammar school; at Farthinghoe and Finedon or Thingden petty schools were founded under Henry VI; at Aldwinkle a school for spelling and reading under Henry VII, and at Fawsley a song school under Henry VIII; while at Spratton there was also an endowed school, probably elementary, existing under Henry VIII.

The number of small grammar schools founded or endowed in the seventeenth century is amazing. They attempted to be both elementary

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

and secondary—that is, the founders prescribed reading, writing, and arithmetic, as well as grammar, i.e. Latin and Greek, and in some cases Hebrew. Quite exceptional was the endowment of the Rev. Nicholas Latham, who founded in 1604 a hospital, the almshouse and school at Barnwell, and in 1619 and 1620 made the warden a trustee for schools for reading only at Barnwell, Brigstock, Hemington, Oundle, and Weekley.

Most of the small grammar schools were fairly efficient, and were frequented by the sons of the smaller local gentry, the parsons, the farmers, and the well-to-do tradesmen until the latter half of the eighteenth century, when as locomotion became easier a few of the larger schools began to monopolize the upper classes. The smaller grammar schools then became merely elementary, and, as the reports of the Schools Inquiry Commission, 1864–7, show, bad at that; because the master who took the endowment was generally a parson or curate, who paid an inefficient substitute to do the teaching. Some of them have now been revived by the action of the Endowed Schools and Charity Commissioners; others converted into exhibition funds; but the majority have, with or without (often without) legal authority, been converted into purely elementary schools.

THE KING'S SCHOOL, PETERBOROUGH¹

As the school of the ecclesiastical capital, precedence is here given to the history of the grammar school of the cathedral church, otherwise the King's School, Peterborough.

THE PRE-REFORMATION SCHOOL

There have been great destructions among the records of the abbey of Peterborough. Among the few that remain are three rolls of the office of 'synglyshote,' or Singleholt, in the seventh, ninth, and fifteenth years of Henry VIII. They show that there was in the monastery the usual monastic school in the cloister for the novices, a payment being made to the master of the novices for their breakfasts. The novices being school-boys were, like the boys of Winchester College, allowed breakfast, while the monks at Peterborough and the fellows at Winchester were not. In 1515 the payment is entered as nil, meaning probably that there were no novices; but in 1517 4s. was paid, though for how many breakfasting and for how many breakfasts we are left in the dark. The novices also, like other persons in school, had an entertainment at Christmas, for 2s. was paid in 1515 and 1523 for the keeper of the O O's for the amusement of the novices at Christmas (*custodi le O O pro recreandis noviciis ad Festum Natalis Domini*), while in 1517 double that amount was paid. The O O's of the officer himself cost 13s. 4d. These O's were the feasts held at Christmas by the various officers of the monastery, and were so called

¹ I am indebted to the exertions of the late head master, Rev. E. J. Bidwell, for much help in this account of the school.

SCHOOLS

because they began on 16 December, the day of *O Sapientia*, and on each succeeding day the anthem began with an invocation or O. In 1515 there were two brethren, monks, studying at Cambridge University, and in 1517 there were two studying at Oxford, receiving 5s. in the former and 6s. 8d. in the latter year for their 'pensions.'

The existence of a school in Peterborough is fortunately demonstrated by an entry in a single roll of one of the abbey bailiffs for the town of Peterborough. The heading has been cut off, so that the date is gone. But a reference in the body of the roll to an arrear for the years 1510-11 shows that it is probably for 1511-12. Among the rents of tenements let on lease in the market place (Marketsted) was '4s. from Thomas Keywood, now Robert Clerke, for a house in Deadmanslane (Dedemanslane) called the School-house (le schole house) late of Alice Garton afterwards of Jane Eyre'; while 1s. was paid by 'Robert Clerke, now Thomas Sharpp, for a grange next door, formerly Alice Gordon's, afterwards John Boston's, and late Thomas Keywood's.' Deadmanslane is now unknown, but it was probably, as its name suggests, the lane running north between the houses formerly occupied by the grammar school, now private residences, at the west end of the burial ground of the cathedral, to Westgate.

No further mention of the school occurs till after the dissolution of the monastery.

What the precise relation of this school to the abbey was remains in doubt. All analogy is in favour of its being not a monastic school in any sense, but a school kept by a secular clerk for seculars, lay and clerical, not by monks or for monks.

THE NEW FOUNDATION

On 29 November, 1539, the monastery was dissolved by the surrender of the house and all its possessions into the hands of the king by the abbot, John Chambers, and thirty-five monks, sixteen of whom were pensioned, but to remain on the spot with Chambers as guardian or custodian.

On 4 September, 1541, the late abbey church was made the cathedral church of the newly-created bishopric of Peterborough, with the late abbot as first bishop and the abbot's house as his palace; while a cathedral body, selected to some extent from the members of the old monastery, was established, and next day endowed. The new foundation consisted of a dean, six canons or prebendaries, three of whom were monks of the abbey, eight 'pete' or minor canons, eight choristers and their master, and a grammar school with two masters and twenty grammar-school scholars.

The statutes¹ of the new foundations given in 1541 prescribed that there should be 'Two Teachers of boys in grammar, one to be Preceptor, the other sub-Preceptor' (*duo Informatores in grammatica quorum unus sit preceptor, alter sub-preceptor*), and boys to be taught grammar (*pueri in*

¹ Copy of *Statutes of Peterborough Cathedral* in possession of dean and chapter (chapter i).

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

grammatica erudiendi), the number of whom varied with the place, being fifty at Canterbury and twenty at Peterborough. A whole chapter of the statutes (chapter 26) is devoted to the 'Grammar Boys and their Informators.' 'That piety and good literature may ever give out shoots, increase and flower in our church, and in due season bear fruit to the glory of God and the use and ornament of the commonwealth,' prefaces the king, for these statutes bear the impress of the 'grand style' of Henry himself, 'we decree and ordain that there shall always be in our church of Peterborough, elected and appointed by the Dean (or in his absence the sub-Dean) and Chapter, twenty boys, poor and destitute of the help of friends, to be maintained (*alendi*) of the possessions (*bonis*) of our church, of talents naturally fit, so far as may be, for learning.' These boys were not to be admitted as 'poor boys of our church' before they knew how to read, write, and had acquired a fair knowledge of (*mediocriter calluerint*) the rudiments of grammar, in the judgment of the dean or head master (*archididascali*). They were to be maintained (*alii*) at the expense of the church until they had gained a fair knowledge (*mediocre[m] notitiam*) of Latin grammar and had learnt to speak and write Latin. For this, four years, or if the dean and head master thought fit, at most five years, were to be given. They were not to be admitted under nine or over fifteen years old, except choristers, who might be admitted later, and, if fit, were to have the preference for admission. If any boy turned out to be remarkably slow and stupid after a long trial (*post multam probationem*) he was to be expelled, 'that a drone may not consume the bees' honey.' 'And here,' proceeds the legislator with great solemnity, 'we charge the conscience of the Teachers (*Informatorum*) that they bestow the greatest possible labour and diligence in order that all the boys may progress and become proficient in learning (*literis*) and that they allow no boy who is remarkably slow to linger uselessly among the rest, but at once hand up his name to the Dean, that he may be removed and another and fitter boy elected in his room.' The scholars were quite distinct from the choristers, who had their own master, and it was as a rule only after their voices broke that choristers were admitted to the grammar school. The grammar scholars were, however, bound to attend the services with their masters in the choir on festivals at matins, litanies (*processionibus*), mass and vespers, in clean surplices; while in choir, unless the head master otherwise directed, they acted under the orders of the precentor. On lesser festivals (*diebus profestis*) they had to be present at mass at the elevation of the Host only, staying till the Agnus Dei was sung, and meanwhile saying in pairs the Penitential Psalms, the Lord's Prayer, and De profundis. They were specially directed to be present at the obit of the founder on the day of his death, and at the requiem mass for him on the morrow.

With regard to the appointment of masters, the dean and chapter were to choose one 'learned in Greek and Latin, of good character and pious life, with a faculty for teaching (*Latine et Grece doctus, bonæ famæ, et piæ vitæ, docendi facultate imbutus*). He was to have the primacy

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(*primas obtineat*) and be head master or principal teacher (*Archididascalus sive precipuus informator*). An under or second master (*Hipodidascalus sive secundarius informator*) was also to be appointed, possessing the same moral qualities and skill in teaching as the head master, but he needed only to be learned in Latin. The masters had no freehold in their offices, but if lazy or careless or unfit (*minus apti*) for teaching, might, after three warnings, be removed by the dean and chapter. The duties of the head master were described as being ‘to cultivate in religion and adorn with learning alike the twenty boys of our church and all others whatever coming to our school to learn grammar,’ while the second master was to teach boys under the head master the first rudiments of grammar. The words as to other boys are important in view of the frequent attempts to represent these cathedral grammar schools as intended only for choristers.

That there might be no mistake as to what was meant by ‘maintaining’ the twenty scholars on the foundation, another statute (chapter 29) was specially devoted to the point. In his rhetorical way the statute-framer made preamble : ‘That those who come together and praise God together in choir, may also sit together and praise God together at table,’ and he then proceeded to order that ‘as well the Minor Canons and all ministers of the church in the choir, as the teachers of the grammar boys and all other ministers of the church, the boys too learning music and grammar, if it conveniently may be, shall eat together and dine in a common hall.’ In hall the precentor or senior minor canon was to preside at the upper table, next came the head master, then the minor canons. At the second table were the deacon and sub-deacon, otherwise called epistoller and gospeller, eight clerks and the head master. At the third were the grammar boys and choristers. The servants dined afterwards (*secundo prandio*). The precentor as *censor morum* looked after the behaviour of the men ; but only the masters were to correct the boys. One of the canons or minor canons was to be steward for the year, and provide ‘all necessary store, as they call it,’ while a minor canon was to act as steward of hall for a month and order dinner. The amount allowed for commons of the head master, minor canons, and choristers’ master was 6*s.* a month or 1*s.* 6*d.* a week ; for the clerks and under-master, 4*s.* or 1*s.* 2*d.* a week ; and for the grammar boys and choristers, 3*s.* 4*d.* a month or 10*d.* a week. The masters and scholars, like the minor canons and others, were to have their livery, i.e. cloth for their gowns.

Besides their commons and liveries, the stipends of the officers were as follows :—

	£	s.	d.
Head Master	11	15	4
Choristers’ Master	5	7	0
Minor Canons	5	2	0
Lower Master	4	5	10
Choristers	0	15	0
Grammar Boys	0	1	8

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

In cathedral the head master and second master had stalls assigned them, and it was provided that the former should rank next above and the latter next below the minor canons, just as the head master at Winchester and Eton ranked next above the fellows but below the warden or provost, and the second master next below the fellows.

In some loose leaves¹ in the possession of the dean and chapter, entitled 'The Booke of the Erection of the King's new College at Peterborowe,' is contained a list of 'the names and portions of livings assigned to the Bishop and all other officers appointed for the accomplishment of the same.' In this list the 'living' assigned to each member is arrived at by treating the commons as a weekly payment, or if monthly as lunar monthly, at the rate of thirteen to the year, and the livery as its value in money. In this book the value of the school portion was as follows :—

	£	s.	d.
The Schoolmaster and Usher of the Grammar School :			
Mr. Robert Ratclyffe, Scholem' there	16	13	4
John Cheyne, Usher there	8	0	0
The xx Scholars to be taught grammar, each.	2	13	4

These livings should be compared with that of the dean, £100; of a canon, £20; and of the choristers' master, £2. The choristers had £3 6s. 8d. each, so that it was clearly intended that the parents of the grammar boys should pay part of the cost of their keep, while the choristefs were wholly supported by charity.

A special clause was inserted in chapter 36, 'Of Alms,' providing that 'forasmuch as the Grammar School and almost all the buildings, in which we will have the minor canons, clerks, and other ministers of our church to lie, are in a ruinous, dilapidated, and unsightly condition,' the sum of £20 assigned for the repair of bridges and highways (then a matter of charity and not of county or highway rates) might be applied to the repair of those buildings. These words certainly imply that the grammar school was an existing building.

The 'Booke of Erection' was followed or had been preceded (it is not clear which) by a commission, dated 20 July, 1541, directed to the bishop, John Chamber, Sir Richard Sapcote, and others, to appoint to the various members of the cathedral according to their degrees 'convenient dwellinghouses and places to be devyded forth and assygned to them within and as farr as the buildings and grounds of the said syte of the said late monasterye doth extend.' How long the college system lasted at Peterborough cannot be determined. There do not appear to be any accounts extant before the reign of James I, and it was not then in existence. The seeds of its dissolution were sown from the beginning. Chapter 26 of the statutes contained permission to the dean, or in his absence the sub-dean, to grant the schoolmasters, 'if they have wives,' and to the married clerks, and to any one who was sick, a portion of money in lieu of their living or commons; while any one else might

¹ They were copied by the Rev. W. D. Sweeting, formerly head master, some twenty years ago, but cannot now be traced.

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have the same allowance so long as he paid to the common table some weekly sum to be fixed by the dean and chapter. With the example before them of the canons (who like the canons of the cathedrals of the old foundation lived in their separate houses and did not share a common table) the acceptance of the money allowance by the masters (who being laymen might be married even under Henry VIII) and by the minor canons (who became married men in and after the reign of Edward VI) became almost a matter of course.

It is evident from the lists of free scholars given in the 'Booke of the Erection' that the word 'poor' in the statutes meant no more than relatively poor, and by no means, as has been sometimes asserted, 'poor' in the sense of the 'pauper.' In later times efforts seem to have been made to insist on the test of poverty. In 1559 at Queen Elizabeth's visitation of the cathedral two of the injunctions of her commissioners to the chapter were: 'You shall elect such to be scholars in your Grammar School as be most apt and "towards" in learning and poorest of birth, without bearing any respect unto kinship or friendship; and especially such as are like hereafter to be ministers in the church, and by that vocation to serve God and the commonwealth. Item: You shall not take any bribes or rewards for the preferring any child into the Grammar School, but shall receive such as be poor and towards without any respect of meed.'

The room first recorded to have been used as a schoolhouse of the new school is said to have been the chancel of the chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury, begun by Abbot William de Waterville (deposed 1175), finished by Abbot Benedict (1177-93), who 'had acquired also many reliques of Thomas Becket.'¹ It was 'at the gate of the Monastery; and is now as I conceive the School-house.'

The nave of this chapel is said to have been given by an abbot for the building of Peterborough parish church when it was moved from St. John's Close to its present position.

The chapel of St. Nicholas over the gateway, built also by Abbot Benedict, was sometimes used for an extra schoolroom.

Of the first master, Mr. Robert Ratcliffe, nothing seems to be known. The name of the usher, John Chayne, raises the question whether he is to be identified with John Cheyne, the fifth among the first prebendaries named in the foundation deed, who under the name of John Cheyne alias Walpole, his monastic name taken from the place whence he came, was included among the list of the monks pensioned on surrender.

The next head master known is Thomas Hare, in 1548, mentioned at a bishop's visitation in that year. Under him Archdeacon Johnson was educated, who died in 1625 at the age of eighty-five, having founded or rather refounded the hospitals and grammar schools at Oakham and

¹ Dean Patrick, 1679-89, in *A Supplement to Gunton's History of the Church of Peterborough*, quoting Abbot John's History, Ad An. mclxxv: 'Solomon Prior Eliensis factus est Abbas Thorneyensis et Benedictus Prior Cantuariensis factus est Abbas Burgi. Qui fecit construere totam navem ecclesiæ Burgi ex lapide atque ligno a turri usque ad frontem; et capellam in honorem Sancti Thomæ Martyris ad portam monasterii.'

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Uppingham. Under the next master, Simon English, Peterborough is said by the historian, Gunton, to have had the honour of educating Sir Robert Cotton, but if so it must have been for a limited period, as a 'tother school' or preparatory school, since the main part of his school career was passed at Westminster, from whose illustrious master, Camden, he is supposed to have derived the historical and antiquarian tastes which made him collect the Cottonian MSS. now the chief glory of the British Museum.

In 1561, when Richard Stevenson was head master, a full account of the curriculum of the school is preserved, and as these early time-tables are as rare as they are interesting, is here given in full.

The first part is in all probability an earlier order of the time of Queen Mary; the second part a new and revised edition under Elizabeth.

ORDERS FOR THE GRAMER SKOOLE¹

² Ffirste that the skoolers may be commaunded to be at the skoole every workinge day, eyther at vj a cloke in the morning or else within haulfe an ouer after at the furdiste, bothe in winter and sommer.

Item that the Usher be there present to here the partes of the suche as shalbe of his formes, & that done he shall geve them Inglysces uppon sum of the roules to make in to latten and to heare them to do the same, & that done to rede out then there seuerall lectors.

Item that neyther the scolemaister ne ussher shall absent themselves one day and night out of the scole, without knowleg geven thereof to the Deane or Sub-dean, or in their absence to some of the Prebendaries.

Item that their shalbe noo scoller admitted to be the Queen's scoller untill he be fownde hable by the scolemaister or Ussher and by the Deane or Sub-dean, or in their absence by some of the Prebendaries.

Item that it may be lawfull for the scolemaister and ussher to receive of every substanciall manes childe, being not the Queen's scoller, xij^d every quarter, viij^d to the scolemaister and iiij^d to the ussher.

ORDERS TO BE OBSERVED IN THE GRAMMER SCOLE¹

Ffirst that all the scollars be commanded every workinge daye to be present in the scole at vj of the clock in the morning or with in halfe an hower after both in wynter and somer.

Item that the ussher be there present with them and all they to say some godly prayers; that done he to heare all such as shalbe upon his formes such partes as he shall thinke convenient for them. And that done he to give to euery of his formes an English to be made in to Latten, upon [one] of there rules; and to heare them to make there lattens hymself, and to cause euery one to wright the same in a fayer paper boke. And that done to rede to euery forme a severall lecture eyther of a poett or prose, and to cause them to labour the same agaynst one of the clock at after none, as well to expound as to parse every worde in the same, and he to heare them at that tyme to doe the same, and that done to give them some good vulgars, some to note phrases, and soe to contynew among them unto iiij^{or} of the klok; and from iiij^{or} to v, the one scoller to pose an other, and then to commaunde them to commend to memory their lattens agaynst the next days morning, say prayer agayne and so departe. This order is to be observed Monday, Tuesday, Wodonsday and Thursdays, onlesse it be a day of recreacion, then to omitt some parte of the after none exercyses.

¹ From a detached paper among cathedral archives. Dated (under Mr. Cattel's hand) 1561.

² The first two items are cancelled in the original.

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Item upon Fryday to some other partes convenient for euery forme, and that done, ~~to have them att~~¹ after a litell respect² to render ~~render~~¹ unto him all their lattens be hart made that wyk, and to parse them, and at after none to render all their lecturs taken that wyk, unto iiij^{or} of the clock and from iiij^{or} to v as is above apoynted.

Upon Saturday morning to give to every forme his several lecture both to labour to expounde and say ~~by~~¹ without the boke, after their parte, upon Monday morning, that done to give to every scollar at after none upon Saturday to wright all their excersises as well of lattens as other phrases, etc. inespically so many as can wright; and to all such as cannot wright, to learne to wright two howers that after none, and in like maner every day one hower iff it may be spared, as bytwyxt xj and xij or bytwyxt xij and one.

And that every scollar may have commaundement to prepare them selves to come to common prayers devoutly ~~and~~¹ in their apparell, and orderly both in comyng to the church and contynewing their the tyme of prayers: and the ussher for the moste parte there also to see their good ordr observed, and to warne as many as can wright to make vj or vij sentences of the sermon yf any be made: and theye that can not wright to note iiij^{or}.

Item that the scolemaister be in the scole every working daye eyther a litell before vij or at¹ els at vij at the furdest, and he in like maner to heare his scollars upon every forme of his some convenient parte, and that done to mynistre unto them a theme to be made in prose agaynst ~~the~~¹ iiij^{or} clock at after none and then to rede to every forme a severall lecture ~~of~~¹ eyther of prose or of a poett and they to render the same agayne at one of the clock as well in expounding ~~of the~~¹ as in parsing the same, with notes of such phrases adagis and figures as are containyd in the same, and then after a little respitt to exhibitt unto them their theme in writting in prose. And the next day at morning ~~after~~¹ to say their lectures ~~the~~¹ geven to them the day before without boke. And then after that the m^r to rede to them two dayes, viz. Monday and Tuysday some latten autor in prose, and Wedonsday and Thursday some poett, and in like maner that as upon Monday and Wedonsday they shall make their ~~lattens~~¹ theme in prose, soo upon Tuysday and Thursday they shall make their themes in verses. Upon Ffryday they shall render the Monday and Tuesday lectures in prose at the forenone and ~~upon~~¹ their lectures of the poetes at after none.

Upon Saturday morning he shall give them a lecture of some other good author, to labour agaynst Monday morning with a them, and in the after none every one of theme to wright their themes both in prose and verses, with all proper sentences, storys, adagis or figures, fayer in a paper boke, that yf any will see them they may.

And that the scolem^r in like manner shall use hymself and his scollars to do as the ussher, as well to be present in the church hym self as to see his scollers to use them selves godly.

The days of recreation referred to on which part of the afternoon work was to be remitted were no doubt Tuesday and Thursday half holidays. But by injunctions given by Edmund (Scambler), bishop of Peterborough (1567), 'Item xvi. the School Master and Usher shall give their schollars leave to play but once in a whole week, except it be at the special request of some worshipfull person for some urgent cause.'

Apparently the boys had to attend cathedral at 5 a.m., before prayers in school at 6, as in 1559 Queen Elizabeth's commissioners gave the following among other injunctions:—

You shall besides your ordinarye Morning Prayer have every working day at five of the clock in the morninge in summer and six of the clock in the winter the Morning Prayer, to the intent that the schollers of the Grammar School and all other well disposed people and artificers may dayly resort thereunto.

¹ The words struck out are cancelled in MS.

² i.e. respite.

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Already at the beginning of the seventeenth century the statutory stipend of the head master seems to have become insufficient, as Edward Wager, appointed in 1596, and suspended on 24 January, 1600,¹ was a minor canon of the cathedral. One of the same name, probably the same man, was vicar of Peterborough from 1557 to 1604. The reason for Wager's suspension is not stated. On 14 July following he resigned his 'ingagement' and trusted that it would please the dean and chapter to appoint his 'friend Mr. Edward Morrey to succeed' at his humble intreaty. Mr. Morrey was appointed. He died in 1605 and in his will describes himself as 'Master of the Free School of Peterborough.' Mr. Humfrey Rowe, who in 1607 also became a minor canon, succeeded. That the dean and chapter at this time did really look after the school is shown by their dismissing the usher, Mr. Read, for being 'very negligent in the attendance at that place,' while they appointed Mr. Robert Thurlbye head master at first only on probation, and he was not appointed permanently till 1614. He became also vicar of Peterborough and lecturer at the cathedral, and died in 1628. Mr. Thurlbye assisted² in turning out one of the 'famous men' of Peterborough, Edward Rainbow, dean of Peterborough in 1661 and afterwards bishop of Carlisle. The next master, William Dixon by name, 1628-36, was also a lecturer at the cathedral.

The civil war seems to have made no difference to the school. Under James Wildbore, 1636-46, and Thomas Wright, 1646-9, it contributed its quota to the university. When deans and chapters were abolished by Act dated 30 April, 1649, Parliament was careful to insert a saving clause in favour of the schools, recited in an ordinance of Protector Oliver Cromwell, made 15 February, 1654.³ All the revenues 'which before December, 1641, had been or ought to have been paid for the maintenance of any Grammar School or scholars, or towards the reparation of any almshouse, or for any other charitable use, should be and continue to be paid and allowed as they were.' Hence a report among the chapter muniments, stating that there is a schoolhouse lying in the minster close, but 'no dwelling-house or land is thereto belonging or appertaining,' which suggests that the master was always a minor canon or otherwise provided for as an ecclesiastic, and housed in that capacity. Not only did the school go on, but Francis Standish, the master, received⁴ an augmentation of £20 13s. 4d., and John Berry, the usher, a similar increase of £4 a year. Standish sent boys to St. John's College, Cambridge. At the Restoration, Richard Bonworth or Bunworth was appointed. Two years afterwards, 16 July, 1662, it was ordered at a chapter meeting that he should hold the said place no longer than Lady Day next, and should have notice of the order

¹ Chapter Act Book. Fletcher, under date.

² As he became a king's scholar at Westminster at the age of 12, Peterborough's share in this was not great.

³ *Ordinances and Proclamations*, 1653-6, C. 24, a collection in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, p. 721.

⁴ Aud. Off. Declared Accts. bdle. 367, roll 3.

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‘that he may have time to provide himself otherwise.’ He provided himself otherwise by obtaining a minor canonry from the chapter, but this too he neglected, as on 5 October, 1665, he was ‘deprived of the benefit of his place of Petti-canon, till such time as he shall make his residence and discharge his duty in the church.’

At the same meeting at which Mr. Bunworth received notice to quit we get evidence that the school had ceased to be a free school (if it ever had been, except to the king’s scholars), in a direction that the usher shall demand no more than 5s. a quarter for those under him. The election of king’s scholars was now, by a chapter order of 4 October, 1661, clearly shown to be a pure matter of patronage, and not a survival of the fittest. It was definitely arranged that of the twenty the dean should appoint eight, and each canon or prebendary two.

About this time the school became entitled to the chief of the few benefactions which it has received since its foundation. The earliest was that of Edmund Mountsteven of Paston in Northamptonshire, who by will dated 9 February, 1635-6, gave £1,000 to be laid out in land to produce an income of £48 for two fellows and two scholars at St. John’s College, Cambridge. The scholars were to be ‘the most sufficient for learning from the Free School of the city of Peterborough, of the meanest sort, without partiality or fraud, upon the commendation of the bishop and dean of Peterborough for the time being.’ The two scholars were to be promoted to the two fellowships on vacancy. In default of scholars from Peterborough the scholars were to be chosen from the free school of Oundle, and for want of them from any other school in the county. This endowment soon fell in and the scholarships were established 5 December, but owing to the civil wars became ‘in a manner extinct by administration of the estate,’ till in 1673 it was agreed between the college and the bishop and dean that the will of the donor should be answered by changing the fellowships and scholarships into three exhibitions of £6 a year. The earliest exhibitor known is Anthony Gregory, son of a rector of Mepall, in 1708. About the same time a similar benefaction for two fellowships and two scholarships at the same college, of which college he says ‘I was myself sometimes a scholar,’ was intended by the will of Francis Dee, bishop of ‘Borough St. Peter alias Peterborow,’ 28 May, 1638. He gave the lease of the rectory of Pagham, Sussex, held from the chapter of Canterbury, for the purpose, but it was subject to the life interest of his wife and did not fall in till 3 June, 1664.¹ It was then found that the property was only worth £60 a year, and accordingly only one scholarship and one fellowship were established. As Dee’s will had provided that one of them should be ‘of my kindred or of my name, if any such shall be fit, and shall be offered to them at their elections either from the Merchant Tayler’s School in London or from Peterborough School,’ the college duly renewed the lease from time to time up to 1785,²

¹ Chapter Act Book under date, f. 12.

² Information kindly supplied by Mr. R. F. Scott, Bursar of S. John’s College, Cambridge.

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when, owing probably to the dean and chapter refusing to renew, the lease dropped and the foundation came to an end.

A more direct and better established benefaction came in 1672 from 'the Right Worshipful Dr. Duport, Dean of this Cathedral Church,' who 'freely gave £200 for the augmentation of the stipends' of the masters, 'viz. that £8 per annum may be added to the Schoolmaster's place, and 40s. to the Usher.' The gift was vested in Magdalene College, Cambridge, who still pay £10 a year in respect of it. The usher's place, like the schoolmaster's, was not infrequently augmented by other cures and cares, and in 1681¹ Humfrey Brailsford was admitted into 'a Petty Canon's place with the augmentation of 46s. 8d., likewise to be Usher of the Free School.'

TIME TABLE, 1683

The minutes of a chapter held 22 June, 1683, furnish a skeleton time-table of the school :—

That the following Orders be observed by the Schoolmaster, Usher and Scholars of the Free-School and that the said Orders be fairly transcribed and hung up in a tablet in the School provided for that purpose.

1. In Primis. That the Scholars, as well others as King's Scholars, shall be at Morning Prayer.
2. That the Schoolmaster and Usher shall goe from Church to School, the Scholars all following in decent order.
3. That the Schoolmaster, or Usher, in his absence, shall begin their employment at School with a short prayer, and, when he sees fit allow the Scholars a short time for breakfast, and the Schoolmaster shall then immediately repair to School again and there continue till eleaven a clock.
4. That the Scholars shall diligently repair to School at one a clock in the afternoon, and there continue till five in summer and till foure in winter, i.e. from All Saints Day till Candlemas (2 February), and then be dismissed with a short prayer.
5. That the Schoolmaster shall not ordinarily give plays on Mondaies, Wednesdaies, or Frydaies, or any other day when there is a Holy Day in the week.
6. That the Choristers shall goe to the Grammar School and be taught there, at such times when not obliged to be at Church or singing school.
7. That such King's Scholars as shall be found to have good voices shall be changed into Choristers, and such Choristers as have not good voices be put in their room.
8. That if any Scholar attempt to renew that rude custome of shutting out their Master at Christmasse by force and violence, if King's Scholars they shall loose (sic) their places, if others they shall be expelled the school.

The order as to the choristers attending the grammar school was an innovation. According to the statutes the choristers were to go to the grammar school when they ceased to be choristers, not while they were choristers. The hours and duties of cathedral choristers have always been found incompatible with due attendance at the school. Some forty years later, in 1728, the chapter ordered that no boy should be admitted a chorister under eight years of age 'and to be taken out of the Grammar School, and to be obliged to continue daily scholar in the said Grammar School and to be taught and practised in singing by the organist on the finall days in each week under strict penalties,' which are not stated.

¹ 24 June, Chapter Act Book.

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Under the rule of Mr. Waring, or Warren (1685-1707) the school was in a flourishing state, and in one year (1692) contributed no less than four of its boys to the single college of St. John's, Cambridge.

David Standish, appointed head master in 1707, was also a minor canon and rector of Woodstone. To be in three places at once was no doubt difficult. Hence when in 1710 the chapter made new rules, which were for the most part merely reproductions of those of 1683, the sixth shows a somewhat remarkable state of things; 'that the master and usher do so agree upon the hours of attendance as that one of them at the least be always present with the boys in all school time.'

In 1714 on visitation by the chapter it was agreed that the master should be admonished by the Dean.

At the same meeting the usher, Mr. Sparkes, was also 'convened.' He had been performing his duties by deputy, being also a minor canon. When remonstrated with he at once resigned, and his deputy, Mr. Richardson, was appointed in his place. The admonition to Mr. Standish was in vain, for at a chapter meeting held on 20 June, 1720, we find the same complaints repeated. The fabric was dilapidated and the number of scholars decreased, 'which is in great measure to be attributed to the misunderstanding or non-observance of the Chapter Act, 19 June, 1710, which obliged the master and usher to attendance in the school at school hours.'

While agreeing to make the necessary repairs in the schoolhouse they also laid down a rule as to hours. 'For the encouragement of a greater resort of scholars thereto, and their better institution (i.e. instruction) therein, the master and usher are and shall be obliged to take and observe for school hours the hours from six to eleven in the summer season (i.e. from Lady Day to Michaelmas) and from seven o'clock to eleven in the winter season (i.e. from Michaelmas to Lady Day). And in the afternoons throughout the whole year from one till five on all work days, Thursdays and Saturdays excepted, when the master may dismiss them at three or sooner, if he sees cause.' They then recommended to the master to observe 'as near as may be the same rules and methods in teaching in our school, as are and have been used with so much praise and profit in the famous school of Eaton.' 'And for the master's better encouragement herein, we will effectually recommend it to the scholars of our Foundation and to their parents and governors to make all proper return of respect and thankfulness to the master for this increase of his labour and care.'

David Standish died very shortly after this ruling. On 20 October in that year another David Standish, his son, was appointed to officiate as master until the next audit, while the minor canonry was given to a Mr. Hill. David Standish II was at this time still an undergraduate of St John's College, Cambridge. At the yearly meeting in June, 1721, he was reappointed for a year 'by way of probation and tryall of his fitness,' and the following year, having taken his degree in the meantime, was elected 'first master' and also a minor canon. He married that year the second master's daughter.

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On 24 June, however, the chapter found that ‘Whereas Mr. David Standish is not able, as he is obliged by the Statutes, to attend his duty personally as master of the King’s School¹ and Minor Canon of the Church, we do hereby declare both his said places to be vacant, and elect thereinto the Reverend Mr. Poole, recommended by the Dean, as well qualified for the sayd office, by reason of his having been educated at Westminster School and of a long standing in Trinity College at Cambridge.’

Standish went off to America, as on a tombstone now under the choir stalls in Etton Church near Peterborough is recorded in 1731 the death of a daughter, ‘aged 2 years, of the Reverend David Standish, late rector of S. Paul’s, Stoner, in South Carolina.’

The failure of the school at this period may be explained by the fact that the masters were pluralists. Yet it was almost absolutely necessary that they should hold other offices, as the pay was not sufficient otherwise to maintain them. We find at least three bequests of money to increase the master’s stipend, so that their under-payment must have been notorious.

In 1731 an entirely unstatutory preference for king’s scholars was given to boys ‘who live in the town before the boys that come out of the town’ (i.e. from outside the town).

When Mr. Bradfield resigned, in 1736, the chapter were so grateful to him that they allowed him to retain ‘the sallary or stipend of the interest of £200 given as charity to the said Free Grammar School, and also the two rooms lately built and adjoining the said Grammar School now granted by them to the said Mr. Bradfield and his successors.’ This is the only instance to be found of a pension from the school fund paid to a retiring master.

The next master, the Rev. Thomas Marshall, was censured by the chapter not only for neglecting the duties of his minor canonry, but also for combining in himself the offices of master and usher, another result of the scanty stipend. In his time, from 1737, full lists of the king’s scholars were preserved. He held office till 1747. Of his immediate successors, Mirehouse and Marsham, nothing noteworthy is recorded.

In 1773 the Rev. Robert Favell was appointed ‘Master and assistant of our Grammar School,’ being evidently allowed to be his own usher, as Marshall wanted to be, a duplication of parts repeated in after years. He was also appointed minor canon.

In 1733 Mr. Wortley gave £50 to the school, which was employed in building two rooms adjoining it, which became the nucleus of the head master’s house. In 1736 two ladies named Dawson and Walsham had each given the dean and chapter £100 for the augmentation of the master’s salary, to be invested in land. This was not done, but interest at the rate of 5 per cent. was paid by the receiver, Mr. Tryce, to the master. At length, on 2 July, 1765, the chapter allowed him to repay himself the sums advanced for interest out of the

¹ The title ‘King’s School’ is here found for the first time in the Chapter Books.

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capital and pay over the residue, £70, to the chapter funds, and they then directed £10 a year to be paid to the master out of the chapter funds, 'being the annual salary of our place or office of Auditor, which is now vacant, and the same which is a useless office shall be kept vacant for that purpose.' This was a most ingenious way of compounding for a breach of trust without loss to the pockets of the individual canons. But if £200 had been invested in land in the neighbourhood of Peterborough in 1736, the school would not now be pining for adequate playing fields adjoining the school-house.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century the two masters were reduced to one, and he invariably held a minor canonry and a living as well. In 1814, pressed by the growing demand for the education of the poor, the dean and chapter conceived the ingenious, if not creditable, idea of carrying out their duty in that respect, by a petition to be presented to His Majesty humbly requesting 'that His Majesty will be graciously pleased to order that our present Grammar School be erected into a school for the teaching of the English language, writing, and accounts.' This petition was fortunately never presented.

In 1818¹ the stipend of the master, the Rev. Mr. Loftus, was £44 13s. 4d. a year, of which the dean and chapter only paid the ancient sums mentioned in the statutes, viz. £16 13s. 4d. for the master and £8 for the usher, the residue being made up of £10 paid by them in respect of Mrs. Dawson's bequest and £10 paid by Magdalene College, Cambridge, in respect of Dupont's gift. The chapter, however, had recently added a master to teach English, writing, and arithmetic. 'Ever since this alteration,' says Carlisle, with an evident note of admiration, 'the number of scholars has exceeded twenty, and it is at present thirty-three.'

In 1829 the dean and chapter for the first time advertised in the newspapers for a new master, limiting candidates to 'one of the two Universities.'

William Cape of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, was elected. Like his predecessor he was a minor canon and was also vicar of Bringhurst and Great Easton, Leicestershire, which however he never troubled with residence. He was a man of considerable power. A senior wrangler hailed from Peterborough School under him in 1847, whose brother was a senior optime.

For the first time the holidays were officially recognized, being fixed at six weeks in the summer and five weeks in the winter.

In 1841 the chapter provided the head master with a residence formerly belonging to a prebend (then suppressed), and in 1849 increased his salary by £15, at the same time adding £10 6s. 8d. to that of the under-master. When Cape resigned, in 1850, the house he inhabited was kept for a minor canon's residence, 'the house adjoining the Grammar School' being purchased from Earl FitzWilliam for the head master's residence in the future.

¹ Carlisle, *Endowed Grammar Schools*, ii, 220.

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In 1851 the dean and chapter, the Cathedral Commission then impending, at last prohibited the masters from holding ecclesiastical offices, a prohibition rendered the easier in that the minor canonries had been reduced in number by the Ecclesiastical Commission Acts, and they could no longer augment the master's salary by giving him one.

The Cathedral Commission was the saving of the school, for when in 1852 the chapter estates were taken over by the Ecclesiastical Commission the school no longer remained entirely at the mercy of the canons, who received £650 a year each, while paying the head master £71 13s. 4d., and the under-master £18 6s. 8d. ; but was allowed a definite income of £400 a year out of the estates re-assigned to the dean and chapter.

In 1853 the head master's stipend was fixed at £150¹ a year and that of the under-master at £100, and the modern method of giving entire control of the school to the head master was adopted. He was even allowed to fix his own attendance at the cathedral provided that the whole school attended on Sundays, Saturday afternoons, and saints' days, on which there was always a whole holiday. But in fixing the hours of attendance at the school it was provided that two hours' attendance should be given before breakfast.

Under Mr. Whyley, head master from 1861 to 1875, who was not only a scholar but a musician, one of his anthems being still sung in the cathedral, the school flourished. At the time of the Schools Inquiry Commission in 1865, it was attended by 44 boys besides the 20 king's scholars.

The Rev. W. D. Sweeting, who succeeded him, had been second master for many years. He is known as a learned antiquary.

Under a scheme approved by Queen Victoria in council 30 November, 1882, the school still remains the cathedral grammar school, with the fixed yearly income of £400, and the dean and chapter as sole governors ; though in many other cathedral schools representatives of other bodies have been admitted, to the great advantage of the school. The head master has still a stall assigned to him and attends the cathedral service with the king's scholars on Sunday mornings and saints' days during term time, ranking with the precentor in the procession ; but he need not be in holy orders. The office of usher has been abolished. The 'twenty poor scholars' have been reduced to ten king's scholars, and six of the scholarships are subject to open competition, four being reserved for choristers. The school is a 'first-grade public school,' and is intended to prepare boys for the universities, professions, and business.

The Rev. E. J. Cunningham became head master under the new scheme. The most important resulting change was the removal of the school, which took effect in 1885, from the minster precinct to what was then the country, and though now the surging tide of villadom has flowed beyond it, the site is still airy and open. To this removal, in recognition of the school's claims on the cathedral foundation, the Ecclesiastical Com-

¹ Increased to £200 in 1882.

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missioners contributed three acres of land and £5,500. In 1896 the reorganized school received its first augmentation in the Gates Exhibition, of the value of £40 a year, tenable at any place of higher education, founded in memory of Henry Pearson Gates, for many years chapter clerk and the first mayor of Peterborough.

On the appointment in 1897 of the Rev. Edward John Bidwell, who was a scholar of Bradfield College and then a scholar of Wadham College, Oxford, the school advanced by leaps and bounds. He found it with 36 boys and 3 masters. With upwards of 100 boys, of whom over 70 are day boys, and 6 assistant masters, it was in 1901 probably more full of boys and life than it had ever been before in its long history of nearly 400 years. The fees are now £10 to £15 15s. a year, and the boarding fees £45 to £48 a year.

At Easter, 1903, Mr. Bidwell, to whose researches this history is greatly indebted, went to Canada as head master of the Church of England College, Lennoxville. His successor at Peterborough is Mr. E. S. T. Badger, M.A., of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge.

HIGHAM FERRERS

The history of Higham Ferrers Grammar School has hitherto been supposed to begin with the history of Higham Ferrers College, founded there by Archbishop Chicheley.

THE SCHOOL BEFORE CHICHELEY'S COLLEGE

The earliest mention of the school is to be found among the corporation records. But in the roll of the borough courts for the fourteenth year of Richard II at the court held on 26 May is a memorandum that on the previous 11 April Walter Huntyngdone, of Higham Ferreres, had released and quit-claimed to Master Henry Bartone, 'Scholemayster of the same' (*de eadem*, i.e. Higham Ferrers), his heirs and assigns, all right and title which he had in the burgage situate in 'le Newlond.'

Here then in 1391, when Henry Chicheley, the founder of the college, was still an undergraduate at New College, Oxford, is positive evidence of the existence of a schoolmaster of Higham Ferrers, who was a person of importance and mayor of the town. Nor was this the first time Mr. Henry Barton had been mayor. The records of his mayoralty bring him into intimate connexion with the family of the future archbishop and founder. On Friday after Michaelmas, 1382, the following entry occurs in a roll headed: 'Of the time of Thomas Chichely for the years 5 and 6 Richard II.' At 'the court of the borough of Higham: The twelve jurors say they elected to the office of mayor Henry Barton, and he was sworn, and also they say that Thomas Chycheli, his predecessor, and all his servants, well and faithfully executed their offices as well towards the lord as to the community of burgesses.'

Henry Barton died in 1399, as on 1 October of that year came to court Agnes Barton, late widow (*nuper relicta*) of Henry Barton, 'schole-

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mayster de Higham Ferreres,' and did fealty to have the freedom in a certain burgage near the Overbarres, which she had for her life with reversion to the children of the said Henry Barton. On 20 February, 1400, came Thomas, son of the late Henry Barton, 'scholemayster,' and did fealty by his mother, as he was under age, for (apparently) another burgage near the Overbarres and paid 2s. entrance fee.

The records of the duchy of Lancaster,¹ of which Higham Ferrers, being a manor belonging to the earldom of Derby, formed a part, disclose the appointment of Henry Barton's successor in the schoolmastership ('Book of Grants'). King Henry IV in right of the duchy made it known that 'for the great ability and sufficient discretion in grammar that was reported of the person of Master Robert Orcheorerd of Burton, and for the good advancement and profit (*exploite et profit*) that he will do from day to day to the scholars and children wishing to haunt (*banter*) the faculty of grammar under his teaching, the king granted to him the grammar school (*a lui avoir octroiez les escoles de gramoir*) of his town of Higham Ferrers To have and to hold in manner heretofore used, for term of his life, provided that he behave himself well and duly in the said office.' So he commanded 'all his lieges whom it concerned to be aiding, abetting, and counselling the said Robert, while he did his office well and duly, as often as he should ask or reasonably inform them on the King's behalf.' The date is not given, beyond that it was in the first year of the reign of Henry IV, but it was probably May, 1400.

The reference to the 'fashion heretofore used' points to the school having already been in existence some time, and perhaps a long time before Henry Barton.

CHICHELEY AND HIS COLLEGE

In 1387 the members of 'Seinte Marie College of Wynchestre in Oxenford,' now, as in 1400, commonly called New College, Oxford, entered on their present buildings, then newly erected. In the first of the early steward of hall's books, or lists of those who dined in hall, in the thirty-seventh week of the year, which began at Michaelmas, eighth among the scholars appears 'Chechely.' This was Henry Chicheley, as his name is now commonly spelt, the son of Thomas Chicheley, twice or more mayor of Higham Ferrers, and brother of William Chicheley, grocer, sheriff of London, and of Robert, twice Lord Mayor of London.²

As 'Seinte Marie College of Wynchestre,' from the scholars of which only scholars of New College could be elected, had then already been chartered for five years, it is practically certain that Chicheley had been a scholar there before going to New College.

¹ P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster, Misc. Books, xv, f. 27.

² In my *History of Winchester College*, p. 199, misled by Mackenzie Walcott's *William of Wykeham and his Colleges*, p. 363, I said that the archbishop's father was Sir Robert Chicheley, twice Lord Mayor of London, and the mistake is repeated in the Rev. Hastings Rashdall's *New College*, p. 91. Sir Robert, mayor in 1410 and 1422, was the archbishop's brother.

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The author of the article on Chicheley in the *Dictionary of National Biography* placed him at school at St. John the Baptist's College, Winchester, a college which never existed. As a matter of fact Wykeham had kept a grammar school at Winchester since 1373.

The imaginary college of St. John the Baptist has probably been evolved from a letter of William of Wykeham in 1388¹ directing that 'while the college remained in the parish of St. John the Baptist,' during the erection of the present buildings, 'it should attend the parish church on Sundays and Saints' Days.'

As the latest historian of All Souls College,² following the *Dictionary*,³ has repeated the error, there is great danger that history will be saddled for all time with an imaginary college of St. John the Baptist, an imaginary school in it, and Archbishop Chicheley as one of its imaginary alumni. It is most probable that before going to Winchester College Chicheley was educated at Higham Ferrers Grammar School under Henry Barton, for the statutes of Winchester required its scholars to have been completely instructed in plain song and 'old Donatus,' or elementary Latin grammar, before admission.

On 2 May, 1422,⁴ Archbishop Chicheley obtained letters patent from the king in right of the duchy of Lancaster, witnessed, not by the king, then dying in France, but by John, duke of Bedford, 'Keeper of England,' enabling him to found a college at Higham Ferrers at the cost of 300 marks, i.e. some £4,000, paid into the hanaper. The licence was to found 'on certain land now belonging to the archbishop, containing 3 acres, partly built on, a certain perpetual college of eight chaplains, one of whom is to be master and have and exercise the rule and governance of such college, and of four clerks,⁵ of which chaplains or clerks one is to be deputed and assigned to give instruction in and teach grammar, and another to give instruction in and teach singing there, and of six choristers, to perform divine service,' and so forth, and to pray for the souls of the king and queen, of Henry IV and Mary his wife, and of the parents and benefactors of the archbishop.

The patent also contained a licence for the grant of the manor or priory of Merseye in Essex, an alien priory, belonging to St. Ouen's, Rouen, 'in free and perpetual alms, in aid of the maintenance of the persons for the time being in the said college, and of certain poor there, according to the orders of the said Archbishop and his heirs.' This is the first reference to the hospital or bede-house, which was always treated as a part of the foundation of the college, but was, like the grammar school, already an existing institution.

¹ Lowth, *Life of Wykeham*. App. 364 from Reg. Wykeham, iii, 88. The date is wrongly guessed in *New College* by H. Rashdall and R. S. Rait, 1901, p. 37, as 1374 or 1375.

² *College Histories: All Souls College*, by C. G. Robertson.

³ The *Dictionary* repeats the story, derived from a local historian, that William of Wykeham picked Chicheley up as a poor ploughboy eating his scanty meal off his mother's lap—whatever that may mean. As his father was mayor the story is absurd.

⁴ Pat. 10 Henry V, m. 3.

⁵ The exact words, which have been misinterpreted, are: 'unde unus eorundem capellanorum sive clericorum ad gramaticam, et alius capellanus sive clericus ad cantum instruendum et docendum ibidem deputatur et assignetur, ac etiam sex Choristarum.'

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Of the grammar school attached to the college we can learn very little. The master has been erroneously represented¹ to have been one of the clerks, not one of the chaplains or fellows, but the words quoted from the licence, repeated in Chicheley's charter of foundation, distinctly say 'one of the chaplains or clerks.' In point of fact he seems to have been always one of the chaplains, that is, a fellow of the college, not a subordinate person as the clerks were. For when on 15 December, 1443, Archbishop Stafford² appointed Richard White, LL.B., warden or master of the college, he addressed his letter of induction to the sub-warden (*vice custodi*) and Sir Clement Smyth,³ master of the scholars (*magistro scholarium*) there. The schoolmasters were no doubt appointed by the college, and the college registers are not forthcoming.

In 1507 John Tucke⁴ resigned his fellowship at New College on undertaking teaching at the college of Higham Ferrers, but as he was the author of a treatise on music (Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 10,336) he may have been song and not grammar master.

On 31 August, 1534,⁵ William Fauntleroy,⁶ warden, and five fellows, Thomas Freer, Robert Goldson, Thomas Gamon, Thomas Mylys, and Thomas Pyckle, signed the acknowledgement of the supremacy of the crown. It does not appear which was the schoolmaster, possibly Goldson.

In the *Valor* of 1535 the income of the college is set out as amounting in all to £204 5s. 6d., about £4,000 a year of our money. The bedesmen's emoluments were the same as in Chicheley's time, a penny a day, increased only by 30s. a year among them at the obits of three deceased wardens, coming altogether to £25 9s. 1d. a year. Under the heading of 'Stipends of the Master and Chaplains or Fellows (*sociorum*)' we find Robert Gulson, guardian or warden (*gardiano sive custodi*), with a stipend of £14 13s. 4d. and 6s. 8d. more for obits and daily distributions, making £15 in all. The sub-warden (*vice custodi*), Thomas Freer, received for stipend £8 and 4s. 7d. for obits and daily distributions. Next comes Nicholas Stere, teacher of the grammar school, with £10 13s. 4d. for stipend and 4s. 7d. for obits and distributions. Of the other four fellows or chaplains two received £7 12s. 2d., and two £6 17s. 10d. The song-school teacher is not particularly mentioned, but was probably one of the other chaplains. The grammar school master was therefore the second person in the college in pay, and practically in rank, the sub-wardenship being no doubt, as was the case at Winchester, an office held in turn by the fellows for one or two years.

¹ Bridges, *Northamptonshire*, p. 177. '4 clerks whereof one to be grammar master, another musick master.'

² Cant. Arch. Reg. Stafford, f. 11 b.

³ His identification in *History of Winchester College*, p. 200 to 208, with the Eton and Winchester head master (1453-69) of the same name is probably erroneous.

⁴ New College Fellows' Protocols.

⁵ P.R.O. Chapter House. Acknowledgements of Supremacy, No. 64.

⁶ He was rather a distinguished person. He came from Sherborne, Hants; was a scholar of Winchester College, 1480; scholar of New College, 1487; D.D. Oxon, 8 Feb. 1507; Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, 28 October, 1510. *Boase's Register*, pp. 43, 298.

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THE DISSOLUTION OF CHICHELEY'S COLLEGE

On 18 July, 1542,¹ Robert Goldson, master or warden, with Thomas Frere and Thomas Graive, the last of whom was probably the school-master, 'voluntarily' surrendered the college to the king.

On 17 April, 1543, the king granted to Robert Dacres all the property of the college, including the chapel of Jesus and the vicarage, excluding however the actual site and buildings of the college.² The grant contained a proviso that Dacres, his heirs and assigns, should maintain two chaplains to be named by the crown 'to pray for the soul of the king and his successors,' and to act as parish priests, paying to the superior chaplain £10, and to the inferior chaplain £8, a year, 'and that the said Robert Dacres his heirs and assigns shall for all time to come find and maintain a sufficient school-master, sufficiently learned in the science of grammar, to be named and appointed' by the crown 'well and diligently to teach and educate freely (*libere*) boys and youths in the science of grammar at Higham Ferrers,' and out of the issues, rents, and revenues of the church and lands granted 'to pay the same schoolmaster for his salary £10 a year' by two equal instalments at Lady Day and Michaelmas. Provision was also made for the maintenance of the twelve almsmen and one woman in the bedehouse which the grantee was also bound to keep in repair.

THE SCHOOL BUILDING

An interesting question arises as to the building in which the grammar school has for many years been and was probably always held. This is a remarkably beautiful little Perpendicular building 36 ft. 6 in. long by 16 ft. 6 in. broad, standing in the churchyard a little to the west of the church. There is a five-light window at each end and three windows on each side, those on the north side being now filled up. It has long been reputed to be the refectory of the bedehouse, apparently because of what the historian Bridges called 'a stone pulpit fixed in the wall with stone stairs to ascend it,' in which it was thought that the lessons were read during dinner. But there is no such pulpit. A stone ledge projecting from the south wall, which has been taken for the book-rest of a pulpit, is the top step leading to the rood-loft of what is almost certainly the Jesus chapel mentioned in the grant to Robert Dacres. It is quite possible that it is the school in which Henry Barton taught; if so then it is the oldest school-building in England. Even if it were the school built by Chicheley it would be the oldest school-building still used as a school, the old school at Winchester, though in existence, being much altered and no longer used as a schoolroom.

¹ P.R.O. Augmentation Office Surrenders, No. 102.

² These were sold 1 July, 1564, to John Smyth and Richard Duffield, of London, gentlemen (Pat. 6 Eliz. pt. vii), and were afterwards bought by the Fitzwilliams.

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THE SCHOOL SINCE THE DISSOLUTION OF THE COLLEGE

The stipend of £10 a year reserved to the schoolmaster on the grant to Dacres, though considerably less than was actually being received by him before the dissolution of the college, was not wholly inadequate as the salary of a learned man in those days, when as we have seen a canonry at Peterborough was fixed at £20, while that of the 'upper chaplain's' or vicar's place at Higham Ferrers was only £10. By a charter of Philip and Mary (2 and 3 Ph. and M. 14 March) incorporating the town, which had long been a corporation by prescription, the appointment of the schoolmaster (*ludimagister* and *scholæ moderator* he is indifferently called), of the chaplains or curates (*curatos*), and of the bedesmen, was vested in the corporation. In the absence of any corporation minute-books before 1850,¹ there is no material relating to the post-Henrician history of the school forthcoming until the seventeenth century. We have already seen in the case of Peterborough how the schoolmaster's salary having become quite inadequate was eked out with the crumbs which fell from the cathedral table in the shape of minor canonries and the like. The corporation of Higham Ferrers adopted a similar course. In 1629² on the resignation of Thomas Negus they nominated the incumbent to hold the places of both chaplains and schoolmaster so long as he continued vicar. Admissions to St. John's College, Cambridge, from Higham Ferrers are recorded at intervals during the seventeenth century, evidence sufficient to prove that the school retained its grammar-school status, under Mr. Freear 1630 to 1637 at least, and Mr. Shephard 1673-83. In 1818 Carlisle³ was informed that the school had 'for ages ceased to be a Grammar School.' At that time 'the inhabitants, being in general little tradesmen, farmers, and the poor, their children are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic free of expense, by a Master who has the rent charge of £10, together with £10 more found gratuitously by Earl Fitzwilliam, who is the present proprietor of the estate.' Lord Brougham's commission in 1830 found a master paid⁴ £20 by Earl Fitzwilliam, and a school, purely elementary, with 'about 40 scholars, on an average.'⁵ In 1864 there were still 40 boys under Mr. J. Sanderson, 25 from Higham Ferrers paying £1 4s. 0d. a year, and 22 from Rushden paying £1 12s. 0d. a year, yet the school was purely elementary and bad at that.

Its subsequent history was a record of successive failures, chequered by disputes between the corporation, the Fitzwilliam family, and the vicars, as to the right of appointment of the master, the liability for repair, and the like.

At length, in 1899, Mr. A. G. Vann, of Oriel College, Oxford, obtained the mastership. Under him the school has become an interest-

¹ So I am informed by Mr. W. T. Simpson, solicitor, to whom I am indebted for free access to the Court Rolls and other ancient town documents in his possession.

² Bridges, p. 177.

³ *Endowed Grammar Schools*, ii, 209.

⁴ *Report of Commissioners of Inquiry concerning Charities*, xxiii, 317.

⁵ *School Inquiry Commission Report* (1868), xii, 346.

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ing example of 'co-education' as a mixed grammar school for boys and girls under the tuition of Mr. Vann and an assistant mistress. They number at present 19 boys and 19 girls.

FOTHERINGHAY GRAMMAR SCHOOL

The school of Fotheringhay, which now only lingers on in the shape of a small yearly payment applied in aid of elementary education, is said in the official reports¹ to be of unknown origin.

Its origin, however, is undoubtedly to be found² in the splendid collegiate church which stood near the great castle of Fotheringhay, the chief seat of the dukes of York before they ascended the throne. Projected by Edmund of Langley, fifth son of Edward III, who after a great victory in the Spanish war was created duke of York in 1385; begun by Edward, the duke of York who perished leading the van of the army at Agincourt, and who obtained patents for the foundation and endowment from Henry IV in 1412 and from Henry V in 1415; and completed by Richard, duke of York, whose head was crowned in mockery after the battle of Wakefield; it was augmented by Edward IV, who 'translated' his father's body there in 1466.

A grammar school was, as usual, an integral part of the college, which consisted of a master and eleven fellows with eight clerks and thirteen choristers. The grammar master was to be a fellow and not merely an officer of the college.³

The accounts of the college for two of its last years preserved among the chantry certificates⁴ make no specific mention of a grammar school, but only of a song or choristers' school, Thomas Topcliffe receiving a fee of £4 a year with 10s. for taking care (*tuicione*) of the choristers, while Richard Beall, one of the clerks, received £4, of which 20s. was for teaching (*informacione*) the choristers singing. The grammar school master being one of the fellows is not separately mentioned. The chantry certificate for the college under Oundle⁵ says that 'there has been a free school kept in Fotheringhay, which is now dissolved; it were therefore expedient that there were a new erected in this town of Oundle, the same being within 3 miles of Fotheringhay.' But the college having been dissolved, apparently under Henry VIII's Chantries Act, Fotheringhay School is not included in the schools continued in the warrant of continuance for the county under Edward VI's Chantries Act, though Oundle School was. But there must have been some similar warrant for Fotheringhay, since

¹ C.C.R. xxiv, 204.

² In 1675 Mr. Phillips, the king's auditor, writing to Mr. Jonathan Welby, then vicar and schoolmaster, said: 'No doubt it is very ancient, and probably as ancient as the college of Fotheringay, and had the same Founder' (*Topogr. Brit.* No. 40, p. 99).

³ P. R. O. Aug. Off. Misc. Books, 147. The song schoolmaster was not a fellow.

⁴ *English Schools at the Reformation*, 153-4, from P. R. O. Chantry Certificates, 99 and 93, the former being the account of John Russell, master of the college for the years 1544-5, and the latter the account of his executors for 1546-7. See also Aug. Off. Misc. Books, 146.

⁵ The entry, Certificate 35, No. 40, was unfortunately omitted from *English Schools at the Reformation*, which purported to contain all the entries as to schools in the chantry certificates.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

in the Court of Augmentations accounts¹ for 1550-1 there is a payment of £13 6s. 8d. to John Sadler, 'Schoolmaster (*Ludimagistro*) in Fotheringhage,' who next year² received the large sum of £43 6s. 8d., viz. at the rate of £20 a year, including £6 3s. 4d. augmentation (*de incremento*) and four years' arrears of the augmentation, apparently, to Michaelmas last, 1552, by virtue of a warrant of 4 February, 1553.

In 1554-5 Sadler duly received £20 as master of Fotheringhay; but in the following year he had transferred his services to the newly refounded school at Oundle. His successor at Fotheringhay, who from 1554-5 duly received the crown stipend,³ was John Lowthe. He is almost certainly the scholar of Winchester and fellow of New College of that name, who came from Sawtrey in Northamptonshire, and had been driven out of his fellowship for his reforming views,⁴ and in after years as Archdeacon Loud contributed some curious tales of Romanist persecutions to Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*. We do not know exactly when he left, but we are helped by an inscription⁵ on the only remaining brass in Fotheringhay church, in memory of one who has hitherto been reputed the first schoolmaster of Fotheringhay:—

Here lieth buried Mr. Thomas Hurland,
Scholemaster of Fotheringhay 33 years,
Who deceased Jan. 5, A.D. 1589,
ætatis sue 70.

This would bring Hurland's mastership back to 1557, two years before his formal appointment by decree of the Court of Exchequer, 8 May, 1559.⁶

The lines were by one of Hurland's near successors, John Johnson. We learn from his epitaph in Tansor church that, educated in Leicester Grammar School and then at Cambridge, he was tutor 'at Burleigh house by Stamford town' to the children of Burleigh's eldest son, the earl of Exeter, and after four years as 'gymnasiarch' of Fotheringhay, became

¹ P.R.O. Exch. Mins^r. Accts. 4-5 Edw. VI, No. 87.

² Ibid. 5-6 Edw. VI, No. 78. These accounts could not have been made up till a year after their date, as the warrant of February, 7 Edw. VI, is mentioned in them.

³ Ibid. 2 Ph. and 3 Mary-3 Ph. and 4 Mary, No. 63.

⁴ *History of Winchester College*, p. 254; and *Letters on the Reformation* (Camden Society).

⁵ Pædotriba bonus jacet hoc sub marmore tectus,
Præclarus methodo clarus et arte fuit,
Discipulos omnes pura pietate beavit
Moribus instruxit pectora prima bonis.
Formandis pueris animum transmisit et annos;
Ætate exhausta cælitus hospes ovat;
Vita licet cessit, jaceatque cadaver in urna,
Virtutes remanent; nomen in orbe manet.

A good boy-polisher beneath lies still,
Famous alike for method and for skill;
With pure religion he his scholars blest,
Instilling goodness into every breast.
He spent his strength and years in teaching boys,
And age o'erpast, heaven's guest, his rest enjoys;
Though life be gone and corpse be laid in grave,
His virtue lives and fresh his name doth save.

⁶ P.R.O. Exch. Special Commission, 13 Eliz.

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vicar of Tansor, where he pounded 'Papists' 'with the greatest zeal and adequate accuracy' for twenty years, dying in 1620. From 1647 Jonathan Welby, who had been vicar in 1644, combined the offices of vicar and schoolmaster for close on half a century, giving place to Thomas Bennett in 1696. In the eighteenth century the crown stipend of £20 was only obtained for the Rev. John Loveling, B.A., by direct application to the Lord Treasurer, the earl of Oxford, who issued his warrant to the auditor 'to make forth debentures for paying' and to the Receiver-General of the county to pay the same 4 November, 1713.

The status of the school as still that of a grammar school may be seen from a bequest¹ made by Howard Beecher 19 July, 1716, of five pounds 'unto the Free School in the town of Fotheringhay where I was born, to be disposed of in books for the public benefit of the said School.' The bequest was expended on 26 volumes, including the Common Prayer in Greek, a Greek Testament, the Oxford Accidence, Schrevelius' Lexicon, Virgil, Terence, Cicero, Ovid, the Athenian Oracles and Clarendon's History. The masters in the eighteenth century were all clergymen. Robert Linton appointed in 1790 became also vicar in 1814, when the vicarage was passing rich with £50 a year. The conjunction this time seems to have been fatal. The vicar apparently appointed a school teacher without a degree as his deputy. The school sank into an elementary school and has never risen again.

TOWCESTER GRAMMAR SCHOOL

When we turn from Peterborough and Higham Ferrers we pass from kings and princes and archbishops to much humbler founders. The school at Towcester perhaps owed its creation to the example of Chicheley at Higham Ferrers, but the chantry or college there was a much smaller thing. It was founded in pursuance of the will of William Sponne, archdeacon of Norfolk, 4 September, 1447, who ordered 1,000 masses for his soul and a chantry of two priests to pray for his soul, and those of the king and certain former chancery officials. The letters patent² for its foundation bore date 17 November, 1448. They inform us that Sponne was 'disposed and proposed to found at his proper costs a chantry . . . at the altar of the Blessed Mary in St. Lawrence Church, Towcester, but that he entered the way of all flesh before he had completed his purpose. . . While he was languishing *in extremis*, he specially besought and exhorted his executors to found and finish the chantry with all possible speed.' So on payment of £13 6s. 8d. 'Sponne chauntre' was licensed to hold lands up to £20 a year and the two priests incorporated, to pray for John Wakeryng, late bishop of Norwich, Sponne himself, and all the faithful departed.

By 8 July, 1451, the foundation had been effected, for further letters patent of that date³ enabled the executors and others to grant a messuage 'on the corner opposite the rectory gate by the Mill Lane between Watlyng

¹ *Historic Notices of Fotheringhay*, p. 8 (H. K. Bonney).

² Pat. 27 Hen. VI, pt. i, m. 27.

³ P.C.C. Luffenham, p. 278.

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Strete and the gate of the manor house'; and other lands, worth altogether 13s. 2½d. a year, in part satisfaction of the £20 a year allowed by the licence in mortmain, to William Hall and Nicholas Germaine, the chaplains of the chantry. But the bulk of the endowment was derived from a rent charge of £16¹ paid by the priory of St. James',² Northampton, in respect of property given to the priory by Sponne for the purpose.

In all this there is not a word about any school, and it might have been supposed, and has indeed been stated,³ to have been nothing but a chantry to pray for the souls specified. But this is the usual way with such foundations. The real object of them is to be found not as a rule in the patent, but in the ordinances which the patentees were empowered to make. As too often happens these are not forthcoming. But when a hundred years later, first under Henry VIII and next under Edward VI, Acts of Parliament⁴ were passed to dissolve the chantries, colleges, and gilds, the commissioners under the Acts were specially instructed to state the object of their foundation, and in the case of the commissioners under the Act of Edward VI were particularly to say whether they had maintained a grammar school, preachers, or poor people. In Northamptonshire Henry VIII's commissioners reported⁵ thus :—

5. TOWCESTER

The Colledg or Spones Chauntree.

Founded to maynteyne 2 Prestes, beyng men of good knoweledg, the one to preache the Worde of God, and the other to kepe a Grammer scole.

The valewe of the Londes and possessions apperteyning to the same colledg, with £16 paid by the Kinges Majestie out of the Courte of the augmentacion by the handes of Georg Gifford, one of the particular Receivers of the same Courte, £18 20d.; whereof

For the Masters or prouostes Salarye, £8 13s. 4d.

The Kinges tenthes, 38s. 8d.

The scole Master's or secundaries Salarye, £7 6s. 8d.

£17 18s. 8d.

And so Remaineth, 3s.

Henry VIII did not enter on this chantry, which survived to 1548, when the chantry commissioners of Edward VI reported—

HUNDREDUM DE GYLLESBOROUGH

26. TOWCETOR

The Colledge there callyd Spones Chunterye, founded for 2 prestes, the one A preacher, the other A Teacher of Gramer. The londes belonging to the seid College or Chunterye is worth by yere, 51s. 8d. And also they haue a pencionem payed owt of the Kinges Coffers, videlicet : to the precher or Master, 13 marke ; to the secondary or teacher, 11 markes, by the Receyvor

£18 11s. 8d.

Rente Resolute, videlicet : Domino Regi pro Decima,

38s. 8d.

And to William Reignoldes, Master of the seyde College, and A preacher, of the age of 53 yeres, and hathe no other Lyving, £8 19s. 10d.

William Symondes, Schole Master, well learnyd, of the age of 45 yeres, and teachith dayly freely, and hathe no other lyving, £7 13s. 2d.

¹ Pat. 29 Hen. VI, pt. ii, m. 14.

² Exch. Mins'. Accts. 38 Hen. VIII, No. 151.

³ See next page.

⁴ 37 Hen. VIII, c. 4, and 1 Edw. VI, c. 14. *English Schools at the Reformation* (Constable & Co. 1896), pp. 58-78.

⁵ *English Schools at the Reformation*, p. 146, from Chant. Cert. No. 36.

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There can therefore be no doubt of the fact that Sponne's foundation was partly for a free grammar school, a grammar school without tuition fees. Further, under s. 2 of the Chantries Act¹ of Edward VI the commissioners were directed 'in every place where a gild or the priest or incumbent of any chantry by the foundation, ordinance, or first institution thereof should or ought to have kept a Grammar School,' to assign lands or other 'hereditaments' for its support. It came about² that the commission charged with this work did not re-endow the schools with lands, but contented themselves with assigning a fixed payment in the nature of a pension to the existing schoolmaster, purporting to make him a corporation 'until further order.' The commissioners found on 20 July, 1548, that a free grammar school had been continually kept at Towcester with a salary of £8 13s. 2d., and that this school 'is very mete and necessarie to contynewe,' and, apparently as in the case of other grammar schools, meant to order its continuance accordingly. But by a strange slip the executive clauses for the continuance of a preacher and school at Towcester dropped out. Yet it is certain that this was a mere slip, perhaps only of the copyist of the official copy preserved in the Record Office, because in fact a stipend was always paid to the grammar school master of Towcester from the land revenues of the crown. For in 1549³ William Symondes, 'ludimagister sive instructor puerorum in Towceteour,' was paid £11 9s 9d. for a year and a half's salary at the rate of £7 13s 2d. a year, and this payment can be traced to 1555.⁴ In 1559⁵ William Savage received £15 6s. 4d. or £7 13s. 2d. a year for two years after he had sued for it and recovered judgement in the Court of Exchequer. For some unknown reason later masters received a shilling a year more, Stephen Johnson being paid £7 14s. 2d. as ludimagister in Towcetour in 1568,⁶ and Richard Thomas,⁷ as ludimagister in Towcester in 1616, receiving the same amount.

In view of these documents the statement made by Lord Brougham's Commission in 1830, founded probably on the similar statement made in a Chancery decree of 1638, that Sponne's chantry was merely for priests to pray for souls, and that in 1552 it was purchased and converted into a school, is clearly wrong. The Chantry was founded as to one half of its personnel and nearly one half its revenues as a free grammar school, and was such from its beginning in 1451. Documents show that the foundation was completely endowed according to the founder's designs, not only with the lands conveyed in 1451, but to the full value of £20 a year.

What really happened in 1552 was this. In pursuance of a direction in Sponne's will, his executor had established by deed⁸ of 5 January,

¹ *English Schools at the Reformation*, p. 67.

² See for a statement of the why and wherefore *English Schools at the Reformation*, pp. 67, 73-8. The commission is printed p. vii, of the same book from Pat. 2 Edw. VI, pt. iv, m. 22d.

³ Exch. Mins'. Accts. 2-3 Edw. VI, 4-5 Edw. VI, No. 87, 5-6 Edw. VI, No. 78.

⁴ Ibid. 3-4 Ph. and Mary, No. 72.

⁵ Ibid. 1-2 Eliz. No. 57.

⁶ Ibid. 9-10 Eliz. No. 56.

⁷ Ibid. 14-15 James I, No. 54.

⁸ The original deed is preserved at Towcester in the safe of the trustees of Sponne's Charity, in the very house, formerly the Tabard Inn, now called the Talbot Hotel, portions of which are the original building of Sponne's time.

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1450-1, another charity by the conveyance to the two chaplains of Sponne's chantry and other feoffees, of the Tabard Inn, which had been devised by the founder for the purpose of payment of 'fifteenths,' taxes in the nature of a property tax.

The chantry house itself and a cottage in Park Lane in Towcester were granted to one Haybourne and another by deed of 5 April, 1550. Afterwards William Marriott, William Caporne, Thomas West, and other parishioners, 'out of their love for the town and for the education of the children thereof in learning and for other good uses, did contract' with the grantees of the chantry house 'for a good sum by them paid.' The 'good sum' was £10.¹ By deed, enrolled in Chancery, dated 16 February, 1552, the chantry house and cottage were accordingly conveyed to Marriott and eight other feoffees, being also feoffees of the Tabard. They 'employed it as a Grammar Schoole and the schoolmaster was nominated and placed by them only,' the cottage being employed to 'other charitable uses.' The feoffees of the Tabard Inn from that time acted as trustees of the school. A new appointment of these feoffees or trustees was made in 1581. One Firmine Russell was the last survivor of these, and in 1638 the trust had vested in his grandson and heir-at-law, George Russell. When it was proposed that he should convey this property to Richard Litcott and others, the Tabard feoffees, an opposition was got up by Sir Hatton Farmer, knight, who claimed to be a lineal descendant from Richard Farmer, 'who, as he pretendeth, purchased the said Chantry premises, with his own money, and was the first donor and founder of the said Grammar School,' and wished to have the conveyance made to him jointly with the others. A bill was filed in Chancery by the feoffees against George Russell, and in the result the Master of the Rolls found that Sir Hatton Farmer's counsel 'could not make it appear that Richard Farmer was the original donor,' and ordered the conveyance to be made to the Tabard feoffees, and the chantry house to be vested in them for the future in trust for the school.

Afterwards the school received various additional benefactions;² (1) by a gift of Anna Jones in 1697, three acres of land in Abthorpe for the teaching of six poor boys; (2) by will of Joseph Saunders, 18 April, 1704, a rent charge of £5 1s. from lands in Abthorpe for teaching five poor boys from Towcester and one from Green's Norton; (3) by will of William Marriott in 1717 a gift of £100, now represented by 13a. 2r. 11p. of land in Whittlebury; (4) by will of Richard Ratnett, 2 May, 1738, a rent charge of £2 a year from land in Green's Norton for two poor boys; (5) a rent charge of £5 from a tenement in Broadway, Westminster, for teaching two poor boys who were to be clad in orange coats and green caps.

In 1818³ Mr. Thomas White, who had been appointed in 1795, was master. He was a layman. He took boarders at twenty to twenty-six guineas a year, with a guinea entrance fee. The school was conducted

¹ Not as in *Carlisle*, ii, 224, £15.

² Report of 'Commissioners of Inquiry concerning Charities,' cited as C.C.R. xiv, 307.

³ *Carlisle*, p. 225.

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as a grammar school, and was open to boys of the parish admitted by an order from the acting feoffee.

In 1825 Lord Brougham's Commission found in the school 22 boys, all free boys, 21 from Towcester and 1 from Green's Norton, who received elementary education in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and in Latin 'if they wished for it,' which they practically did not. Otherwise it was a grammar school, and was 'conducted in a manner satisfactory to the inhabitants.' The name of the master is not given.

Very different was the report of a generation later of Mr. T. H. Green, of Balliol College, Oxford, who visited as an assistant commissioner for the Endowed Schools Inquiry Commission in 1866.¹ 'The Grammar School at Towcester,' he wrote, 'is, to speak plainly, in an utterly bad and valueless state.' On the death in 1866 of the Rev. James White Willett the school was closed. It remained closed for twenty-one years.

At length, with a subsidy of £50 a year from the Tabard Charity, a new scheme under the Endowed Schools Acts was approved by Queen Victoria on 13 May, 1887, constituting a governing body of eleven—two representatives of the county justices; two of the vestry, now the parish council of Towcester; three feoffees of Sponne's Charity (who are a self-elective body), and four co-optatives. The chantry house has been sold, and with the exception of a wall and doorway completely demolished, the stones having been used in a new building adjoining. New buildings on a new site acquired by exchange were erected in 1890 at a cost of about £1,050. The endowment is now about £130 a year. The tuition fees are £4 a year. Under Mr. John Wetherell the school is doing a useful work, and considering the scanty population of the place, now well below 1,000, is as full as can be expected with 33 boys.

BLISWORTH GRAMMAR SCHOOL

Blisworth School, called 'Roger Wake's Chauntre and Free Scole,'² was founded by Roger Wake, 'esquyre,' who died in 1503, and Lady Elizabeth his wife,³ to maintain a priest, 'being a graduate of Oxforth,' 'as well to pray for the souls of the most noble King Henry VII and the founders of the same as also to keep a free grammar school for all that shall repair thither.' The chantry-priest-schoolmaster received the whole rental of the lands, 'as well in Northamptonshire as Buckinghamshire,' worth £12 4s., which, the king's tenths deducted, left a net income of £11. John Curtes, 42 years old, 'well lernyd,' was the schoolmaster, and 'hathe at this present 30 schollers.' The lands were confiscated by the crown, the school was continued by the warrant of the Chantry Commissioners under John Curtes with the fixed stipend, charged on the revenues of the crown in Northamptonshire, of £11.

¹ 'Schools Inquiry Commission Report,' 1868, xii, 371.

² *English Schools at the Reformation*, pp. 147, 151-2, from Chantry Certificates 36, No. 16; 35, No. 31.

³ Their fine brass is in Blisworth church.

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But the accounts appear to show¹ that no payment was made to him or any schoolmaster there during Edward VI's time, as the entry of the amount payable is made in each year at the rate of £19, not £11 a year; but at the end of the entry, where the amount actually paid in the year is stated, appear the words 'nothing, because not paid.' Probably Curtis had obtained other preferment and no successor was appointed. In the first year of Philip and Mary² John Orton, 'schoolmaster assigned out of the foundation of the chantry of Blisworth,' was paid £10. For the rest of the reign no entry of any sum paid or payable to the school can be found. In the reign of Elizabeth the payment was revived³ by a decree of the Court of Exchequer, and Philip Colinson, 'Schoolmaster' (*Ludimagistro*) of the Grammar School of Blisworth, received £11, the full and proper amount. In 1617 Samuel Preston, 'Schoolmaster of Blisworthe,' received the payment, and the school continued. No later benefactor came to its rescue. By the time of the Restoration the shrunken value of money must have made the stipend merely nominal. In 1818 Carlisle⁴ could obtain no information about its condition. At the time of Lord Brougham's Commission⁵ all trace of a grammar school had disappeared, and the stipend has ever since been a mere nucleus for the salary of an elementary schoolmaster. Such was the result of Edward VI's great Act for the amendment of chantries by converting them 'to good and godly uses as in erecting of Grammar Schools to the education of youth in virtue and learning' on a foundation which at its inception gave its master a larger salary than that of Eton. Yet, by a strange perversion of history, in the chronological list of schools furnished by the Endowed Schools Commission in 1867 Edward VI figures as the founder of the school he brought to nought.

ROTHWELL GRAMMAR SCHOOL

Rothwell School shared a like fate. A free school there,⁶ endowed with lands and tenements given by divers persons, unknown at the time of its dissolution in 1548, to the maintenance of a free school for ever, had lands and tenements producing income of the net value of £3 4s. 11d., which went to the support of Giles Piking, the schoolmaster, of the age of 38 years, 'well learned.' He was continued and paid⁷ for the first few years of Edward VI's reign. But in 1551-2⁸ the amount is entered, but noted as not paid. Payment was resumed to him as schoolmaster of the school in Rothwell under an Exchequer decree, 12 June,

¹ P.R.O. Exch. Mins'. Accts. 2-3 Edw. VI, et seq.

² Ibid. No. 72.

³ Ibid. 9-10 Eliz. No. 56. Some very interesting evidence as to the state of Blisworth School under Elizabeth will be found in P.R.O. Exchequer Special Commissions, No. 1,693, 35 Eliz. Hilary, but it is too long for insertion here. There is an incidental notice that Courteenhall School was regarded as a grammar school.

⁴ *Endowed Grammar Schools*, ii, 202.

⁵ C.C.R. xxiii, 174.

⁶ *English Schools at the Reformation*, 148-9, from Chantry Certificate 35, No. 12.

⁷ P.R.O. Exch. Mins'. Accts. 2-3 Edw. VI.

⁸ Ibid. 5-6 Edw. VI, No. 78.

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1559,¹ and he was still receiving the payment ten years later.² In 1582³ the school received a fresh endowment from Owen Ragsdale, who founded an almshouse called the Jesus Hospital there, let in 1818 for £9 14s. a year. In 1617 Robert Raphson, schoolmaster of Rothwell, received still the old stipend. The school was confirmed by a decree of commissioners of charitable uses in 1685, in the possession of St. Mary's Chapel, which had perhaps always been the schoolroom. But in 1818 it had sunk into an elementary school, and the grammar school master's stipend is still applied to elementary education.

MAGDALEN COLLEGE SCHOOL, BRACKLEY

Brackley School began as a hospital dedicated to St. John the Evangelist,⁴ founded about 1160 by Robert 'le Bossu,' or humpback, the second of four Roberts earls of Leicester. The patronage came eventually to the Lovel family, 'the masters of the Hospital being practically private chaplains.' In 1484 Francis, Lord Lovel, sold it to William Waynflete to become part of the endowment of Magdalen College, Oxford, the college being bound to maintain there a chantry priest to pray for the soul of Lord Lovel and his ancestors.

The chantry was duly kept up by the college until the Act for the abolition of chantries. The chantry commissioners of Edward VI reported at Brackley⁵ :—

Saint James' Stipendarye preest, graunted by Laurence Stubbs, President of the College of Sainte Marye Magdaleyne in Oxford and the Fellows of the same College to have a prest to sing within the parishe church there for tearme of 40 years, as may appere by the graunt thereof, bering date 8 Dec. 19 'Henrici Octavi.'

The report then set out the grant to Robert Barnard, M.A., formerly fellow, of 'a certain chapelry or chantry or priests' service in the church of SS. John and James to celebrate masses and other divine service for the soul of Lord Francis of Lovell, the souls of his ancestors and benefactors and all Christian souls.' The grant was for forty years. The stipend was £8 a year. It included a chamber on the south side of the church with a garden. Appended to the report is a memorandum :—

Sythe the commysion to us directed, Roberte Barnarde, clerk, who by virtue of this grant aforesaid to him made for term of years did there serve, is deceased ; since which time the President and Fellows of the College aforesaid have erected a Free School there, in which many children are taught, to the great commodity of the whole country.

The first schoolmaster thus appointed by the college was a man of some note, Thomas Godwin,⁶ afterwards dean of Christ Church, Oxford,

¹ P.R.O. Exch. Mins'. Accts. 1-2 Eliz. No. 57.

² Ibid. 9-10 Eliz. No. 56. Note also P.R.O. Exch. Spec. Com. 12 Eliz.

³ *Carlisle*, ii, 206 ; *C.C.R.* xxiv, 185.

⁴ *Northamptonshire Notes and Queries* (1890), iii, 49. The information given in that article was mainly derived from information furnished by the original deeds at Magdalen College.

⁵ *English Schools at the Reformation*, pt. ii, p. 150, from Chantry Certificate No. 35.

⁶ *Register of Magdalen College, Oxford*, by W. D. Macray, ii, 86-7.

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then of Canterbury, bishop of Bath and Wells, and father of the more famous Francis Godwin, who wrote *De Presulibus Angliæ*. Thomas Godwin was B.A. 1543, M.A. 5 February, 1548. He resigned his fellowship at Magdalen on Christmas Day, 1549, having been appointed 23 May, 1549, master of the school at Brackley, 'on account of the learning and diligence which he had already displayed in instructing the youth there.' As the chantry certificates were all made by June, 1548, Godwin must have been already teaching school almost a year when he received the definite appointment. This conversion of the chantry into a school saved its property from confiscation. Godwin was granted for the term of thirty years a salary of thirty marks (£20, or more than that of the master of Magdalen School at Oxford), with the schoolhouse, dormitory above, a garden, and a new building where a stable had been. He married his first wife, Isabel Purefoy, while at Brackley it is said, and, 'being silenced from teaching¹ under Queen Mary, took to the practice of medicine.' So says Anthony Wood, but as Godwin's successor was appointed in 1552, the accession of Mary in 1553 could not have been the reason of Godwin's leaving the school. On Elizabeth's accession Godwin was ordained, and became chaplain to the bishop of Lincoln and a canon there in 1560, obtaining subsequently the preferments above mentioned.

He was succeeded as master by Robert Bede,² who was a B.A. in 1541, bursar of Magdalen 1550-2. He became master just before August, 1552, it being expressly stipulated by Owen Oglethorpe on resigning the presidency of the college on 6 August³ that 'whereas he the said Owen hath given to Mr. Bede the Scollmaistership of Brackley being now void through the neglygens of him that lately occupied it,' the incoming president, Walter Haddon, was to 'see that the sayd gyfte take place, and ratifie the same.'

How long Robert Bede held the schoolmastership does not appear. In 1571-6 the master was John Bede or Bedd, who had been usher of Magdalen College School at Oxford, and is called by Anthony Wood 'an eminent grammarian.' At Magdalen College is preserved the inventory 'left in the Schole-maister's house' with 'Roger Webster, Schole-master' 15 April, 1577.

The house consisted of the hall (haule), the parlour, the wine cellar (wyne seller), buttery and kitchen, with 'a fayre led to brew withall.' 'In Mr. Bede's Studie' were a bedstead, six ashen planks, short board of walnut tree for ceiling (sealing). There was also 'a chamber over the inner parlour.' The inventory ends with 'Mr. Bede's legacie to the Schole: Virgil with sondrie commentaries; Horace with a commentarie; Calepyn with Onomasticon Deorum, etc.,' a tantalizing etcetera.

Roger Webster, who also had been usher of Magdalen School,⁴ held office until 1588.

¹ So Macray's *Register*; but, as the text shows, he left before Queen Mary's time.

² Macray's *Register*, ii, 82.

³ S. P. Dom. Edw. VI, xiv, No. 58.

⁴ *Magdalen College Register*, ed. Bloxam, iii, 128.

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Then the school fades from records. The appointment of the master lay with the president, and was not noticed in the college books. A 'Magister Perkins' is mentioned in the bursar's accounts as master in 1653, showing that here as elsewhere the school went on under the Commonwealth as before.

From 1700 to 1715 the Rev. Thomas Yeomans, B.A., of Brasenose College, Oxford, combined the offices of vicar of Evenley and master of Brackley School. The same combination supported the Rev. John Young from 1765 to 1777, and was necessary, for the salary as master was precisely £13 6s. 8d. a year, a third less than that paid in the days of Edward VI.

The school only emerges into view again in 1806, when¹ Thomas Banister voted in a contested election for Northamptonshire as a freeholder in virtue of his stipend there as schoolmaster, which in 1812 the college increased to £18 a year, and was succeeded by Thomas Hawkins.

In 1860 the Rev. A. B. Falkner, of St. John's College, Cambridge, was appointed master, and was succeeded in 1864 by Mr. Thomas Russell, of St. John's College, Oxford. The college then paid an endowment of £100 a year. In 1864² the school was described as only semi-classical. There were 8 boarders paying £36 a year for board, £3 for tuition fees, and 25 day-boys, of whom 8 were 'on the foundation,' paying no fees. The rest paid £5 for general school-work, £4 for extra subjects, £2 2s. a year for books, and 4s. for use of library. Mr. T. H. Green, visiting for the Endowed Schools Inquiry Commission, found 38 boys in the school, of whom 11 were boarders. 'Not much Greek was known; only the highest boys could repeat the declensions and the simpler forms of conjugations. Seven boys could construe prepared parts of Virgil's First Æneid.' The first two boys were sons of a farmer and a blacksmith.

The next two masters were the Rev. F. S. Taylor of Christ Church, Oxford, 1869-79, and the Rev. J. W. Boyd, 1879-82. Under the Rev. Isaac Wodhams the school underwent great improvement. New wings were added to the old school buildings, one in 1886 and another in 1896, giving room for 50 boarders, and the old chapel, a beautiful building 122 feet long, was restored for the use of the school.

The present head master, appointed in 1900, is the Rev. W. W. Holdgate, an exhibitor of Trinity College, who obtained a first class in natural science at Cambridge. The endowment paid by the college is £250 a year, and the boarding fees charged range from 33 guineas under ten to 39 guineas over thirteen years of age. There were in 1901 67 boys in the school—35 boarders and 32 day-boys—whose studies are directed by the head master and three assistant masters. The school is a 'centre' for the Oxford Local Examinations, and the education given is that usual in a small public school.

¹ *Carlisle*, ii, 204.

² *School Inquiry Rep.* xii, 320.

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NORTHAMPTON GRAMMAR SCHOOL

As mentioned above, the earliest piece of evidence of a school at Northampton is an entry in the Pipe Roll for 1176,¹ 'and in 6s. the livery of John, clerk of Alionara, queen of Spain, who is staying at school at Northampton, for 3 weeks by the king's writ.' This means that the king paid for the board and education of a boy in the train of the queen of Spain while she was staying in England as his guest. Livery had not then obtained the restricted meaning it afterwards acquired of a livery of cloth or other stuff, but, as in the phrase 'Lanfrancs livery'² at Canterbury, meant the whole keep of a person—food, drink, clothes, and all other necessities. The sum of 2s. a week appears to indicate that the young clerk of the queen of Spain was a youth of high rank, for when a century later, 7 March, 1276,³ Archbishop Giffard of York sent 3 boys to school at Beverley, 2s. a week was the sum paid for the whole three, or only 8d. a week each, which was the tariff per head for the commons of the scholars of Winchester another century later.

It may be argued by those who for some obscure reason are averse to admitting this antiquity of the provision of secondary schools in England that the school at Northampton was not a grammar school but Northampton University. But this would be altogether too previous. There are the merest scintillæ of evidence of the existence even of Oxford University before this time; indeed the latest historian of the universities wrongly attributes⁴ its origin to a migration from Paris only in 1167. The fleeting university at Northampton was a thirteenth, not a twelfth century development. At that time, indeed, Northampton bid fair not only to become a third university town, but even to eclipse both Oxford and Cambridge.

In or about the year 1260 a 'town and gown row' at Cambridge, of the bloody kind then usual, led to an exodus of scholars to Northampton. In 1263 the Oxford schools were stopped, and emigrants from the older university flowed thence also to Northampton. Next year the Oxford scholars did yeoman service with their bows and arrows from the walls of Northampton against the king, and narrowly escaped hanging when the town was taken. After the battle of Lewes the scholars were ordered to return to Oxford, and in 1265 a royal writ ordered the entire cessation of the university of Northampton.

It is impossible to suppose that a town which thus narrowly escaped becoming a university town had no grammar school between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries; but in the absence of records alike of the town and of the ecclesiastical foundations in and about it no

¹ Pipe R. 22 Hen. II, rot. 4, m. 1. 'Et in liberacione Johannis clerici A. Regine Hyspanie qui moratur in scolis apud Norhamton, de tribus septimanis, per breve Regis, vjs.'

² *V.C.H. Surrey*, ii, Schools.

³ *Yorkshire Arch. Society Record Series (Early Yorkshire Schools)*, ii, 80 m, from Reg. Giffard 120 (b).

⁴ *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (Hastings Rashdall), ii, 328–32. It is a wrong conclusion from false premises. See *National Review*, 1895.

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other evidence remains than that already given. The bulky *Borough Records of Northampton*,¹ published in two sumptuous volumes by order of the corporation, has deferred the date of the foundation of the existing school some ten years, and by so doing made the contents of its foundation deed anachronistic. The school was founded by deed dated 1 June, 1541, by Thomas Chipsey, grocer, who had been bailiff of Northampton in 1509 and mayor in 1527 and 1538. He conveyed to Laurence Manley, who had been mayor in 1535 and died as such in 1547, and eighteen others, lands in Holcot and Coton with a rent charge on land in Pitsford, the whole being worth £9 17s. 3d. a year, 'to the use and upon condition' that they should let the land to the donor for his life at the rent of a rose, and after his death should 'provide an honest and sufficient learned master or person to teach grammar within the town of Northampton to such boys and persons as might desire to learn the same, freely, without any stipend to be taken for the same of them or any of their friends, and shall pay yearly to the said master or person for teaching the said boys the yearly stipend of £9.' Ten shillings a year was to be paid 'to such boys as should be named by the Masters or Wardens of the fraternity of the Blessed Mary, in the Church of All Saints, to sing and celebrate divine service in the chapel of Our Lady in the said church.' Any surplus was to be applied for the repair and maintenance of the pavement in the market place.

By another deed of 5 March, 1541-2, the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty of the town, and the masters of the fraternity of the Blessed Mary, covenanted with the founder and the feoffees of the first deed to allow the schoolmaster and his successors to have the use of a house belonging to the fraternity in Bridge Street, called the Lamb, as a school-house. The fraternity were to put the house in repair then, but the schoolmaster was to keep it in repair afterwards. On all future vacancies in the mastership the corporation, the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty were to appoint the master. They were also to have power to remove him if he did not do his duty, though this power was strictly guarded. They were first to warn him, and if he did not amend within a month to fine him £1, and if he did not then amend within two months, they might remove him altogether. One cannot help thinking that this deed merely grants a separate endowment to a master already maintained by the Gild² of The Trinity and Our Lady 'founded by Thomas Bynge and John Atwell to mainteine 4 preestes' and to sing for their souls and those of the fraternity. Besides the priests it maintained a sacristan, a clerk, three singing men, and 'William Corbin, organ player, of the age of 54 yeres, hathe a like annuitie of 40s. and one howse of 10s. by a like patent, and 26s. 8d. more for teachin childerne to sing.' Here then was the Song School. There were only three priests instead of four in 1548, and the inference is almost irresistible that the fourth priest had been the schoolmaster who had become superfluous

¹ Vol. ii, 350. The date is given as 1551.

² *English Schools at the Reformation*, pp. 147-8, and P.R.O. Chant. Cert. 35.

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when the school was separately and additionally endowed by Chipsey, seven years before.

In 1557 an Act of Parliament, 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, vested in Cardinal Pole, the papal legate, all ecclesiastical benefices which had come to the crown by the dissolution of religious houses. Under this Act the corporation and parishioners petitioned the legate for a grant of the church of St Gregory for a schoolhouse. They stated that the church, which had been appropriated to the monastery of St. Andrew's, was dilapidated and not worth repair, while divine service had not been performed in it for some time ; that a townsman had given part of his substance for the use of a schoolmaster to teach the youth morals and learning ; but a fit place was wanting in which the school might be kept, and that it would be of utility to the town if the church were applied to the erection of a school. The papal legate had no scruple in imitating Edward III, Henry VI, Henry VIII, and Edward VI, and applying ecclesiastical property to the advancement of education. With all the power of the pope, and with the consent of John White (ex-headmaster of Winchester), bishop of Lincoln, the see of Peterborough, which had been carved out of Lincoln, being then vacant, Cardinal Pole, by deed of 12 March, 1556-7, united and incorporated the parish of St. Gregory with the parish of All Saints. He granted the site and church of St. Gregory, thus rendered useless, with its tower, bells, and lead, to the mayor and the parishioners for the purpose of the school, and the priest's house, worth 6s. a year, for the house of the schoolmaster, on their undertaking to keep both school and house in repair, and to maintain a priest to help in serving the cure of All Saints' parish.

It is not quite clear whether the church was pulled down and a new school erected, or whether the church itself was adapted for the school, as was the church of St. Peter in the neighbouring town of Stamford, where it is so used unto this day. The 'Book of the Orders of Assembly' or Town Minute Book of Northampton begins only in the year 1551, and an entry begun relating to the price of lead and other materials of the church is imperfect.¹

The next mention of the school is in 1565, when it was agreed that 'Mr. Thackaray, school master of the Free School,' and his successors should be paid £10 a year by the chamberlain from the free school rents ; the residue being appropriated 'to the use of the chamber.' Three years afterwards, 12 March, 1568, a committee was appointed to 'enquire and aske of all men as well off the towne as off the country their benevolence towards a ussher for the Free Schole.' The response to this appeal was either not adequate or not permanent enough, as in 1584 an effort was made to obtain an endowment for the usher by a further appropriation of ecclesiastical property to education. The 'Assembly' on 13 July ordered a letter to be 'directed to the Lord Bishoppe of Peterborowe' for the procuring and getting of the 'vicar-edge' of St. Mary's towards the maintenance and keeping of one usher for

¹ *Borough Records*, ii, 351.

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the teaching of children at the 'Free scolle' under Mr. Saunderson. If it could not be obtained at the bishop's hands, 'then yt ys agreed that Saunderson shall provide a sufficient ussher, and he to have 20s. a quarter paide hym oute of the chambre of the town to wards his maintenance.' As on 20 February, 1589-90, the vicarage of St. Mary's was annexed to that of All Saints' it is to be presumed that the bishop of Peterborough did not approve its annexation to the school. The usher had to wait for an endowment till Paul Wentworth, by deed of 29 January, 1677, gave a rent charge of £20 a year on his estate in Lillingstone Dayrell, Bucks, for the maintenance 'of a sufficient usher to be from time to time assistant to the Master of the School in teaching the Latin tongue there, and also to teach the scholars there good writing and arithmetic.' In a 'terrier' of the town made¹ in 1586 the schoolhouse is thus described: 'The towne hathe and holdeth one Schoole house called Saint Gregorie's house, and Mr. Saunderson holdeth one garden at the end of the same Schoole house.' The master had let another garden, and held a house with a garden belonging to the free school lying 'over againste Thomas Craswell conteyninge by estimacion five bays.' Playground for the boys there seems at that time to have been none; but in 1605, when the school was repaired by the corporation, we hear of a school yard, the walls about it being mended and doors with latches provided, so that the yard could be shut up every night after sunset.

Simon Wastell is the next master mentioned, being granted in 1607 the freedom of the town at the reduced entrance fee of £1, 'at his earnest wish and for some special respects.' In 1612 he was granted the same allowance for an usher, £4 a year, as had been granted to Mr. Saunderson. On 15 December, 1631, he was pensioned 'in respect of his weakness and sickness wherebye he is unable to supplie his place,' i.e. to do his duty. He therefore 'doeth give way' for the choice of a new schoolmaster 'provided he may have the profits thereto belonging while he liveth.' The Recorder, the 'Town Counsel,' Mr. Lane,² and the minister of All Saints' were accordingly directed to look out for another master. Wastell died before the appointment of his successor, and was buried 31 January, 1631-2. On 16 April, 1632, Daniel Rogers, M.A., was appointed in his place. In 1634 he had apparently let the school down in numbers, as the payment for an usher, then £8, was ordered to cease, though it was renewed again next year. Dissatisfaction was further evidenced in 1640 by the schoolmaster being ordered to repair his house at his own expense instead of that of the chamber. Next year he received notice to quit. 'There shall be a new school master thought upon for the towne' before Lady Day and 'Mr. Rogers in the mean tymé shall provide for himself otherwise.' Shortly afterwards it was agreed that Mr. Martin, minister of Horton, elected master of the free school, 'should not be debarred from the execution of his ministerial office, notwithstanding any previous order to the contrary.'

¹ *Borough Records*, II, 155.

² Afterwards, as Sir Richard Lane, Lord Keeper.

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The repair of the school and house was also undertaken at the town's charge, but the house was henceforth to be kept in repair at the master's expense. Mr. Martin, however, does not appear to have ever entered on his duties as schoolmaster, and the school was still carried on by Mr. Rogers. In April, 1642, another 'minister,' Mr. Goodricke of Houghton, was appointed free school master in the room of Mr. Rogers, but with the proviso 'that he shall not at any time preach or use his ministerial office.'

The Civil War made no difference to the school. Northampton was a Parliamentary stronghold from the first outbreak of hostilities. On 14 December, 1646, Ferdinand Archer, M.A., 'being worthilie commended by men of learning and judgment,' was appointed 'free schoole-master of the freeschoole of this towne,' and a letter was to be sent to 'hasten him downe to take the schoole upon him.' Boys were sent from the school up to St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1654 and subsequent years, and as several of these came from the south, it is clear that the school flourished as a boarding school. He survived the Restoration, rendered into English a Latin poem on the great fire of 1675, saw the endowment of the usher in 1677, and twenty years later was still master. He was then supposed to have been the cause of a singular addition to the endowment of the school. On 28 September, 1695,¹ the corporation made Archer a grant, practically in the way of a retiring pension, of £4 5s. a year, with the sum of £30 down. Long after its origin had been forgotten this sum of £4 5s. a year continued to be paid to the schoolmaster for the time being as a rent charge on the corporation and is still part of the endowment of the school. On 3 January, 1696, a new usher was appointed to take charge of the school, the town agreeing that 'if Mr. Styles, the schoolmaster of Buckingham, shall be elected by Wentworth's trustees,' the trustees of the usher's endowment, 'to be Usher of the Freeschoole of Northampton,' he should be 'Schoolemaster of the said Freeschoole after the death of Mr. Archer.' Mr. Styles was accordingly 'invited to come to the towne and accept of the schole as it now is.' How long exactly it was before he succeeded to the mastership is not stated, but the chamberlain's accounts show that he was paid as master in 1698. Amongst his scholars sent to St. John's College as pensioners were several of good family, one of whom, Brownlow Cecil, became Marquis of Exeter in 1722. Styles became vicar of Little Billing in 1717, and resigned the mastership after twenty-one years' tenure in 1719.

There seems to be nothing reported of the various masters in the eighteenth century beyond their names. With two exceptions they held office for long terms, there being only six in the whole century from 1697 to 1797. The Rev. John Clarke held from 1719 to 1748, and the Rev. Richardson Ward from 1748 to 1764. Then came the exception, the Rev. W. Williams, who after a year's tenure was dismissed for non-residence and total neglect of his duties. In November, 1763, the

¹ C.C.R. xiv.

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Rev. Samuel Rogers was appointed during good behaviour. He resigned after four years. The Rev. Thomas Wortley, who succeeded, was master for nearly thirty years, to 1797. The Rev. John Stoddart, appointed in that year, remained in office for 30 years, during 25 of which he was totally blind.¹ In 1818 his son of the same name was second master. There were about 85 boys in the school; 30 boarders, charged 32 to 35 guineas a year; 30 day-boys paying 4 to 8 guineas, and 25 free boys nominated by the corporation, this freedom (with absolutely no warrant in the original foundation) being limited to sons of freemen; it being considered that the endowment, then worth just under £100 a year, was given for that purpose. The year before, 1817, the school committee of the corporation had published rules and orders limiting the foundationers to 25 and providing that 'no boy should be admitted till he can properly read a chapter in the Bible or Testament.' They were to be taught 'the English and Latin grammars, proper reading, good writing and arithmetic.' Special provision was necessary apparently that the foundationers should be treated on an equality 'and with like care of their education in every respect' as non-foundationers. 'In case the Master receives any stipend or gratuity whatever of any boy on the foundation he shall be unworthy of the endowments given by the donors of the said school,' while if a parent gave anything the boy was to be removed, 'except a shilling annually towards the expense of keeping a fire.'

The Schools Inquiry Commission in 1865 found the school in abeyance pending the execution of a new scheme made by the Court of Chancery, 7 December, 1864.

This scheme placed the government of the grammar school in the hands of the municipal trustees of the general charities of Northampton, a body of persons appointed by the Court of Chancery under the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835. The property comprised in the original grant of Chipsey, producing a gross income of £304 a year, was definitely allocated to the purposes of the school. Out of it, however, the late head master, the Rev. Charles Deston, was to receive a pension of £80 a year. The tuition fees were fixed at a maximum of £4 a year, of which the head-master was to take two-thirds and the second master one-third. Under this scheme the old school was sold and new buildings adequate for 200 boys erected in Abington Square—then on the outskirts of the town. But no proper cricket ground was provided, and a mere backyard for a playground, and no head master's house as directed by the scheme. The school, however, was reopened in 1867 under the head-mastership of the Rev. William Henry Keeling, who attained considerable success, having by 1869 eighty boys. The Endowed Schools Act constituting the Endowed Schools Commission to reform grammar schools was passed in August, 1869. In October Mr. Keeling promptly invoked their assistance, pointing out that the scheme of the Court of Chancery, by fixing the tuition fees at the inadequate amount of £4 a year, practically limited the school to eighty boys, and rendered it almost impossible to conduct

¹ *Carlisle*, ii. 213.

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it properly with so many, as any increase above that number rendered the engagement of a third master imperative, while there was no money from fees or endowment to pay him a proper salary. The commissioners were unable to attend to Northamptonshire at first. So in 1872 Mr. Keeling sought and obtained the head-mastership of the grammar school of Bradford, which he has conducted with singular success. He was succeeded at Northampton by the Rev. Samuel John Woodhouse Sanders, who was appointed in February, 1873. Proposals were initiated for the increase of the endowment and the provision of leaving exhibitions by the conversion to educational purposes of charities wasted in doles and obsolete apprenticeships, largely for the decaying body of 'freemen,' one of which called Neale's charity was founded in 1596 for the quaintly-phrased purpose of 'refreshing the poor people of Northampton.' But it was not till 4 February, 1879, that the scheme was passed, with another reconstituting the governing body of the school. The governing body was to consist of thirteen members: the mayor and chairman of the school board of Northampton *ex-officio*, two persons appointed by the town council, two by the quarter sessions of the county, and seven named by the old governing body—the Municipal Charity Trustees. By an unfortunate concession to crude theories then rife, the scheme cut the school into two parts, a classical school and a commercial school, with tuition fees at the rate of £8 to £16 a year in the former, and £2 to £4 a year in the latter; both to be conducted in the same buildings and under the same head master; while more than the whole value of the new endowments was dissipated in scholarships.

The scheme therefore proved a failure. In 1876, before the scheme, there were 110 boys, of whom 96 were day-boys and 14 were boarders. Though at first, under the impetus of the new scheme and the great personal influence of the head master, the numbers rose to 160 in all in 1888, yet of these only 64 were in the classical school, 96 being in the commercial school, which they left at the immature age of fourteen. By 1892 these numbers had fallen to 42 on the classical and 53 on the commercial side. Further, while before the scheme the school, low as were the fees, managed to pay its way, the great relative increase in the teaching staff caused by the two departments produced increasing annual deficits in the working of the school. The experiment of two departments at different fees in the same school giving practically the same education, for only forty-five boys in the so-called 'classical' school learnt Greek, while all learnt science, for which good new buildings had been provided, was pronounced a failure, even by those who had promoted it. The result was a completely new scheme, approved by Queen Victoria in council 28 May, 1894, under which new money was brought in by new bodies. The school has now the long title of the 'Northampton and County Modern and Technical School.' It is under a governing body of 21 members; appointed, seven by the municipal charity trustees of Northampton, two by the school board of Northampton, five by the town council of Northampton, seven by the county council of North-

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ampton ; but the two last-named bodies appoint governors only while they contribute not less than £400 a year to the school. Considerable additions have been made to the school buildings in Abington Square, a sum of £4,000 having been given by the town council. The fees are uniformly six guineas a year throughout the school. With these advantages the school was in 1901 in a flourishing condition with 167 boys in it, almost the same number that there were in the grammar school in 1888. The head master since September, 1894, is Mr. R. Elliot Steel, who was a Manchester Grammar School boy, a Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford, where he gained a first class in the natural science school in chemistry and physics. Besides being head master of the day school he is also principal of the technical school, which mainly consists of evening classes with about 800 students of both sexes.

OUNDLE GRAMMAR SCHOOL

Oundle School is at the present moment the largest and best equipped school in Northamptonshire, while its history is far better preserved than that of any of the other schools in the county. The foundation has hitherto been usually attributed to Sir William Laxton, Kt. and alderman, grocer of the city of London, in 1556. It has, however, already been shown by the present writer¹ that there was a grammar school and grammar-school master at Oundle before 1548, and that the master was continued when the chantry which supported him was abolished. The finding² of the commissioners under the Chantries Act of Henry VIII, made between February and July, 1546, mentions only that the gild of Our Lady was founded to support a priest or priests at the pleasure of the aldermen and brethren of the gild for four yearly obits and doles to the poor. The certificate of the commissioners of Edward VI clearly shows the school, for after saying that the gild was founded by Joan Wyat to find two priests, it gives one of them, 'William Ierland of the age of lxxviiij yeres and hathe byn a teacher there xl yeres, and hathe no other lyving, £5 6s. 8d.,' and continues :—

And forasmuche as there hathe byne a free schole kepte in Fotheringhey, whiche is nowe dissolved, yt were therefore expedient that there were a new erectyd in this towne of Oundell, th same being within iij miles of Fotheringhey. Also ther ys one house callyd the Guilde howse worth by yere to be lett xii^s, under whiche there is inhabiting vij pore wydows rent free, the upper parte of whiche house ys very mete for a scole.³

When Mrs. Jane Wyat founded the gild which maintained school and almshouse has not yet been discovered. As the schoolmaster, William Ierland, had taught there for forty years it was founded before the reign of Henry VIII. A lady of this name⁴ was granted the presentation to the church of Cressingham in Norfolk in the first year

¹ *English Schools at the Reformation*, p. 153 (1896).

² Chant. Cert. No. 36, item 6. The sums of money are written in the original in Roman numerals.

³ Chant. Cert. No. 35, item 40.

⁴ P.R.O. MS. Cal. of Pat. Rolls, Hen. VII.

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of Henry VII, and she may possibly be the foundress.¹ The commissioners² for the continuance of schools found that a grammar school had been continually kept in Oundle with the revenues of the late gild of Our Lady, that it was 'very mete and necessarye to be contynued,' and ordered that 'William Irelande, scholemaister there, shall have and enjoie the rome (place) of scholmaister and have for his wages yerely £5 6s. 8d.,' the same amount he had previously enjoyed.

Though Ireland was already 78 years old he can be traced in receipt of his 'wages' until 1554. Next year his name does not appear. In the next extant account (1558-9) John Sadler, who up to 1554 had been in receipt of £20 as schoolmaster of Fotheringhay, is entered as receiving the wages of £5 6s. 8d. as schoolmaster of Oundle, in accordance with a decree of the Court of Exchequer of 29 October, 1559. It is probable therefore that in accordance with the recommendation of the chantry commissioners he had really been acting all the time as schoolmaster at Oundle, Ireland receiving his stipend as a sort of retiring pension. It is probable that from the time of Ireland's death Sadler received from Lady Laxton a stipend which made his salary up to something beyond what he had been receiving in respect of Fotheringhay. At all events it is clear that neither in place nor person was there any break between the old gild grammar school and the new Laxton school. It is unfortunate for bridging the gap between the old and the new that the Grocers' Company's minute books³ only begin in the very year of the new foundation, when, by an appropriate coincidence, the very first name in the first minute book, heading the list of the court present on 19 June, 1556, is that of Sir William Laxton, alderman. Little is known of his career beyond that recorded by Fuller, that, born at Oundle, 'he was bred a grocer in London, where he so prospered by his painefull endeavours that he was chosen Lord Mayor A.D. 1544,' having been sheriff in 1540.

Laxton's last appearance at the court of the grocers is noted on 6 July. On 17 July, 1556, he made his will of lands, which contained no charitable gifts. But a week afterwards, 22 July, 1556, he executed a codicil, and this codicil, entered in the company's wills book, is the foundation document of the school.

It first states the objects :—

Wheare I, the sayde Sir William Laxton, am fullye minded to errecte and founde a Free Grammar Schole at Owndell in the countie of Northampton to have contynuanse for ever, and the sayde Free Grammar Schole (*sic*) to be kepte in the messuage or house of late called the Guyld or Fraternitie house of Owndell, which Free Schole I will shalle be called the Grammar Schole of me the sayd Sir William Laxton, Knight,

¹ It is stated in *Notices of Fotheringhay*, by H. K. Bonney (Oundle, 1821), following Bridges, that Robert Wyat and Joan his wife built the south porch of the church at Oundle, and that after his death she founded the fraternity of St. John and St. George there, 'about 1464.' Reference is given to Pat. 4 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 15, but the Calendar of Patent Rolls contains no mention of it. The gild mentioned was at Windsor.

² See above under Towcester School.

³ The best thanks of all interested in Oundle School are due to R. Somers Smith, Esq., the clerk to the company, for giving me access to these books and to a valuable compilation of entries therefrom.

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and Alderman of London ; and wheare my will mind and intent is that the Schole-master of the said Free Schole for the time being shall have for his stipend and wages yerely £18 and the Usher of the said Schole yerely £6 13s. 4d.

This recital is a plain declaration enough that the main object of Laxton's foundation was a grammar school.

The codicil then declared Laxton's 'will, mind, and intent' to be to have seven poor men, 'beade-men,' perpetually to be found at Oundle with 8d. a week each and convenient lodgings and free house-room and dwelling in the said gild or fraternity house. In fact except for the substitution of men for women in the almshouse, and the increase of pay, his 'will, mind, and intent' was to reproduce exactly the old institution on the very spot in which it had been founded. To accomplish this he proceeded to devise to the company his lands in St. Swithin's, London Stone, Sherborne Lane, St. Nicholas Lane, Abchurch Lane, Candlewick Street and East Cheap 'recently 'bought of Mr. Edward Weldon Esquire,' 'upon this condition and intent.' First, they were to acquire the gild house from the king and queen's (Philip and Mary) majesties, for the school and almshouse. Then they were to apply the revenue to the objects already stated, the qualifications of the masters being insisted on in the words : 'an honest, virtuous and learned Schoolmaster, being a Master of Arts, to teach grammar, freely, within the said schoolhouse to all such as shall come thither to learn' and 'an honest learned person to be Usher' (was virtue not expected in an Usher?) 'and to teach and instruct the scholars of the same under the said Schoolmaster.' In choosing the poor men the company were to act with the advice and consent of the vicar, churchwardens, and 'four of the best and honest parishioners of Oundle.' The same body of local managers were to receive 24s. a year for the repairs of 'the messuage called the Free School.'

The codicil concluded rather pathetically :—

And I will, that for lack of convenient time further to explain and set out the erection aforesaid, that all other things necessary touching the erection and continuance of the said Free School and other the premises shall be considered and done in such goodly sort as by the discretion of my executrix and overseers of my last will and testament, or by their learned counsel, shall be thought meet and convenient.

Three days afterwards, 25 July, Laxton died and the codicil was proved with the will on 28 August, 1556, by his executrix and widow, Dame Johan or Jane.

On 16 November Mr. Alderman Lodge, Laxton's stepson-in-law,¹ declared to the court the will 'whereunto the whole Assistants are well willing to receive the same, with thanksgiving for his genteel remembrance.'

On 23 December the court recorded their acceptance of the trust and appointed a committee 'to speak with Mr. Southcote to travaile

¹ This appears from Laxton's will of personalty (*Calendar of Hustings Wills*, ii, 665), bequest of basins and ewers to Anne Lodge, a daughter of his wife.

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with them in drawing a plott and form in what manner the same may be done.' But a long time was to elapse before anything could be done. Six months later, 6 July, 1557, the same committee was again to 'travaile' for a 'draught to be made of the freehold at Oundle,' meaning probably a draft conveyance. On 25 July the Gild Hall, 72 ft. by 38 ft., was valued¹ at 10s. a year for sale to Lady Laxton, by 10 August, at £20. On 12 November Mr. Southcote, the counsel, attended the court, when Mr. Alderman Lodge said that the Lady Laxton was minded to make assurance of the lands as Sir William Laxton did give 'after her decease' on condition they were applied to the declared uses. This is somewhat mysterious, as the codicil said nothing about a life interest in Lady Laxton, but perhaps the lands were subject to dower. Counsel said that the will 'being inrolled in the Court of Hustings of London shall be a sufficient assurance.' But 'to put all things out of doubt,' he thought it necessary to have a release from Mr. Wanton and his wife, the latter being presumably Laxton's heiress-at-law. Mr. Wanton, there present, declared that 'for his part he would never hinder that good work which Mr. Laxton had decided to be done; notwithstanding, he would that his heirs should take such benefit as the law would give them if the Company should chance to break the said Mr. Laxton's will.' In spite of which noble words Mr. Wanton managed to delay the completion of the foundation for another six years, when it was accomplished only after 'a chargeable suit' in Chancery and a decree of the Lord Keeper made 17 October, 1572.

On 6 May, 1573, the deeds of arrangement between Lady Laxton and the company were sealed.

At length, on 3 June, 1573, possession was taken on behalf of the company. This was done² 'in the presence of a great number of the town of Oundle, both old and young, and there was given to forty-eight scholars a penny apiece to the intent they should better remember Mr. Wardens' being at Oundle about the said possession.' And there was also given to five poor women there, 'before now placed by the Lady Laxton, and now removed to place men there, to each of them 12d.'

The wardens called before them John Sadler, formerly schoolmaster, 'but now of late had discontinued, and had not taught there but placed a young man in his room.' They told Sadler that the school must be kept according to Sir William Laxton's will, and it was appointed that the schoolmaster was to have £18 a year with a house, and must be resident. Sadler agreed to these terms and was continued in his office.

The warden then called in 'the young man which the said Schoolmaster had placed in his room, named Robert Lynacre, and declared unto him that from henceforth there must be an usher to teach scholars in the said school under the Schoolmaster, and that his wages must be £6 13s. 4d. a year and a house to dwell in, and did ask him whether he had a good

¹ Harl. MS. 607, ff. 75, 6.

² Court Minute, 12 June, 1573. Here and elsewhere where no other reference is given the authority is the minute book of the Court of Assistants under date.

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will to teach there for the said wages, who answered that he will gladly do his best to teach, but thinketh the stipend to be very small.' The wardens also appointed for 'the Schoolmaster's lodging the tenement from time to time called the Priests' Houses or Priests' Chambers, and did likewise appoint for the usher's lodging the tenement sometime called Gybson's house. . . . Item for as much as Mr. Wardens found the schoolhouse even in that order as it was when it was a Brotherhood house to eat and drink in, with high tables round about, more like a tavern than a schoolhouse, they therefore did make request to the inhabitants of Oundle to take such order as the said schoolhouse may be made with forms and seats after the manner of the schoolhouse at Stamford, and to whitewash the schoolhouse round about and to see the tyling of the same to be well finished and thoroughly repaired.'

The schoolmaster was paid up to Midsummer 'according to the agreement before made with him by the Lady Laxton.' In fact the proceedings make it clear that Lady Laxton had carried on the whole foundation exactly as it was left at the dissolution of the chantries. There was no break between the old and the new foundation, and the same master and usher who had carried on the old school in the interregnum became the first master and usher of the new school.

Mr. Sadler did not remain long, as on 15 March, 1575, the court was informed that the schoolmaster of Oundle is willing to resign his room to the company. He was succeeded by a Doctor of Physic named Wilkinson, who had received the influential support of Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was member for the county from 1557.

One of the new schoolmaster's first acts (3 June, 1575) was to pray for 'two great Dictionaries in Latin and Greeke to be ledgers in the school for the furtherance of the Scholars, which was granted, and the Wardens willed to buy the said books and send them down with the Table of Orders by the next Carryer.'

The original of this Table of Orders, which were practically the governing instrument of the school, is not forthcoming, and it was only the happy accident of a contest with the schoolmaster in 1604 that caused it 'to be thought good' by the company to have them registered in the minute book of that date. In the copy thus made the exact date of the original is not given, but a memorandum at the beginning states that they were 'set forth by Dame Jone Laxton with the advice of the Overseers (of Laxton's will) and consent of the Wardens and Assistants of the Company.' They were probably therefore made shortly after the date of the will, when Lady Laxton intended to hand over the lands at once, and at all events before the company took possession in 1573. It is not clear whether they were originally in Latin or English. As entered in the minute books they are in English. As these orders contain twenty-nine items of considerable length, they cannot be reproduced here in full.

The first article prescribed the qualifications of the schoolmaster, not differing from the usual mediaeval form. He was to be 'whole of body, of good report, and in degree M.A., meet for his learning and dexterity

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in teaching, and right understanding of good and true religion, set forth by public authority, whereunto he shall move and stir his scholars.' And he was to teach his scholars sentences of Holy Writ, and, since uniformity was expected in grammar as much as in religion, 'the grammar approved by the Queen's Majesty, and, the accidence and English rules being learned in the First Form, to teach in the Second, Mr. Nowell's catechism, and in the Third Form his large catechisme.' The schoolmaster was to appoint the usher 'by consent of the Wardens of the Grocers.' Both master and usher were to have 'their dwellings and wages during their lives, not being sufficiently convicted to have neglected their office.' If they were so convicted 'yet that they be not straightways removed, but gently warned and admonished.' If after that 'he do not diligently follow his office and charge in the school' then 'to be utterly expelled and removed' and another appointed by the wardens. Master or usher were not to be 'common gamesters, haunters of taverns, neither to exceed in apparel, nor any other ways to be an infamy to the school.'

If (article 8) the master or usher had 'any common disease, as the ague, or any curable sickness,' he was to be 'tolerated' and receive his wages, if a sufficient deputy was appointed, but 'if (which God forbid) they fall into any infectious or incurable disease, especially through his own evil behaviour,' he was to be put away. If he became impotent from age or infirmity he was to be 'favourably borne withal' if his office was 'satisfied by a sufficient deputy.' Twenty working days a year was the extent of the vacation allowed, and when one master was away the other was to supply his place 'upon some good convenient allowance as they can agree.'

As to the scholars, before their admission they should 'be able to write competently and to read both English and Latin. None to tarry above five years in learning his grammar without great cause alleged, and allowed by Mr. Wardens.'

Boarders were contemplated from the first, the master not being allowed to 'take to board, diet, or lodging in his house or room or otherwise above the number of six scholars,' and the usher not above three, 'but by the license of the Wardens.' Oppidans were also contemplated, article 14 prescribing that 'if the scholar is not dwelling in the town but is to be boarded there, the parents shall take advice of the Masters that he be not placed where as it is known the good man or wife are such as shall not give evil example to the scholars to follow idleness, gaming, or other vicious pastimes, not meet for students.'

The school was to be a free school, but an entrance fee of *6d.* was to be paid to the usher for registering the names.

The school hours were as follows :—

7 a.m. Prayers 'in such form as the Master shall think best.'

7.30–11. Teaching, reading, and interpreting.

11–1. Dinner.

1–5 or 6 p.m. School, ending with 'prayer in such form as the Master shall prescribe, making mention in their prayers always of the

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Church, the Queen's Majesty, the realm, and Lady Laxton, and the Company of the Grocers of London, their governors.'

In school, and going to and coming from it, the masters and scholars were to speak Latin. Twice a month at least the master was to examine those 'under the Usher's hand.' The master was not to 'give remedy'¹ or leave to play above one afternoon in a week, unless the said Wardens or some honourable or worshipful person present in the school require it.' On Sundays they were to go to the parish church with 'a prayer book either in English or Latin, as the Master shall appoint.' 'To cause the scholars to refrain from the detestable vice of swearing and "ribauld" words, be it ordered that for every oath or ribald word, spoken in the school or elsewhere, the scholars to have three stripes.'

Sir Walter Mildmay continued to act as a sort of Board of Education. On 20 January, 1570, it was declared to the court 'how he sent for the Wardens and told them the school was far out of order and not like a school for children ought to be, but lacketh flooring and forms handsome for scholars to sit on.'

So at their next visit to Oundle on 4 May, 1576, the wardens went down with 'Mr. Blage, parson of St. Fosters' (St. Vedast Foster's in the city) as examiner. He examined the boys on Saturday afternoon, and meanwhile the wardens viewed the school with 'certain gentlemen which Sir Walter Mildmay did appoint.' This first examiner's report was 'there be excellent boys for their time, as by two epistles made by two of the scholars doth well appear.' On Sunday he 'did make a very good sermon in the church where was great audience of gentlemen of the county and others which brought to us great store of good vituall and dined with us.' The almsmen he also examined, 'but found them very ignorant and took order that if they did not learn the Lord's Prayer, the Belief and Ten Commandments before Whitsuntide their pensions shall cease.' In regard to the school arrangements the committee of view ordered that 'three great tables, one standing at the upper end and one at each side of the schoolroom' (so that the tavern arrangements of the gild-house still remained) 'be taken down, and made of the same stuff two long seats on each side, and before each seat a little narrow shelf to lay their books and to write upon, and one at the upper end in like manner, and at the upper end between the two seats, a new seat of wainscott and a shelf for the Master, with two seats by the same, for gentlemen to sit on that shall come to see and view the school.' This only cost 55s. 4d. in all.

The floor of the school was found to be of plaster of Paris but broken in the midst, and repair would cost as much as new boarding, except the cost of timber, but the careful wardens hoped 'that Sir Walter Mildmay will help us to a warrant for half a score of good trees in the country which will save much money.' Two years afterwards the company ordered the boarding to be done with deal boards delivered at Peterborough.

¹ A holiday or half-holiday, not being a saint's day, is still always called a remedy or half-remedy at Winchester.

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Not until August, 1579, was the work completed, though the income of the lands given by Laxton amounted to £50 a year, and the charges specified by him only came to £38, so that they need not have haggled over repairs. Under pressure from Sir Walter Mildmay the company on 7 March, 1578, had to increase the master's and usher's salaries by £6 13s. 4d. and £3 6s. 8d. respectively 'as a benevolence.'

When Dr. Wilkinson ceased to be schoolmaster is not stated. But on 20 October, 1592, we find Mr. Pamplin, 'the Company's scholemaster,' written to 'to continue his good favour' to the almsfolk and act as paymaster.

In 1596 Mr. Pamplin was required 'to provide himself some other place of service in regard of his want of due attendance, and other misbehaviour.' In September the case was referred to the archbishop of Canterbury to know whether he should continue teaching; a move which resulted a fortnight later in William Pamplin offering to resign, 'which the Company very thankfully accepted,' and 'calling to mind the diligent pains formerly taken in their service,' gave him a benevolence of £10 on 'avoiding' at Christmas.

There was good competition for the place, with testimonials from 'grave fathers and godly divines,' when Richard Spencer, M.A., of Clare Hall, Cambridge, was appointed 14 January, 1597. Warned by experience with Mr. Pamplin the company appointed him only at pleasure, though this was not in accordance with the statutes of the school, and made him enter into a bond for £100 to resign at six months' notice. In 1602 the company visited the school in state with a learned man as examiner, accompanied by the clerk and beadle. In 1604 urgent complaints must have been made, as on 30 March it was agreed that the wardens, assisted by the last wardens, Mr. Renters (the renter-wardens, or bursars of the year), Mr. Dale and Mr. Sandy, should 'speedily ride to visit the Company's school at Oundle.' They reached Oundle late on 8 June. Next day they repaired to the school at 8 a.m. 'and took view of the schollars, whom they found in number about three score.' They then adjourned to the church to meet the vicar, churchwardens, and overseers—not the overseers of the poor, but 'four best and honest parishioners' appointed by the company to act as local overseers of the charity—and 'after gratulation withdrew into the Chancel.' There, after delivering the copy of the 'table concerning the government of the school' above mentioned, they required a certificate from the overseers in writing as to the state of the school. They arranged that thenceforth the sum of 24s. a year directed by the founder for repairs should be paid to them direct 'and not unto the schoolmaster as it hath been wrongfully used to have been paid.' The visitors next surveyed the buildings, 'which they found in very good order and well repaired,' but the usher's house had been made one with the schoolmaster's 'without the consent of the Company, and the Usher contented himself with one small room at the end of the school,' a fact which may perhaps account for the frequent changes in the ushership. They then returned to dinner, 'where Sir

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Charles Montague, knight, and divers other gentlemen gave them greeting and dined with them and the townsmen brought them one gallon of wine and one pound of sugar.' After dinner they took an inventory which shows that the master's house consisted of a hall, a parlour, a chamber over the entry and another over the hall, while the usher's house consisted of the furthest upper chamber, a buttery and a kitchen ; so that it was no wonder the master, with a family, had overflowed into the usher's chambers. In the school were eight glazed windows and 'two falling windows of wainscott,' six double forms for the scholars and 'one framed settle at the hither end' and 'one great elexicon (sic), the author Johannes Scapula.'

On Saturday the visitors went to the school at 8 a.m. 'with a learned preacher, Mr. Wells, parson of Stoke, near Oundle, and one Dr. Clement, a doctor in physike, and others the townsmen.' 'At whose entrance Mr. Spencer made a brief oration in Latin interlaced with some Greek, setting forth the difficulty in his public avocation to content every man, especially the ignorant and certain malevolent persons.' Then two of the scholars 'made like orations in Latin, setting forth the foundation of the school, with an acknowledgement of the Company's great liberality with thanks.' Mr. Wells then made a speech to the scholars in Latin, after which he 'proceeded to the particular examination of many of the said schollars as well in their grammar rules and authors as also in the making of certain English into Latin. Whereby it manifestly appeared that the schollars are for the most part very weak and imperfect, especially in their congruity of Latin, there being not a sufficient schollar in the school well exercised in the Latin tongue, nor any one which is entered or ready to be entered into the Greek. Further there appeared two special defects to the great hindrance of the schollars, arising either through the ignorance of the schoolmaster, or otherways through his great negligence ; namely the one is, because the schollars are permitted to be long absent from the school, and then when they come they pass on with their fellows, not having learned that which was taught in their absence ; the other is, because they want sufficient exercise and practice both in the forenoon and afternoon as well in their authors as also in other exercises, viz : in making of epistles, theames, verses or such like according to their capacities, whereby they remain very idle and reap not the profit which they might.'

The visitors then, after names-calling, went to dinner, and in the afternoon received the certificate asked for from the local people, who handed 'a note' 'of such disorders which Mr. Spencer hath made default of.' They found 'that the Master and Usher have admitted of young children into the grammar school before such time as they can read Latin or write English, or have any capacity to be instructed in the rules of the grammar, contrary to the 14th Statute' ; and 'have given leave to the schollars to play, above two afternoons in a week, contrary to the 24th Statute' and that the scholars did not diligently frequent church on Sabbath days, and those that did behaved themselves very irreverently.

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They sum up—‘Further we find that our school is greatly decayed, in that many of the gentlemen in the country have put their children to our school and have taken them away and have sent them to other schools, in regard they have spent their times and have not profited at all, to the great grief of their parents and to the hurt of our town.’

Mr. Spencer being called before ‘the Commissioners’ for his defence, ‘he in general confessed,’ said the disorders were not done wittingly and threw himself in respect of his wife and three small children and ‘small estate to maintain them withall’ on the company’s mercy, with promise of amendment. After consideration of which, he was again called in, ‘and after a most sharp reprehension used unto him for his great negligence and carelessness, with a most friendly exhortation for the future, he was admonished to amend on pain of expulsion, which admonition he accepted of in all kind sort, giving them most hearty thanks for their most charitable and most merciful dealing towards him.’

On 5 March, 1605, Mr. Dale told the court that Spencer continued his neglect and breach of statutes, and letters were ordered to issue for a second admonition, and that the appointment of an usher, whose place was being supplied by Nicholas Taylor, should be stayed. On 7 May, however, the letter of admonition not having been sent was stopped, and on 4 July Taylor, on a testimonial from St. John’s, Cambridge, was definitely appointed usher. On 24 July, 1612, an extra £4 was given to Spencer ‘as the free gift of this Court,’ probably for serving the joint office of usher as well as master, since on the same day a new usher, Michael Stone, was appointed, the place having been ‘long void.’ He was succeeded by another, George Vernon of Trinity, Cambridge, on 5 February, 1613, whose competency was referred for further examination. At the same court it was ordered that the school ‘shall be from henceforth once in every three years visited by the Wardens for the time being accompanied with some persons of learning,’ and three others of the court. The next visitation was accordingly held on 6 June, 1613, the visitors being accompanied by Mr. William Haynes,¹ ‘chief Master of the Merchant Taylors’ Free Grammar School in London,’ and a bevy of neighbouring parsons. There were ‘near one hundred’ scholars in the school. But ‘after one whole day spent they could not find, nor from the learned gather, but that they were all, both from the highest to the lowest, very raw, weak, and ignorant scholars, much lamented for the loss of their time; and Mr. Richard Spencer, the Chief Schoolmaster, they found not to be a man indowed with the right grounds, form, and dexterity in teaching and training up of youth ever to become good schollars.’

Mr. Spencer, however, was ‘by the said divines, gentlemen, and others much commiserated, his poverty was found to be very great, with a great

¹ He founded some exhibitions in connexion with Leicester Grammar School, now University Exhibitions from the Wyggeston School, Leicester, with which Leicester Grammar School is consolidated.

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charge of a wife and many small children,' so the overseers earnestly solicited the commissioners 'to work some means for his preferment to some spiritual living, who likewise humbleth himself therein to the pleasure of this Court.' Accordingly, on 23 July, the court ordered Mr. Spencer to be 'displaced, amoved with all convenient expedition . . . so soon as he or any of his friends can provide for his preferment or placing otherwise or elsewhere.' Vernon was at the same time refused the ushership and ordered to depart by Christmas. On 16 August Mr. Haynes was given 'two double sovereigns in gold' for his examination of the school. On 23 September it was certified by the vicar and others that Mr. Spencer had definitely betaken himself to the Church, by getting ordained a priest, or as they phrase it, 'a full minister.' Still three whole years dragged on in the attempt to find spiritual promotion for this inefficient schoolmaster, the Lord Mayor elect, in 1613, being asked to use his influence with the Lord Chancellor and divers others. Meanwhile there was only a temporary usher, Thomas Turner, named by Spencer, whom the company would not confirm. At length, on 16 August, 1616, the company, unable to find preferment for Spencer, voted him 100 marks gratuity, and on 17 December, this being increased to £100, he agreed to go. On the following 7 February £5 was given him for serving the usher's place for half a year, Timothy Hard, the usher, having absented himself from the place, and the sum of £100 was paid to the overseers to apply for the benefit of Spencer and his family.

Mr. Richard Pemberton, M.A., had meanwhile been appointed master, and Mr. Robert Henson, B.A., usher, the former having to submit to the indignity of giving a bond to the overseers of Oundle that 'neither his wife nor children shall be any burthen or charge to the parish by reason of their cohabitation there.'

The new men had not been in office more than eighteen months when, on 12 August, 1618, the court was informed of their 'negligence, insufficiency, and unfitness.' This time the visitation, held on 14 September, the wardens being assisted by 'Mr. Cooper, preacher and schoolmaster,' effectually disproved the accusations. Mr. Cooper delivered first a Latin and then an English speech, and the scholars answered with 'two Latin speeches and divers Latin verses by divers of them,' and upon examination the boys were 'found to be well instructed for their times (two of the best scholars being not a month before sent to Cambridge).' The examiner gave a 'theame to some of the chief schollars, the which they presently turned into Latin verses both sapphic and iambic, which were so well liked of them that were present, that it pleased the Wardens upon the approbation of one of the scholar's verses to give him 12^d for his better encouragement.' The examination ended 'with those few scholars that there were, the greatest number being absent in regard of harvest,' a 'catalogue' of their names amounting to eighty being handed in. In 1621 on his petition they allowed 40s. to Edward Spencer for an exhibition to Cambridge. They refused next year to increase the usher's

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wages. On 16 July, 1623, a thunderbolt fell on Pemberton, in consequence of complaints by the Oundle overseers, in the shape of an order to depart at Michaelmas. As he claimed to be heard in answer, a visitation was held on 6 September. The complaints were that he had not taught Nowell's catechism, that he had fallen out with the usher and 'expulsed' him without letting the company know; that he had admitted boys who could not read or write, had taken half the money for admission, and had given play-days several times a week. But the real grievance was that he was 'an ordinary haunter and frequenter of alehouses.' On examination by Mr. Merrial, rector of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, the scholars were found 'very imperfect and illiterate, there not being above two who could make any theme or exercise in Latin.' The number moreover had sunk to thirty-four. Mr. Pemberton then confessed in writing, and in virtue of his five children asked for a benevolence, and was got rid of for £50.

His successor, selected from five candidates, was Mr. Anthony Death, elected on 20 February, 1624, on the recommendation of the bishop of Ely and of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Within a year there was trouble. It began on 7 January, 1625, about the nomination to the ushership of one John Locke, in which the overseers of Oundle wished to interfere, accusing the master of suppressing a letter from the company. They also accused Death of 'neglect in teaching those scholars who paid him not liberally,' 'exacting new fees for teaching, and 'being late for school.' But these charges were apparently only to back their own candidate, a Mr. Shortue, whom Death objected to as 'insufficient in scholarship and not agreeing with him in his methods of teaching.' The court reprimanded Death, who, after all, had statutorily the absolute right of nomination, for his 'inconsiderate carriage,' and appointed neither Locke nor Shortue. Worse was to follow. The overseers then sent up charges of Death's behaviour to sundry of his scholars 'being the most pretty and amorous boys,' which had resulted in his being committed for trial at the assizes on a then capital charge. The usual denial ensued, but after a visitation, on 12 May, the evidence disclosed a terrible state of things, and Death, for 'his indecent, wanton, and uncivil carriage and behaviour,' was summarily dismissed.

On 1 June, 1625, Samuel Cobb, M.A., was elected, and under him the school found peace for some eleven years, till his death in 1637. Mr. Sheffield was appointed usher in March, 1626, at the increased salary of £15 a year, £5 more than the amount named by the founder. There was only one disturbance in Cobb's time owing to a dispute about an usher appointed by the company whom Cobb would not accept. But as on a visitation, 5 September, 1632, a good report was given of the master and the school, the matter was settled by Cobb agreeing to admit Ponder, the company's nominee. Cobb's reign was rendered notable by the commencement of a school register, begun on 15 September, 1626, which is therefore, with the exception of the registers at Winchester and Merchant

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Taylor, the oldest of its kind. The Oundle register¹ begins with the names of the boys then in the school. They were 68 in all, arranged in two divisions: (a) those under the head master, numbering 37, divided into three forms, 6 in the highest, 18 in the middle, and 13 in the lowest; and (b) those under the usher, also arranged in three forms, 9 in the highest, 17 in the middle, and 5 in the lowest. Rather vexatiously the register does not state what the forms were called. The first half-dozen names are a fair sample of the whole. The first was Daniel, third son of Robert Mawley, freeman (*ingenuus*) of Oundle, six years old, to be taught grammar by the usher, admitted 2 October, and paid for his entrance fee 2s., which, it may be observed, was four times the amount allowed by the statutes. The next was Matthew, eldest son of Matthew Robinson, born at Masey, twelve years old, to be taught by the usher, admitted 5 October, paying the same entrance fee. The third was Edward, third son of Edward Bing, who is described in Greek characters as bursodepson, with the Latin alternative of cobbler (*allutarii*), seven years old, admitted 9 October, under the usher. Fourth came Benjamin, son of Edward Rolt, gentleman, deceased, born at Boneast, Bedfordshire, twelve years old, admitted under the head master. And so on. There was a real admixture of classes, the son of the cobbler side by side with the son of the gentleman. Thus No. 22 was Edward Maria Wingfield, eldest son of James Wingfield, knight (*equitis aurati*), of Kimbolton; while No. 28, with his name in beautiful red letters, was Gervase Pierpont, fifth son of Robert, Viscount Newarke, who paid 2s. entrance fee; and Nos. 30 to 32, also in red, were the three sons of Edward, Lord Mountague of Boughton, who paid 10s. each entrance fee. On the whole, of the 75 boys admitted between 2 October, 1626, and 11 June, 1629, the gentlemen's sons largely predominated. The entrance fees varied from 1s. to 10s., but the latter sum was paid by the Mountagues only, John, the second son of Lord Fitzwilliams, as it is spelt, paying only 2s. What law (if any) determined the fees of the rest, between 1s. and 3s., it is difficult to say. The age of admission varied from six to fifteen, but the majority were between ten and thirteen. The school was evidently on the upward grade both in numbers and quality. Under the next usher, William Bonder, 17 August, 1629, to 27 July, 1634, 102 were admitted, or some twenty a year. They seem, however, to have stayed not more than three years on an average, as a list is given of the whole school, then arranged in eight classes, on the arrival of Thomas Johnson, Cobb's successor, 3 February, 1636, and there were exactly seventy of them. The head boy was aged sixteen, the next eighteen, the third fifteen, the fourth twelve, and the fifth, John Newton, who had been in the school nearly ten years, was seventeen.

At the visitation in 1638 under Johnson (the usher being Strickland Negus, who was in the fifth form of the school when the register was begun

¹ The heading runs: 'Nomina sive catalogus eorum qui admissi sunt in Scholam Publicam Aromatopolon Londinensium Oundelensem, ab eo tempore quo Gulielmus Dugart in artibus Baccalaureus hypodidasculatum suscepit, Septembris scilicet xv^o 1626, Magistro Samuele Cob Scholæ correctore.'

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in 1626) there were seventy-seven boys, and the usher delivered a note of eleven scholars from the school who had gone to the universities in three years last past. Just before the outbreak of the Civil War, 21 June, 1642, a visitation was again held, and this time the visitors were welcomed by the scholars with speeches in Greek as well as Latin and English. There was no visitation again for nine years, on account of the disturbed state of the country.

Yet the Civil War made no appreciable difference to the school at first. Mr. Johnson carried it on with nearly as many entries as usual till 26 May, 1644, when the register breaks off. In 1646 Johnson betook himself to a 'spiritual living,' and Mr. William Hix or Hicks succeeded on the recommendation of 'Mr. Busby, Mr. Langley, and Mr. Dugard' (the former usher), 'Chief Schoolmasters of Westminster, Paul's, and Merchant Taylors' Schools.' On his arrival there were only nine boys in the upper and twenty-one in the lower school, but in 1649 he sent two boys to St. John's College, Cambridge. By the time of the visitation held in 1650 the numbers had been raised to sixty-seven, and these were found to be 'civilly and carefully educated,' and the books lately sent down there 'conveniently placed upon desks and carefully chained,' and the schoolmaster praised 'for the respect and love which he gaineth by his fair carriage.' Yet at the very court at which this report was presented, on intimation 'of some dissenting in point of judgement and opinion between the Minister of the town and Schoolmaster about ecclesiastical matters,' he was sent for to London, and, after being heard, was, on 16 July, given warning to quit. On 5 November William Griffith, B.C.L. and schoolmaster of Leicester, was appointed to succeed at Christmas.

The visitation in 1653 found only forty-five boys, Mr. Hicks, so scandalously dispossessed, having, one is glad to hear, 'carried away the chiefest scholars and of best quality.' Griffith's stipend was then increased to £50 a year. In 1657 Griffith obtained a living, and the ex-usher, William Taylour, then keeping a school, presumably the grammar school, at Fotheringhay, at last obtained Oundle School. After the Restoration, Hicks the dispossessed asked to be reinstated, but naturally the company could not turn out Taylour, and used against Hicks the argument that he had, in trying for other appointments, stated that he had voluntarily resigned. In 1665 the school could boast of two sons of Robert Cecil, grandsons of the Earl of Salisbury, and twenty-six boys were admitted during the year from Lady Day, 1665, to Lady Day, 1666, and fifteen during the next year.

Just as the school seemed to be entering on a new era of prosperity the Great Fire of London of 1666 caused disaster both to the company and the school, which soon descended to the lowest depths of poverty and incapacity, from which it did not recover until the beginning of the nineteenth century. The company's hall and all the adjacent buildings, save the turret in the garden, which fortunately contained the records and muniments, and almost all the company's house property were

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destroyed.¹ From 1671 to 1679 the company's hall was under sequestration for debt, and all their charitable payments fell into hopeless arrear. In 1686 they appealed to Chancery, and by a decree of a Commission of Charitable Uses were allowed twenty years in which to pay the arrears. It was not till after 1721, when a member of the court was authorized to compound for payment of the charities, that the company again became thoroughly solvent.

The school suffered with the rest. The first note we have of the disaster to the company affecting the school is on 27 February 1667, when the master 'intimated his necessitous importunity for supplies and the declining condition of the school, the Usher having deserted for want of encouragement.' He was given half a year's pay.

The numbers kept up fairly, seventeen being admitted in 1668, and next year twelve. In January 1670, £100 was paid for the masters and almspeople, who represented 'their indebted and wanting condition,' and in October they were given a year's pay. In consequence of rumours that the master intended to remove to a benefice, a visitation, 'omitted for several years past,' was held 19 July 1671, when the school was found 'thin, young in growth, and number not considerable.' The register shows only five boys admitted in that year. Three quarters' arrears to the master and usher were paid. The visitors found the master 'infirm and unhealthful and not so active or fit for duty as formerly.' After recreating themselves at bowls and having promised a company's exhibition to a son of Mr. Cuthbert, one of the overseers of the school, and to Jonathan Smyth, 'a pregnant youth,' they returned home. Mr. Taylor was warned to seek for other preferment as too 'antient.'² He accordingly 'entered the ministry and accepted a benefice.'

He was succeeded by William Speed, master of Ratcliffe School, a free school in London, who entered on his duties at Christmas 1672,³ with Joshua Ogle as usher. The latter, however, left 24 June, 1673. In 1679 the company was still in arrear with the master's salaries, and in 1687 they owed the headmaster £285 at the rate of £60 a year, which he asserted was the salary he was appointed at, while the company contended that it was only £40. As they paid up on the former basis this was no doubt correct, though the company settled it (6 May) to be £40 for the future. In 1689 Mr. Speed, tired, one may suppose, of incessant struggles to obtain his pay, departed without warning and settled himself in a school at Hampstead. Eight boys only had been admitted in 1687 and seven in 1688.

The decree of the Commissioners of Charitable Uses in 1686 found the payments for Oundle to be £102 16s. a year, but settled them for the future at only £82 16s. apportioned thus: Schoolmaster, £30; usher, £10; almsmen, £36 8s.; washerwoman, £5 4s.; repairs, £1 4s.; total, £82 16s.

¹ *City Livery Companies Commission Report*, ii. 131.

² Court Minute, 27 September, 1672.

³ School Register under date.

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To meet the difficulty of finding a new master at this reduced rate, the company took the fatal step, on the recommendation of the 'local trustees,' as they were now called, of appointing the vicar of Oundle, Edward Caldwell, to the mastership. Under him four boys only were admitted in the year 1690, seven in 1696, two in 1697, and three in 1699, when the register breaks off till 1762.

There is no entry in the company's minutes relating to the school from 1689 to 1705, in which year the court ordered payment of the vicar-schoolmaster's salary, on production of a testimonial 'setting forth his sobriety and integrity and faithfulness' against 'the false accusation lately given to the Court against him and the Usher.' The measure of his failure is given by the register, which at the end records the scholars going to the universities. In Speed's time, between 1673 and 1689, 39 had gone up, or at the rate of two and a half a year. In the vicar's time, between 1689 and 1693, only four, including the vicar's own son, went to the universities. He died in 1717.

The new master, Mr. John Jones of St. John the Baptist's College, Oxford, 'civilian,' found the school out of repair to the extent of £30, and the company, after grumbling at having paid £15 a year more than the founder allowed, eventually produced £20. Jones only stayed for five years and was succeeded by another Jones, named Richard, of Clare College, Cambridge. All that we hear of his reign is incessant wrangles over repairs, and for a decent house for the schoolmaster. On 26 May 1761 his son informed the company of Jones's death.

The election of his successor was a lengthy matter. After the local 'inspectors,' as they were now called instead of overseers, had been asked to find a master, and a Mr. Rowe had been recommended, it was determined to advertise 'in the daily and evening papers.' After several adjournments four candidates appeared. On 19 February 1762 one had his petition and papers returned because he was not an M.A. as required by Laxton's will, and Mr. Samuel Murthwaite was then elected by ballot. Almost at once he complained that the master's house was so bad that he could not live in it, 'or take scholars to board;—to the great discredit of the school'; while the inhabitants said that it was so ruinous as to be incapable of repair. The company acted with commendable expedition. The matter was only brought up on 22 October, and by 3 December plans for a new house costing £365 were approved and ordered to be executed. The building was not, however, completed till 8 March 1765.

Poor Murthwaite began apparently with high hopes, restarting the register, in which there had been no entries since 1699, with an ambitious exordium: 'The names of the pupils (*discipulorum*) admitted to the Public School of Oundle long deserted (*diu infrequentissimam*), when the rule of it was undertaken by Samuel Murthwaite, 19 February 1762.' But his hopes were doomed to disappointment. One entry in the first year, two in the second, one in the third, furnished the meagre record.

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The new buildings, completed in 1765, promised a new start, no less than six boys making their entrance, all from Oundle, including the son of the local doctor, William Walcot. Having taken orders Murthwaite retired at Lady Day, 1779. When John Evanson succeeded at Michaelmas, 1779, he noted that there were only four boys in the school. In 1780 the usual wrangle about repairs began; but it was not till 1782 that the company were induced to spend £13 6s. to prevent the walls of the almshouse and schoolhouse from falling down. In 1785 Evanson asked leave to let his house. It was then discovered that there were absolutely no boys in the school, so the leave was refused, and on 15 July he was solemnly reprimanded by the wardens for neglect of duty. A new application for repairs in December, 1787, produced an order for the extraction of all the minutes relating to Oundle from the company's books, which resulted in the two volumes which have furnished the history of the school, verified by Richard Whalley Bridgman, the clerk. It appeared that no visitation had been held since 1771. On 15 August, 1788, therefore one was held, when the visitors found the school without an usher, and with only ten boys, of whom seven were boarders, the eldest being twelve and the youngest five years old.

In 1791 Evanson made application for an increase of salary, which was postponed, and in 1792 refused. This seems to have unhinged his mind. In December, 1793, memorials were presented to the company by several parents who had signed a favourable testimonial in 1792, complaining of his conduct to their boys. An inquiry was thereupon held on 10 June, 1794. One boy had been 'beaten stupid' by the master's 'doubled' fist, and the poor boy used to tremble and 'totter,' as he expressed it, when he had to go up to the master. Another was flogged every day but one for a fortnight, till 'the boy rather than go to school hid himself behind the church.' The son of the parish clerk was found so bad from blows in the back that he could hardly breathe. Evanson used to lift him from the ground by his ears and pinch his face. One of the boys uses a curious word of modern slang, 'He used to lick all the boys, but he beat me most.' Once he beat the door with his fists and kicked it and opened and shut it many times, kicking and hitting it, and when the boys laughed fell on them in a fury. Evanson's defence was that the boys were unmanageable, through the company coming and holding visitations and inviting complaints. Though the ill-treatment was proved up to the hilt, yet in virtue of the freehold which Evanson claimed under the school statutes, and to which he was undoubtedly entitled in spite of his having only been appointed by the company to hold 'at pleasure,' he had to be bribed with £250 to resign after the case had dragged on for a whole year.

In the appointment of his successor the company took a great deal of pains to secure a good man and a better system. They compiled an elaborate 'charge or recommendation,' which bears internal evidence of being the composition of Mr. Bridgman, and is full of pompous platitudes on the importance of spelling, of the way in which 'a competent

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idea of the several manufactures and the metals from the rude material and the mines to their last improvement, some skill in letter-writing, some acquaintance with admired passages from our poets and other authors,' can be gained from reading-lessons, and the practical delights of the study of geography.

The Rev. Thomas Henry Bullen, clerk, of Christ's College, Cambridge, being confronted with this portentous piece of empirical pedagogy, warily professed his most perfect approbation of it, and was elected 24 March, 1796. A year afterwards the local overseer reported that he had found not a single boy in the school, but that then, May, 1797, there were 45, 'the sons of gentlemen, clergymen, and the most respectable and opulent tradesmen and farmers,' of whom twenty-one were boarders, and the plan of education recommended by the company was carried out, 'merchants' accounts, surveying, geography, and drawing being taught, besides the classics, by Mr. Bullen and his very able assistant.' The word 'gentleman' was rather romantically used; but a good many tradesmen's sons from Peterborough, Grantham, Cambridge, and Ramsey deserted the schools there for Oundle. Mr. Bullen was given £100 'by this Court as a voluntary gift in token of their present approbation and as an encouragement for him to exert himself in the good government and increase of the school.' Next year he received a grant of £60. In 1799 there were 97 boys in the school, of whom 40 were boarders. But the arrangements were primitive, to say the least of it. The 'eating room' for fifty persons was only 14 feet by 15 feet 9 inches, while 'all the operations of washing etc. the children were obliged to be performed in the kitchen,' the consequence of which was too great familiarity with the domestics, who would not stay. Moreover as the pupils had only the school 'to sit or play in when the weather is unfavourable or in the winter evenings, the repose and comfort' of the almspeople who lived underneath them was 'materially broken in upon.' The same outhouses too served for almshouses and school. The house was therefore enlarged at a total cost of £641. In 1800 Mr. Bullen again received a 'benevolence' of £60, while one of his assistant masters, Thomas Dix, was given ten guineas for the dedication to the company of a book he had published on land surveying.

In 1803 Bullen asked for an increase of salary, stating that it was hinted in strong terms when he was appointed that it should be made up to £100 a year, which had been done sometimes but not always, that he had to pay £100 a year for a classical assistant master, besides the others, and that though his boarding terms were as high as the public could bear, and the house was full, he had gained nothing 'but a nervous and weakly constitution, which in four years' might incapacitate him. He obtained £100, but with an intimation that as the company had enlarged his house and so enabled him to increase his emoluments, they did not expect such an application. At Midsummer, 1809, Bullen resigned on account of ill-health. He was succeeded by the Rev. John James of St. John's College, Cambridge, whose salary was definitely augmented in 1812 by £60 a

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year, making it £100 in all. Additions were made to the school buildings by purchases of adjacent properties, in all of which William Walcot, an old Oundellian (son of the local doctor), a barrister, who lived at or near Oundle, was the moving spirit; in 1815 a place next door to the school, previously used as a slaughter-house, became the germ of a playground, and in 1820 a sick-house was added.

The school had now become almost exclusively a boarding school. Of the 50 boys admitted in the last three years of Bullen's rule only six were day-boys; and in the first two years of James', out of 37 boys admitted only five were day-boys, four of them belonging to one family of the name of Rickett, all entered as 'on the foundation.' Though the school was full under Bullen, only sixteen remained to encounter his successor. The clientèle became very different. Instead of farmers, grocers, and horse-dealers and the like, chiefly from the towns and villages of Northamptonshire and neighbouring counties, the school was now filled with the sons of gentlemen from all parts of the kingdom. The first boy entered under James, 1 August, 1809, after the summer holidays, which then in nearly all schools began at the same time as the Oxford Long Vacation, in the middle of June, was from Oxford, the next from Norfolk, the third came from London, and the fourth from Essex. A son of Lord Lilford may be noticed, but there do not seem to have been any other scions of titled families. In 1813 and afterwards there was a second boarding house, boys being entered as boarding at Mr. Levisse's, and then at Mr. Bill's, and from Lady Day, 1827, at the house of the Rev. John Shillibeer, second master. He was of Jesus College, Cambridge, and succeeded to the mastership on the retirement of Mr. James to a canonry at Peterborough on 1 August, 1829. During James's time a writing master was introduced and a fee of £6 a year imposed on 'free boys' as well as boarders for attending his instruction. Usually about twelve free boys attended and paid the fee. The Commissioners¹ of Inquiry in 1830 found that this caused dissatisfaction, and though holding that only grammar was free, recommended an abatement of the charge.

Seventeen boarders and ten day-boys confronted Shillibeer. In 1831 he obtained from the company the establishment of two leaving exhibitions from the school, which under regulations of 13 April were tenable at Oxford or Cambridge for three years by boys who had been five years in the school. Under Shillibeer the school again assumed a more local and rather more middle-class complexion. The numbers were not so well maintained. The Commissioners of Inquiry found nine free scholars and eighteen boarders. Shillibeer retired at Christmas, 1841, and was succeeded by the Rev. David Pooley of St. John's College, Cambridge, who found 35 boarders and 7 day boys.

In this year an information was filed by the Attorney-General in Chancery to make the company account for the whole of the endowment given by Laxton as a charity for the benefit of the school and almshouse.

¹ C.C.R. xxxi, 353.

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Lord Langdale, Master of the Rolls, gave judgement on 18 January, 1845, in favour of the company, holding that the beneficial interest had been given to them subject only to the fixed charges in favour of the charitable objects. Fortunately the company has acted in a far more liberal spirit than that which dictated Lord Langdale's decision. In 1841 the Laxton property produced £1,561 a year. When, on 15 December, 1863, Mr. Thomas Hare, Inspector of Charities, reported on the City Companies' Charities¹ to the Charity Commission, he showed that between 1852 and 1861 the company had rebuilt the school and almshouse at a cost of £4,500, and in 1861-2 paid an income of £874 for the school and £278 17s. a year to the almspeople.

At this time the head master was almost for the first time an Oxford man, the Rev. J. F. Stansbury, D.D., of Magdalen Hall, Oxford. He was elected on 7 June, 1848, and found 22 boarders and 4 day-boys on his arrival. He entered only two boys in the register, both of them day boys, and the old register then ends. It is to be hoped that the new register begun by him will be preserved with the same care as the old one.

In 1863² there were 132 boys in the school with six masters. £1 a year was charged for entrance fee. The only tuition fee was £2 a year which was charged for French 'to prevent injury to the National and British schools in Oundle.' Mr. T. H. Greene, who visited the school for the Endowed Schools Commission in 1866, almost verged on enthusiasm in his account³ of it. He found 120 boys, of whom 40 were day boys and 80 boarders. Of these 30 were in the head master's house, the rest being divided between the house of his son, the Rev. J. A. Stansbury, and some 'Dames' houses' in the town. The charges were forty guineas a year in the head master's house, thirty guineas in his son's, and twenty-five guineas in a 'dependence' of that house. The strength of the school lay in its mathematics, two boys having recently obtained first-classes in the Mathematical School at Oxford. But only fifteen boys in the school were over sixteen, and the great majority did not go to the university. The assistant-commissioner spoke very favourably of their attainments in classics, English, and French, though he found the arithmetic disappointing.

But change is necessary to life, especially in the headmastership of schools. When Dr. Stansbury retired in 1876 the school had sunk to seventy-eight.

In September, 1876, the Grocers' Company, largely under the influence of Sir Joseph Warner, a member of the company, a Balliol scholar who had taken first-class honours both in classics and mathematics, made a new scheme for themselves. They converted the original grammar school, which they now called 'Sir William Laxton's Grammar School,' into a second-grade 'modern' school for farmers and tradesmen at a tuition fee of two guineas for Oundle boys, and four

¹ *City of London Livery Companies Commission*, 1884, iv.

² *Ibid.* iv, 99.

³ *S.I.R.* xii, 356.

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guineas for others, with accommodation for boarders. In ten years the boarders had dwindled to 3, the day-boys had risen from 5 to 46.

Meanwhile they spent £15,000 on new buildings for a school which they called 'the Oundle School,' chiefly for boarders, though also with day-boys, the boarding fees being £60 a year and the tuition fees for day-boys £9 9s. a year. This school, the real Laxton School, was entrusted to a new head master, the Rev. H. St. John Read, a scholar of University College and a former Captain of the Oxford Eleven. He was previously a member of the original staff chosen to build up Haileybury School. In 1877 this school numbered 97; in 1883 171, of whom twenty were day boys. On Mr. Read's resignation a new head master was appointed in 1883, the Rev. T. C. Fry, D.D., who remained only a year, when the Rev. Mungo T. Park, scholar of Lincoln College, Oxford, and head master of Louth Grammar School, succeeded him.

The great mistake of expending many thousands of pounds on splendid buildings in the narrow street of a petty town, with little air or space back or front, has now been to a large extent rectified by the establishment of two boarding houses on the school cricket-field, a fine piece of land thirty acres in extent, on an elevated plateau half a mile outside the town.

The school is now in a flourishing condition under Mr. Frederick William Sanderson of Christ's College, Cambridge. He was eleventh wrangler in 1882. As assistant master at Dulwich College he organized the physical science and engineering side there. He was appointed head master of Oundle School in 1892.

There were then 92 boys; in 1900 they had reached 168, and numbers are well kept up. Of these seventeen are day boys, the rest being boarders; the total cost to whom is between £80 and £90 a year. The boarders reside in six houses, the Head Master's or School House in the town, Dryden House, Sidney House, Laxton House (the name of which has been transferred from an old house in the town near Jesus Church to a part of the boarding-house on the cricket-field), in Grafton House, and in the Preparatory House. A new house on the cricket-field was opened at Michaelmas, 1905. The school has outgrown the parish church for its services, and so for the present uses a temporary chapel, pending the erection of a permanent one.

Since 1892 physical, chemical, and engineering laboratories and workshops have been added to the school buildings. Never was such a many-sided school. There is a classical side, a modern side, a science side, and an engineering side; while there is also an army class and a navy class, and a junior school, unspecialized, for small boys. The classical side still preponderates, numbering in 1901 52, as compared with 28 on the modern side, 8 on the science side, and 40 on the engineering side. This last has in its strong, if recent, development annexed the greater part of the old schoolhouse, with its laboratory. There were 6 boys

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in the army class, 10 in the navy class, and 39 boys in the junior school. In 1895 five boys left the school with open scholarships at Cambridge, and they all appeared in 1898 in the First Class of the Classical Tripes.

The usher or second master with a quasi-independent position disappeared with the retirement of Mr. R. P. Brereton on a pension in 1897. While in the old days of pure classics two masters were thought sufficient for eighty or even 100 boys, now there are no less than 12 masters for 168 boys, or at the rate of one for every 14 boys.

The Laxton School is not indeed an independent school, but is separate alike in work and play. The master in charge of it, Mr. T. H. Ross, B.A., Mus. Bac., has the status of an assistant master in the Oundle School, with a staff of two masters under him. The curriculum excludes Greek. There are now 55 scholars, all but 15 of whom are day boys. The boarders are made up, partly of boys holding scholarships awarded to children of freemen of the Grocers' Company, partly of boys holding scholarships awarded by the Northampton County Council to boys in public elementary schools in the county, a modicum of four or five only being paying scholars, sons of farmers.

The finances of the schools depend on the yearly budget of the Grocers' Company. About £2,000 a year has been spent in the last few years on the Oundle School, including grants for equipment of classrooms, laboratories, and the like. In its present flourishing condition as to numbers it is nearly, or soon should be, self-supporting. The Laxton School has been receiving about £600 a year in addition to what is regarded as its 'endowment' of £300 a year. The lowness of the fees must always prevent this school being self-supporting. About £650 a year is spent on pensions for past schoolmasters.

It will be interesting to see the result of the company's educational experiments—that of a first-grade technical school, part and parcel of and side by side with a first-grade classical school; and a second-grade modern school in the near neighbourhood of a first-grade school.

WELLINGBOROUGH GRAMMAR SCHOOL

The origin of Wellingborough Grammar School has been attributed officially¹ to the year 1595; though both Bridges² the historian of the county and Carlisle the historian of grammar schools³ have suggested, without showing, an earlier origin, which is in fact certain.

There is no doubt that the school owes its endowment ultimately to the Gild of the Blessed Mary in the church of All Saints of Wendlyngburgh, the chapel of which seems to have existed in 1329⁴ and the gild itself to have been formally incorporated 24 July, 1392,⁵ and by the time of Henry VIII had become united with the Gild⁶ of Corpus Christi

¹ *Char. Com. Rep.* xxiii, 304.

² *Endowed Grammar Schools*, ii, 226.

³ *Pat.* 16 Rich. II, pt. ii, m. 29, 30.

⁴ Copy of Court Roll 18 Oct. 1522, among the gild muniments preserved in the vestry of the parish church.

⁵ Bridges, *Hist. of Northants.*

⁶ *Pat.* 2 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 3.

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and St. George. Whether that endowment was applied for the purposes of a school before the dissolution of the gild in 1548 must still remain doubtful.

The report then made on 'the Fraternitie or Guylde of Our Lady there'¹ says that it was founded 'to the intent to do suche dedes of Charytie as shoulde seme to the masters of the same bretherene most mete,' and was in fact chiefly spent on the town bridges, and the value of the lands was stated to be £5 6s. 10½d. Appended is a 'memorandum, to the intent it might please the king's majesty to erect there'² a free school, appointing the same lands towards the same; the vicar there is contented to charge his benefice for ever with 40s. a year towards the same, and the township offereth to purchase as much more land as shall be convenient for the erection thereof.'

On 21 December, 1549,³ the lands 'late belonging to the gild or fraternity of Wendlyngbrough' were with other property of gilds in other places conveyed by the king to John Monson, esquire, who was seemingly acting as agent for the people of Wellingborough, for on the very next day, 22 December, 1549, he conveyed the Wellingborough gild lands to John Vyncent and John Dynnet, to hold in the same way as they were granted to him, in common socage of the king as of his manor of Caistor in Lincolnshire. It is most probable that the school was then set up, but there is no absolute evidence of it.

In Elizabeth's reign John Mershe of London, who had been a surveyor for Northamptonshire of the Court of Augmentations, and Francis Greneham obtained, 1 November, 1570, letters patent enabling them to search for lands concealed; that is, to enable the Attorney-General to bring actions to recover lands which had belonged to monasteries or chantries and had been withheld from the crown. In pursuance of this patent, on 30 January, 1576, lands of the late gild of Wellingborough were conveyed with other lands to John and William Mershe, who in a month's time sold them to six inhabitants of the town. William Ball, the last named of these six, was in 1595⁴ charged, as 'surviving feoffee of the lands in the bill'⁵ mentioned to the use of fynding of a scholemaster,' with detaining 'the evidences' and 'the whole profit of the same lands to his owne use, wherefore there is now no Scholemaster there.' He was ordered to produce the 'evidences' and to pay what had usually been paid to the schoolmaster. In further proceedings on 4 February following⁶ it appeared that Ball had conveyed the lands to 'dyvers unmeet persons' who 'sought to make a private gayne' and would not consent to the schoolmaster having '£12 by yere and the usher £4,' as was thought right in consideration of the land being 'worthe about £30 by yere.' The court eventually ordered a conveyance to be

¹ Printed in my *English Schools at the Reformation*, 149-50, from Chant. Cert. 35, No. 16.

² On the dissolution of Croyland Abbey in 1540 the town had passed from the lordship of the abbot to that of the crown. In 1555 it was held by the Lady (afterwards Queen) Elizabeth, as appears from a copy of court roll among the school muniments.

³ Pat. 3 Edw. VI, pt. vii, m. 17.

⁴ Chan. Dec. and Orders, A 1595, fol. 280.

⁵ The bill is not forthcoming.

⁶ Chan. Dec. and Orders, A 1595, fol. 866.

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executed to new feoffees 'to the intent that the said Schole and the other charitable uses may be mayneteyned and kepte as thought fitt and sett down by Sir Edward Mountague, knight, and Thomas Melshoe, esquire.' 'If 10 or 11 of the fitter sorte of the Inhabitants shuld not agree upon a Schoolemaster,' he was to be appointed by the bishop of Peterborough. He was to be paid £12 a year, and the usher £4. No part of the income of the lands was 'to be imployed upon the reparation of the church, for that the reparations thereof were to be borne by the parisshe.'

But there were other influences at work. The defendants objected to the 'articles concernyng the good mayntenaunce of the free schole of Wellingborrowe,' and on 30 October the master reported that a compromise had been arrived at by the counsel on both sides. This was embodied in twenty-one articles, which the court by its decree the same day confirmed, and these for close on 300 years formed the fundamental statutes of the school. They are set down in the Decree Book, and were by order appended to all subsequent appointments of new feoffees until a Scheme of the Charity Commissioners in 1862.

The important articles concerning the school are as follows:¹—'Imprimis, that there be one Schole-maister and his usher to teach Latin and to teach to reade, write, and cast accompts, and he to have £20 by yeare for him and his usher; Or otherwise that there be one Schole-maister to teach the Latin tongue, and he to have 20 markes by yeare; And one other distincte Scholemaister to teach to write, reade, and cast accompts, and he to have 20 nobles yerely. These Scholemaisters or Scholemaister to be chosen by the main parte of the inhabitants of the towne of Wendlingburgh that were assessed in the subsidie last before.'

The power of removing the schoolmasters was entrusted to Sir Edward Mountague, Sir William Heath, Serjeant Yelverton, and Thomas Melshoe, or any two, for their lives, and afterwards to the justices living nearest to Wellingborough or any two of them; to the petty sessions, in fact.

'That allowance be given to the scholemaister that last was, and him that now is there, for theyre service past by the appoyntement of Sir Edward Mountagu and Mr. Seriaunt Yelverton.'

This last article is of course proof positive that the school was going on some time before the suit.

The compromise that resulted in these articles was a great misfortune for the town. The inevitable result of giving the choice between a grammar school of a master and usher and two independent masters, one for grammar—that is, classics or secondary education—and the other for elementary subjects, was that there was continual rivalry, the lower master setting up his horn against the grammar master and, especially in latter days, obtaining money for the maintenance of his school while the upper school was starved. Anyhow the attempt to combine a grammar

¹ These are taken from the copies written at the beginning of the first extant Account Book of the Feoffees, beginning 9 and 10 April, 1599, and going down to 1 April, 1673.

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school and an elementary school in one lowered the grammar school, as in the case of St. Olave's, Southwark, which¹ never flourished throughout its career until it got rid of its elementary adjunct in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

The settlement of the new conveyance seems to have taken two years, as it was not until 9 April, 1599, that the first account was presented, when Henry Spencer accounted for the first and Mr. Thomas Mulshoe for the second half of the year ending Lady Day, 1598-9. Spencer received £24 1s. 4d., and Mulshoe £11 13s.; but they significantly record 'A greate parte of the lands which the collectors cannott gett, as they affirme.' From this account it appears that Mr. Robert Law, 'presbyter Eboracensis' as he signs himself in one of the parish books, was the schoolmaster at the time of the decree, and of an elementary kind only, as he was paid £9 14s. 'at diverse payments' by Spencer, 'in parte of his wages,' and £4 on 2 August by Mulshoe; but that he was superseded under the new order at Christmas, 1598. For Mr. Crosley, who signs the account as 'Alexander Crosley, Scholemaister,' was paid £3 6s. 8d. for a quarter's wages, while on 10 April, 1599, Mr. Lawe (*sic*) was described as 'the Usher' and was paid £1 10s. Crosley was a person of some academical distinction, having been elected a Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, 29 June, 1583, the day after he took his B.A. degree. He took his M.A. degree on 11 July, 1586, and resigned his fellowship on 17 November, 1597, apparently to take this appointment. In 1599 Crosley was duly paid £6 13s. 4d. and Mr. Robert Lawe £3 6s. 8d. for the first half-year; but at the day of the account on Easter Tuesday, 1600, 'both the Scholemaisters desyre theyre stipends for one hole yeare and do confesse they have received for one half yeare, which is £10, but behind for the other half yeare, which is £10; and no collectors either newe or old to make theyre appearance, but the Scholemaisters unpaid.' Nevertheless the feoffees and the 'publique officers' of the parish, viz., four 'thirdbarowes,' four churchwardens, a 'brigreeve' and three overseers of bridges and highways, the high or chief (he is called both) constable, another constable, the 'feldsmen,' a victuall taster, and two 'overseers of leather'—one-third of whom sadly wanted the schoolmaster's services, as they could not write but had to make their marks—declared on Easter Monday how the surplus income after paying the unpaid schoolmasters was to go. They did, indeed, allow, though only in the second place, £3 for repairs to the school; but even so the true reason peeps out, that it was not so much because it was a school, but because it was also a town hall, 'being with the late greate wynde unpaved (*sic*), and the schollers not able to learne there, neyther no persons of worshipp resorting aboute the Queen's affayres there usually to assemble, neyther the inhabitants of the towne there to remayne at tymes for conference; And convenyent tables and seates wanting for the Schoolemaisters and theyre schollers to sett in, write, and other neccessaries.'

¹ *V.C.H. Surrey*, ii, 186.

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The registrar, who was, in fact, Robert Law, in addition to being usher and curate, was to have 6s. 8d., 'which is little enough for such paynes as he therein must take.'

Next year, 1600, we get a complete rental of the estate, amounting to £42 8s. 4d. In 1600 £3 14s. 4d. was duly paid for repairs of the school, including 'strawe stacking,' glazing windows, and carpenter's and mason's work, but only one 'table and a chaire' for the master and scholars. Mr. Crosley, who had been too sick to attend the audit at Easter, received his wages up to Midsummer, 1600, and the arrears of the previous year, and then apparently retired. The arrears of the usher's salary were paid over 'by Mr. Law's appointment' to about a dozen creditors. He seems from the following somewhat mystic entry on Easter Monday, 1601, to have been very poor, notwithstanding his combination of three offices:—'Because Mr. Robert Law, lately being the distincte schoolemaister to teach to write, reede, and cast accompts, for the stipend of £6 13s. 4d. per annum, who seeing his great charge of children and a honest man, we the subsidye men, whose names be subscribed, have this day made choyse of the sayd Robert Law to be a distincte schoolemaister to teache to write, reede, and cast accompts.' This shows a desire to make Law entirely independent of the chief schoolmaster in the chaos which followed Crosley's departure. At the audits of 1601 and 1602 there were no less than three different claimants for the place and salary. Eventually Mr. Law was turned out; and after a temporary occupation by Mr. Gregorie Smith, Mr. Edmund James emerged triumphant at Michaelmas, 1604, as 'Free Schoole maister' 'to teache publycke schoole,' and Mr. Brereton as usher or 'distincte schoolmaister to teach to read.'

Edmund James held to 25 April, 1614. Next year's accounts are signed by Thomas Westfield, 'scholemaster,' the most distinguished of all the schoolmasters of Wellingborough. He came from Jesus College, Cambridge; M.A., 1596; B.D., 1604; incorporated at Oxford, and D.D. there, 1615. His entrance on office is signalized by a more modern and absolutely pellucid writing in the accounts, which he did in his own hand, and received 6s. 8d. for doing. But unfortunately the accounts rendered in 1616, though made out by Westfield, are completed by another, and he was gone before the day for signing arrived, to be canon of St. Paul's and rector of Hornsey, and ultimately, just as the Civil War broke out, bishop of Bristol. No schoolmaster signs next year, though the usual wages are paid to unnamed masters, and it is expressly stated that on the account day, 21 April, 1617, 'the free scoole was voyd of a scoolemaster.' Apparently the school was in abeyance during the very large expenditure of £25 13s. 4d. on 'repayre of the scoole and towne house.'

The fine school building in the churchyard, now a parish room, seems to have been erected for that price. An inscription over the door says 'φιλομάθεσι multum debeo, barbaris autem nihil. 1617.'

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In the 1619 accounts, 'Mr. Knott, scolemaster,' and 'Mr. Abell, his usher,' were paid from Easter to Michaelmas, 1618, when they were succeeded by 'Mr. Roberte Harryott . . and his usher.' At Easter, 1637, a new man appears, signing 'Henry Jones, Ludimagister.' We may suspect that he was a relation of Thomas Jones, the vicar, who had held office since 1608. This year the town was honoured with a visit from King Charles I, which caused the school roof to be repaired, at a cost of £3 3s., and its windows at £2 3s., while the repairs of church, £10; roads, £5 5s.; and supplies 'to the Court' cost £55, all defrayed out of the several endowments.

To judge from the entries in 1639 and 1640, 'Mr. Henry Jones, scoolmaister, for his year's wages £20,' he preferred to do without an usher and get the usher's pay, a not unfrequent arrangement. The regular yearly rent had now risen to close on £60, yet the master's salary, always inadequate, had never been raised, while money was spent on the church and plague patients and all kinds of objects of doubtful legality. Yet the school seems to have retained its position as a grammar school, since in 1639 the son of a medical man at Wellingborough, Oliver Garnet, after being under Mr. Jones for two years, was admitted at St. John's College, Cambridge, at the age of eighteen. In 1641 we find a real educational payment 'for a dixonarie for the school, £1.'

The school profited under the Puritans. In 1642 the 'cheef schoolmaister,' Mr. Power or Powers, had his salary raised by a third, the accounts for 1643 and 1644 showing £16 and £6 13s. 4d. as the amounts paid to the head master and the usher. Powers was succeeded in 1654 by 'Mr. Power the Younger,' followed at Michaelmas, 1656, by Edward Norris from Beverley Grammar School and St. John's College, Cambridge. He was turned out at the Restoration for William Clendan, when extensive repairs were made to the school, and five times the usual amount was spent upon window-glazing alone. After two years Tully Wells came at the enhanced salary of £20 a year. In 1669, however, his successor, Rees, received only £12 10s., though there was no usher, apparently because repairs were done at the schoolhouse, and a lexicon and dictionary bought for £2 2s.—an entry which shows that Greek was taught. Under Joshua Ogle (1673) Henry Hawkins was lent £6 'towards placing out his sonne at Cambridge,' and next year received £4 'towards mayntenance of his sonne there.' This seems to be the only instance of anything like a University Exhibition in the whole of the accounts. The expenditure bore fruit, as in 1677 we find Mr. Hawkins paid as usher, and may safely infer that he was the same Hawkins returned to his own town and school. In 1680 he for the first time is called by the more august title of undermaster, and in 1681 appears with a christian name as John Hawkins, 'chiefe school-master.' But his salary was on the most economical scale, as in 1682, and for some years afterwards, only £20 was paid 'to the two school-masters'; and in 1684 it appears Hawkins and Lucas, 'his usher,' divided that sum in the proportion of £13 6s. 8d. and £6 13s. 4d.

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Mr. Thomas Dominel, 'chief schoolmaster,' as he signs himself in absolutely modern spelling, came into office at Michaelmas, 1687. Bridges says that 'he professed himself a dissenter, and obtained King James's dispensation without qualifying according to law. His election being declared void, . . . about the time of His Majesty's abdication he thought fit to disappear. It was afterwards discovered that he was a Jesuit from Saint-Omer.' As the school book records his election expressly subject to his procuring a licence 'to teach the Latin tongue,' and as he remained master up to Christmas, 1695, six years after James's abdication, there does not seem to be any truth in the story.

In 1703 occurs an extra solemn election of a master, 'when the major part of the feoffees, churchwardens, overseers, and many others of the inhabitants of the parish met after a publick notice in the church,' and 'John Eales, of Boreton, in the county of Warwick, clerk, who then present offered his services to the said electors,' was elected, it being agreed that he should 'have the present yearly sallery of the said school with the Burton rents, and soe much money out of the town stock as shall therewith make it worth £30 per annum.' Seventeen signatures are appended, and it is a creditable fact that this time there is not a marksman among them. The Burton rents were an additional endowment of lands in Burton Latimer, a neighbouring village, bought with £130 given to the school by Edward Pickering in 1680. On 13 October, 1710, Ben Chesterton was on one day's notice of election appointed 'Usher or Writing Master.'

In 1711 Richard Fisher, whose name frequently appears in the accounts as feoffee, collector, and churchwarden, left £15 a year for the school, £10 to the chief, and £5 to the lower master, out of the endowment of a charity school founded by him.

The eighteenth century was covered by the long masterships of John Troutbeck, Thomas Holme, William Proctor, and James Gibbs, lasting respectively 21, 18, 36, and 20 years. These all combined the offices of curate and schoolmaster, a state of things almost necessary if an educated person was to be obtained for the office of schoolmaster at all. For while the cost of living and the income of the lands were advancing by leaps and bounds, the salaries of the schoolmasters were kept at the old figure which had been fixed under totally different circumstances two centuries before. Thus, while the income of the school or town lands had risen by 1715 to about £105, the grammar-school master received only, as we have seen, £13 6s. 8d. out of the town lands, and a total fixed income of £30 a year. In 1803 the rental had risen to £193, whilst in 1810, when the land was re-let under expert advice, the rental was about doubled. Nevertheless, five years later, a century after the last account recorded in the old book, though the income from Easter, 1815-6, was no less than £909, a record year, there is no increased grant to the schoolmaster. It is not, perhaps, surprising that the Rev. James Gibbs had by 1818¹ reduced his position to a 'sinecure, as there are no scholars in the

¹ *Carlisle*, ii, 229.

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Grammar School,' while the upper or Latin schoolroom was used for 'parochial purposes.' At the same time William Brown, the master of the English school, as it was now called, taught just 30 boys for his stipend.

The Rev. Charles Pryce succeeded in 1821, and so far as could be done with the meagre endowment and the one schoolroom revived the school. He was followed in 1826 by the Rev. Thomas Sanderson.

Lord Brougham's Commission of Inquiry concerning Charities in 1830¹ found that in Mr. Sanderson's time the number of Wellingborough boys had increased from twelve to eighteen, and he had about five more from a distance. They pointed out that it was the intention of the Elizabethan decree 'to provide a suitable or competent salary for a master rather than to fix a stipend,' and recommended an increase accordingly. On the resignation of the old master of the English school, Mr. Sanderson was appointed sole schoolmaster, with the duty of appointing an usher under him, and with a salary of £130 for the two. The feoffees informed the commissioners² on 30 June, 1830, that the result had been an increase in both schools, there being 112 in the English school. The number in the Latin school is not stated. Mr. Sanderson, who was also vicar of Hardwick, close by, retired from the school after nearly forty years' service, when the new scheme of the Charity Commissioners was made in October, 1862.

The new scheme provided for a salary of £80 to the head master, and a capitation fee of £2 a year for every parishioner not exceeding forty, while not more than fifteen boarders might be taken. As no house was provided this liberty was not of much value. The school was still to be free for classics and French, but the trustees might charge not more than £4 a year for every boy in respect of German, English, or mathematics. Religious restrictions were imposed, the head master being required to be a clergyman, and to teach Church of England doctrines to all boys except those taking advantage of a conscience clause.

So little support was given to the grammar school that one efficient assistant master could not be provided, no improvement was effected in the school building, and there was no playground at the school. In September, 1869, the Rev. Mr. Auden, unable any longer to try and make bricks without straw, accepted a living, and left the school the following Christmas.

In 1870 the trustees asked the recently created Endowed Schools Commissioners for a scheme under the Endowed Schools Act, not with a view of benefiting the grammar school, but of saving the pockets of the ratepayers by preventing the Lower School from being condemned as inefficient under the Elementary Education Act. The commissioners, however, declined to apply the endowment to merely elementary education.

A new head master, the Rev. F. S. Cresswell, resigned after half a year's experience. The election of George Plummer, his successor, was

¹ *Char. Com. Rep.* xxiii, 304.

² *Ibid.* App. p. 670.

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the last act performed by the curious governing body of 'parish officers,' which included every sort of public body in the town, from the ancient customary churchwardens to the newest statute-created school board. The new master was a man of energy, and by 1874 had raised the school to seventy boys, of whom about forty were boarders. For the first time he introduced an outside body, the Cambridge Local Examination Syndicate, to examine the school.

Inspired by his success, the local authorities in Wellingborough and all parties, political and religious, having, with quite stage unanimity, drawn out a scheme in detail, the commissioners adopted it, and it was with very little change approved by Queen Victoria in Council on 12 February, 1876.

Moved, no doubt, by the prospect of an increasing education rate, Wellingborough had determined to give up all further attempts to saddle the general town expenses on the endowment, and the whole of the town lands were by the scheme definitely appropriated once and for all to educational purposes. A new governing body was constituted for the administration of the school property and of three-eighths of the income of Fisher's Charity. It was to consist of six representatives of the old unwieldy body—viz., the vicar and churchwardens, the overseers, the Poor Law guardians, the school board, the burial board, and the board of health—together with one nominee of the trustees of Fisher's Charity and five co-optative governors. One of the first co-optatives named in the scheme was Mr. William Woolston, the present chairman of the governors, whose family for more than a hundred years past are found doing business for the school, and who has himself done great service to it. When he was first elected a trustee in 1869 it was actually thought necessary to ascertain from the Charity Commissioners whether he, being a dissenter, was eligible.

The new scheme eliminated all sectarian provisions as to the qualification of the masters or the teaching of the boys, but, unfortunately, retained the division of the endowment between two schools, the grammar school being dubbed the second grade school, and the 'Lower Free School,' or elementary school, the third grade school. The latter never could be more than an elementary school, but the attempt to teach French and Latin in it was calculated to encourage the idea that it was of the same grade of school as the grammar school, only cheaper; while the title 'Second Grade School' was calculated to impress a public not given to nice discriminations of language with the notion that it was second rate.

The chief improvement which the scheme effected was in raising the tuition fees to a minimum of £5 with a possible maximum of £10 a year. An actual increase to £7 at once enabled the teaching to be improved by the addition of another assistant master at a better salary. The acquisition of a new site for the school was undertaken almost immediately after the new scheme and completed by 26 February, 1877. On 22 June, 1877, Mr. Plummer pressed on the governors the necessity

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of removing the school from the old building with its one room. A drill hall was temporarily hired and the whole of the old building was handed over to the so-called third grade school.

It is characteristic of the narrow ideas entertained of what the school should be that the proposal for a site of 8 acres was rejected in favour of one of 2, and that two-thirds of the income from the endowment was still spent on the lower school as against one third on the grammar school, thus reversing the proportions of the Elizabethan settlement. Plans for the new buildings were undertaken, but Mr. Plummer was promoted in November, 1878, to Thame school, whither he removed in April, 1879, taking with him most of the boarders, and receiving the congratulations of the governors on 'his persevering efforts to raise the character of the school.'

The incoming head master, who has changed Wellingborough Grammar School from a struggling growth into a flourishing and spreading tree, was Mr. Henry Platt, M.A., and now LL.D., of St. John's College, Cambridge. When he took over the school, 1 May, 1879, it consisted of 7 boarders and 10 day boys. In January, 1881, the new school and master's house were taken possession of by 52 boys, of whom 31 were day boys. In December, 1904, the school numbered 328, almost equally divided between day boys and boarders, a number which any Wellingburian of 1875 would have pronounced an absolute impossibility. Under Mr. Platt there is a staff of 13 masters, two of whom have separate boarding houses. The boarding fees are only £50, but even with these low fees it is by means of the profits on the boarders that the masters who teach the day boys are paid, since there is in fact a loss on every day boy, the tuition fee of £7 a year being less than half the actual cost of the education given.

The first block, in the Queen Anne style, of red brick with stone dressings, was planned 'with not less than two class-rooms' for 120 boys, 60 of them to be boarders. The governors' ideas as to space required were limited, but the recreation grounds have now been extended to 30 acres.

Since the first block of the new buildings was occupied, in 1881, there have been added a school sanatorium (1885); 6½ acres more land purchased; an additional boarding house called, 'Garne's House'¹ (1888); chemical and physical laboratory and science and art lecture room (1891); new sanatorium and large additions to the schoolhouse, completed at the head master's expense (1895); the school hall, 73½ feet long by 30 broad, and 3 adjoining class-rooms erected (1895) by public subscription 'in commemoration of the great successes gained by the school in public examinations during the sixteen years' head-mastership of Dr. Platt'; and a new physical laboratory (1902), towards which £200 was granted by the Northamptonshire County Council.

The numbers in the school have risen, taking five-year periods, as follows: in 1884 there were 56 boarders and 41 day boys; in 1889,

¹ After the late Mr. W. H. Garne, second master from 1883 to 1895, who first occupied the house.

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85 boarders and 82 day boys ; in 1896, 146 boarders and 86 day boys ; in 1900, 159 boarders and 98 day boys ; and in 1904, 166 boarders and 162 day boys.

The success of the school cricket and association football teams has probably contributed as much as its remarkable achievements in the Cambridge local examinations to give the school the position it now occupies. It has laid itself out especially for mathematics, and in four several years won the scholarship at St. John's College, Cambridge, awarded to the first among the candidates in that subject. Fifteen open scholarships, mostly for mathematics, have been won at the universities, the seventh place among wranglers being the highest achievement of its boys at Cambridge. The initial successes in this direction are attributed to Mr. W. H. Garne, of St. John's College, Cambridge, who made the second master's house, and whose memory is preserved by its name.

In order to complete the equipment of the school, permanent leaving exhibitions are very much wanted. It is perhaps not the least striking evidence of the hold the school has achieved over the town, and its own old alumni, that since 1889 three have been provided by subscriptions. One is awarded each year, and they are secured until 1909, by which time a permanent foundation should be established. Mr. William Brown, a late governor, has already established by his will a fund of £1,000 for prizes in the school.

In September, 1903, on the retirement of Mr. William Winterton, who had been master since 1862, the lower school ceased to exist. Whereas in his early days it had 100 boys against 50 in the grammar school, in late years it had shrunk to 70 as against 300. This school is now closed. A scheme by the Board of Education of January, 1906, has just corrected the error of judgement of the Elizabethan Court of Chancery, which for upwards of 300 years stood in the way of the Wellingborough Grammar School doing its best for the higher education of the town. The scheme provides in place of the lower school a grammar school for girls.

KETTERING GRAMMAR SCHOOL

The origin of Kettering Grammar School does not precisely appear, but in an inquisition taken 5 October, 1681,¹ under a commission of charitable uses issued from Chancery, 10 February before, it was found 'that from the time whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary there hath been a free schoole within the towne of Kettering for the teachinge of Lattin and English schollers for the youths that doe inhabite in the said towne,' and the rents of certain messuages, lands, and tenements, specified by the tenants' names, 'have been and ought to be employed for maintenance of a schoolemaster there for the instruction of youth in the said towne in English and Lattin.' We may reasonably connect this immemorial free grammar school with the endowment

¹ P.R.O. Chancery Petty Bag Inq. bdle. 39, Nos. 29, 33, Charles II.

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mentioned in the chantry certificate of Edward VI¹: 'Kettering. A stypendarye preest there founded and mainteyned, partely with the devotion of th' inhabitants of the towne of Ketering (sic) whiche ys a market towne, and partely with the revenues of certaine lands and tenements gyven by cople of Courte Roll to find a preest, called the morow masse preest, to sing there for ever: Is worth by yere 40s. Rent resolute 17s. 1½d. Remayneth clere 22s. 10½d.'

Being copyhold these lands were exempted from the Chantries Act and not confiscated to the crown, and so remained in possession of the trustees. The object of the Commission of Charitable uses in 1681 was to obtain an appointment of new trustees and so vest the property in them. This was done by the decree made on the inquisition, Lord Rockingham, Sir John Egerton, and Sir Roger Norwich, barts., two of the commissioners, and seven others of the town and district being appointed 'guardians and overseers' of the property, with power to appoint and dismiss the master.

The then master was Samuel Sherwin, clerk, and was found to be 'thereunto lawfully settled, licensed, and appointed,' and the house in which he lived was found to have been likewise from time immemorial 'used and imployed for a habitation for the schoolmaster and for a schole house to teach schollers there.' He was continued 'at the will and pleasure' of the overseers and guardians, and the house also confirmed as the schoolhouse.

In 1831 Lord Brougham's commission² found an endowment, chiefly cottage property, producing £147 a year. The Rev. James Hogg from Holbeck, near Leeds, appointed in 1801, was master. At first he had about 60 free boys, but the establishment of a national school had reduced them by nearly half. He taught them English, and those who required it Latin, and had an assistant master at £38 a year to teach writing and arithmetic. But the assistant was regarded as unfit, being used also for menial offices.

The Rev. Mr. Hogg was also vicar of Geddington, and on his retirement, Richard Watson, his curate (at Geddington), succeeded to the mastership of the school, but not to the living. About 1850 he became curate of Burton Latimer, where he lived, and the boys attending the school had to march off to that village, about three miles away, to do their lessons. Surprising to relate, there were actually two or three boys who still attended the school.

On a petition to Chancery, a scheme for the school was made 28 April, 1854. The scheme provided a scale of tuition fees varying with the social status of the boy: for sons of journeymen, labourers or servants, 5s. a quarter; for others 10s. a quarter for instruction in Latin and English subjects, including arithmetic; and 20s. a quarter in other subjects. The scheme directed that instruction should be given in Greek and mathematics; and also, subject to objection on the part of parents,

¹ P.R.O. Augmentation Off. Chantry Certificates, Nos. 35, 43.

² *Char. Com. Rep.* xxiv, 131.

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in the catechism and principles of the Church of England. The head master was allowed to take twelve boarders.

After the scheme came into force Mr. Watson resigned on obtaining the living of Rothwell. The Rev. F. Tearle, scholar, prize-man, and assistant tutor of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, elected master, quickly raised the number of boys. A second master, Mr. Bailey, and a writing master were provided. In 1856 new school buildings and a master's house were erected at a cost of about £1,700, of which about £900 was provided by subscriptions. The buildings were opened with grand orations as to the noble work done for posterity. Alas! by 1883, posterity was making scoffing remarks on a building with only one large schoolroom and no classroom, and on the narrowness of the ideas of its ancestry as to site, shown by a playground of only 17 yards square.

By an Order of 6 March, 1859, the Court of Chancery varied the scheme by enabling the master to take up 30 boarders instead of 12. In 1862 there were 63 boys, 43 day boys and 20 boarders, and at the beginning of 1864, 83, 55 day boys and 28 boarders. But in that year Mr. Tearle accepted the headmastership of the Leicester and Leicestershire Collegiate School (which became extinct about twenty years ago), and went off there, taking a considerable number of the boarders with him.

The Rev. Thomas Widdowson, of St. John's College, Cambridge, twenty-seventh wrangler and then second master of the school to which Mr. Tearle was going as head master, was elected.

In the latter part of 1864 the Schools Inquiry Commission found him with 52 boys, of whom 4 were boarders. The boarders rose to 12 in 1867, but by 1869 had dwindled down to 4, when Mr. Widdowson determined to take no more. The day boys had in 1874 sunk to 25, though the population of Kettering was rising rapidly. Yet the assistant commissioner, Mr. T. H. Green, had reported in 1866 that he found the first class—it is true it consisted only of 3 boys—‘distinctly superior to those usually found in the grammar school of a country town,’ reading Homer and Livy, and doing them well, and ‘the general state of the school distinctly satisfactory.’ Everyone spoke well of his teaching powers, but he was the sole master and did not prove attractive to the district, in spite of or perhaps because of the very low tuition fees, £2 a year for Kettering boys, £4 a year for outsiders.

A debt of £2,360 incurred in rebuilding the old cottage property of the foundation, and a payment of £22 a year to pay off the costs of the Chancery suit in 1850, proved a heavy burden. In 1878 a new scheme was begun, but owing to the vested interest given to the existing master by the Endowed Schools Act, it was not till 21 February, 1888, that the scheme was approved by the Queen in Council. It constituted a governing body on the model of that of Wellingborough. The tuition fees were fixed at £4 to £8 a year, the preferential fees against outsiders disappearing. Mr. Widdowson retained the headmastership under the new scheme. At first there was improvement. In 1889 the number of boys rose to 54, and in 1890 to 61; but by November 1896 it was

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again reduced to 21. At last under an Order of the Charity Commissioners, 26 January, 1897, Mr. Widdowson retired to the living at Foston, with a sum of £600 down, and a pension of £100 a year.

DAVENTRY GRAMMAR SCHOOL

Daventry, the grammar school of which seems to have spent the larger portion of its existence in a state of suspended animation, possessed a brotherhood¹ of the Holy Trinity and Holy Cross, governed by two masters, in its parish church, which adjoined the church of the priory. The fraternity was founded in 1383, to find thirteen wax tapers burning before the Holy Cross and the chaplain to celebrate the morrow mass (missam matutinalem) for labourers and wayfarers. Though the morrow-mass priest in many places kept a school to fill up his time, having got up so early, and though we may perhaps suspect him of doing the same here, in view of the early restoration of a school, yet we have no evidence whatever that he actually did so. The chantry certificates do not mention Daventry at all. Perhaps the priory were trustees for the brotherhood, and its possessions were, as was too often the case, considered confiscated with those of the priory. The school foundation was contemporaneous with that of the incorporation of the town under the name of bailiff and burgesses by letters patent² of Queen Elizabeth, on 26 March, 1576, being founded a week later by will of 6 April, 1576, of William Parker,³ presumably a native of Daventry, who had made his fortune in London as a draper. He demised his manor of Upwicke and other lands belonging to it to his wife, for life, upon condition that she should 'finde an honest discreete man to keepe a grammar schoole and instruct children to the number of 50 scollers frelye in the liberall scyence of grammar and the understandynge of the Latyn tonge in Daventree' 'and should pay £20 to the scholemaster and usher,' viz. £15 to the schoolmaster, and £5 to the usher. He also directed a payment of £18 a year to six poor persons. If default was made the property was given over to the bailiff and burgesses of Daventry.

The lady long survived her husband, and in 1601 was the wife of Humphrey Corbet, when the bailiff and burgesses filed a bill against him and her,⁴ charging conspiracy to conceal from them what the lands were which were charged with the school payments, and to contend that the payments were not perpetual but limited to Alice Corbet's life and that a fraudulent agreement had been made with the heir-at-law to defeat the gift over to the town. They also alleged that Anthony Marshall, the master appointed by the defendants, 'neither took half the number of scholars proposed, nor taught them gratuitously, and by his negligence and insufficiency those who had children to be instructed were driven to

¹ P.R.O. Guild Certif. (Chan.), 378.

² Pat. 18 Eliz. pt. vii.

³ *Char. Com. Rep.* xxiv, 9.

⁴ P.R.O. Chan. Dec. and Orders, 1602, fol. 264; cf. George Baker, *Hist. and Antiq. of the County of Northampton*, London, 1822-30, i, 335, from Daventry town muniments.

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provide another master at their own cost.' Further, they said that the town had 'bought a piece of ground and thereupon built a verie faire scholehouse with needful roomes for the scholemaster and usher of the same to the charge of the complainants of £200.' This site was purchased of Richard Farmer, who conveyed it to Richard Spencer, 10 August, 1602, in trust for the bailiffs and burgesses for a school. This schoolhouse is still in use. It is a fine school of the old large school type, 50 feet by 20 feet. It is now divided by a curtain in the middle, and a mathematical school or classroom has been built on to it.

With the consent of the Corbetts and the heir-at-law, a decree was made 8 November, 1602, charging the owners for the time being of the manor and lands comprised in Parker's will with the two rent-charges for school and poor, and giving the nomination of master and usher to the bailiff and burgesses. As for Marshall, 'for that fault is ymputed to one Marshall, now schoolemaster there, because, as yt is alleged, his schollers profit not, And for that the said Marshall kepeth an alehouse and ys ynsufficient to teach grammer schoole, as yt ys supposed, It is further ordered that the Byshopp of the said dyoces shall, upon hearinge of the said complainants' greiffe and reasons and the answer of the said Marshall, examine and determyne his abylytie, and to the same allowe or dysallowe of him as he shall after his examynacion see most fittest, and therby the good yntent and meanyng of the said devision may be well and fully performed.' The result of the examination is hidden from us.

The school seems to have occupied a good position in the seventeenth century. Amongst its earliest distinguished pupils was George Andrew, who in 1635, became bishop of Leighlin (pronounced Lochlin) in Ireland; but he had to fly from it on the outbreak of the rebellion in Ireland, and died in London, where he was buried in St. Clement Danes church in 1648. A little later came John Oxenbridge, who was a fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1640, but who was dispossessed by the Royalists. He was afterwards given by Parliament a fellowship of Eton College, from which he was ousted at the Restoration. Emigrating to America, he became the first pastor of Boston, U.S.A., and died there in 1674.

In 1680 the school boasted a D.D. for master in the person of Samuel Hawes, succeeded in 1681 by William Adams, a fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. In 1717 Mr. William Taylor, the master, was also vicar of Daventry, and held to boot the rectory of Stamton (1723) and then of Malpas (1728) till 1732, when he resigned the mastership. Fortunately for the school, it received augmentations, or, with its fixed rent-charge for endowment, it would have died of inanition. In 1729 John Farrer gave £400 to certain trustees to buy land and pay the rents to the master, if in holy orders, on condition of reading morning prayers in the parish church every Sunday, and also on Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. With this money twenty-two acres at Cosford, in Newbold-on-Avon, Warwickshire, were bought 3 June, 1738. The school is in danger of losing this endowment

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through the donor having inserted a clause that if the master did not read the prayers the income was to be paid to someone else for doing it.

By will of 11 August, 1740, John Stanbridge gave £150, to which his brother Edward added £100, towards buying the master a house, but the house—an inn in the Horse Market, with the sign of the Dog—bought in 1768 during the headmastership of Henry Lee, LL.B., also vicar of Wolphamcote, proving inconvenient, was sold in 1779, *temp.* Rev. William Denny, and the proceeds, £400, invested in consols.

The present head master's house was bought with the proceeds of this sum and additions of his own by the Rev. Thomas Saunders, head master from 1823 to 1844. It is an old red-brick house with a fine view over one of the prettiest parts of the county. To it have been added spacious dormitories, changing-room, gymnasium, and fives court, and all the requirements of modern boarding houses.

In 1736 a native of Daventry, Dr. Edward Maynard, gave £200 to found a charity school to supply the three R's gratis. This, with other charitable legacies, was laid out in 1745 in the purchase of land at Cosford, in Warwickshire, adjoining that of Farrer's gift. By a fortunate exchange, land at Woodford, in Northants, was acquired instead, the coal under which proved the saving of the situation, by increasing the endowment to £60 a year. In 1871, however, the mayor had to write to the Charity Commission to say that the school was too old-fashioned, and had ceased to be attended by any pupils except one obstinate burgess who insisted on sending his son to learn Latin free. Two years afterwards it was closed. It was revived again under the Rev. C. F. Hutton, of St. John's College, Cambridge, appointed in September, 1882. Young, eager, and with private means, he got together by 1888 no less than seventy-five boys, paying tuition fees of £5 in the lower, and £8 in the upper school, forty-five being boarders paying £45 a year. There were nine boys in the sixth form going to the universities. A new school had been built by subscription, and a former dissenting chapel hired as an additional class-room. But in 1889 Mr. Hutton went off to the more attractive field of Pocklington school, in Yorkshire, where also his success was great. After an unsuccessful interval under William Logan, the Rev. Harold W. Johnson, of Lincoln College, Oxford, appointed in 1896, gathered a flock of some fifty boys. In 1904 he went to the Seychelles Islands, leaving the present master, Mr. A. F. Cauldwell. Schemes are now in progress by the Board of Education for uniting the old grammar school and the English school, Dr. Maynard's foundation, under a representative governing body, when it is hoped that this school will enjoy a renewed lease of life.

Space will not permit more than a bare enumeration of the many other free grammar schools of Northamptonshire founded between 1580 and 1670, to teach the classics, and even Hebrew, all of which have long sunk into elementary schools or been converted into exhibition funds. Burton Latimer, founded by Thomas Burbank and Margery his wife, in

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June, 1587; Courteenhall, usually attributed to Sir Samuel Jones, who died in 1672, but who was only further endowing a grammar school, which as we saw, apropos of Blisworth, was flourishing in 1593; Preston Capes, founded by Richard Fawsley, by will 25 January, 1647; Aynho founded in 1654 by John Cartwright; Little Harrowden, erected by deed of William Aylworth, 17 January, 1661; Pytchley, by the same founder, 13 August, 1661; Clipston, by Sir George Buswell, 18 March, 1667; Blakesley, by William Foxley, 1 January, 1669; Guilsborough, existing when Charles Colt of Lincoln's Inn, by will 20 March, 1656-7, gave £10 a year to it to buy books, but endowed or refounded by deed of Sir John Langham, 8 March, 1668, with £100 a year to teach Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Guilsborough was as late as 1750 of the great public school order, and most of the schools mentioned were of good status at first. But they were all endowed with fixed rent-charges, which, as the value of money fell, became inadequate to support a university graduate, which in most cases the master was required to be, and when the means of locomotion improved people sought the best and not the nearest school, and so they dwindled away.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

Date of Founda- tion or first mention and Re-Foundation	School	Founder	Date of Scheme	No. of Scholars
1176 ¹ 1 June, 1541	Northampton and County Modern and Technical, formerly Grammar School	— Thomas Chipsey	— 7 Dec. 1864 28 May, 1894	167
1390 ² 2 May, 1422 ³ 17 April, 1543 ⁴	Higham Ferrers, Grammar School	Dukes of Lancaster appointed master Archbishop Henry Chicheley —	—	33
3 Sept. 1359 ⁵	Barnack, Elementary School	Gervase of Wille- ford, rector	extinct 1548	—
1412 1548 ⁶	Fotheringhay, Grammar, now Elementary, School	Edward, Duke of York	—	—
19 June, 1443 ⁷	Farthinghoe, Elementary School	John Abbot, mer- cer of London	extinct 1548	—
17 Nov. 1448 ⁷	Towcester Grammar School	William Sponne, Archdeacon	13 May, 1887	—
1548 ⁸	—	—	—	33

¹ Mention of a school in the Pipe Roll for 1176.

² Release to schoolmaster in roll of Mayor's Court.

³ Patent for founding Higham Ferrers College.

⁴ Grant by King Henry VIII to Robert Dacres of college property subject to maintenance of school.

⁵ Licence to rector of Barnack to get a master to teach.

⁶ Continued by warrant of Chantry Commission.

⁷ John Abbot's Will.

⁸ Letters patent for foundation of chantry school.

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Date of Founda- tion or first mention and Re-Foundation	School	Founder	Date of Scheme	No. of Scholars
16 Feb. 1455-6 ¹	Thingdon, Elementary School	William Aston, grocer, of London	extinct 1548	—
1464	Oundle, Laxton's Gram- mar School	Mrs. Jane Wyat -	Sept. 1876 ²	240 ⁴
22 July, 1556 ³	—	Sir William Laxton, grocer, of London		75 ⁴
8 Nov. 1489	Aldwinkle, Elementary School	William Chamber, Esq.	extinct 1548	—
1503	Blisworth, Grammar, now Elementary, School	Roger Wake, esq.	—	—
1548 ⁵	Peterborough, The King's School	King Henry VIII	30 Nov. 1882	over 100
Existing in 1511 ⁶ 4 Sept. 1541 ⁷				
1520 ⁸	Spratton, Elementary School	—	—	—
1528 ⁹	Fawsley, Elementary School	Sir R. Fawsley, bart.	extinct 1548	—
Before 1548	Rothwell, Grammar, now Elementary, School	—	—	—
1548 ⁵	Brackley, Magdalen Col- lege School	Magdalen College, Oxford	—	67
1548 ¹⁰	Daventry	William Parker -	—	—
1576	Kettering	—	1854	—
Before 1584	Burton Latimer, Grammar School	Thomas and Mar- garet Burbank	—	—
1 June, 1587 ¹¹	Courteenhall, Grammar, now Elementary, School	—	—	—
Before 1593				
Before 1595	Wellingborough, Gram- mar School	—	1595 1 Oct. 1862	328 —
25 Jan. 1647 ¹²	Preston Capes, Grammar, now Elementary, School	Richard Knightley	12 Feb. 1876	—
1654	Aynho, Grammar and Elementary School	John Cartwright -	1893	—
17 Jan. 1661 ¹³	Little Harrowden, Gram- mar and Elem. School	William Aylworth	24 July, 1868	—
10 Aug. 1661 ¹⁴	Pytchley, Grammar, now Elementary, School	William Aylworth	24 July, 1868	—
18 Mar. 1667 ¹⁵	Clipston, Grammar, now Elementary, School	Sir George Buswell	—	—
8 Mar. 1668 ¹⁶	Guilsborough, Grammar, now Elementary, School	Sir John Langham, Bart.	17 Aug. 1858	—
1 Jan. 1669 ¹⁷	Blakesley, Grammar, now Elementary, School	William Foxley -	1847	—

¹ William Aston's Will. ² Scheme made by Grocers' Company. ³ Date of Codicil of Will.

⁴ The first number is that of the boys in the 'Oundle' School, the second that of the boys in the 'Laxton' School. ⁵ Letters patent for foundation of chantry school.

⁶ Entry in roll of abbey bailiff of rent for schoolhouse.

⁷ New foundation of cathedral.

⁸ Mention of school in Thomas Hartley's will.

⁹ Will of Sir Richard Fawsley.

¹⁰ Conversion by Magdalen College of chantry into school.

¹¹ Deed of gift of land for a schoolmaster.

¹² Knightley's Will.

¹³ Date of deed.

¹⁴ Aylworth's Will.

¹⁵ Buswell's Will.

¹⁶ Date of deed.

¹⁷ Foxley's Will.

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PRE-REFORMATION ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

The following pre-Reformation schools appear to have been either of a purely or of a mainly elementary type :—

BARNACK SCHOOL

This school is the second earliest in the county of which we have specific documentary mention. On 3 September, 1359,¹ the bishop of Lincoln, Gynwell, as it was 'the duty of a prudent shepherd of the church to increase the number of those serving in it, especially clerks to be taken into the Lord's domain (*sortem*), which has been everywhere much lessened since the last plague of men (i.e., the Black Death), and that the rector of Barnack (Barnake) wished to nourish and favour in his parish poor (*inopes*) boys and others under the rod of a master in reading, song, and grammar, to the increase of divine learning,' granted licence to the rector, Gervase of Willeford, 'to choose a lettered (*litteratum*) and fit master in the parish to teach the boys and others going to him the said sciences.' Like the school at Northallerton in 1440² the school contemplated in this document being a mixed school of reading, song, and grammar must have been of a low grade; the grammar and classics probably being of the same sort of type as in those later schools which professed to teach the three R's and 'the classics, if required.' We may assume that Barnack school was established; but how long it lasted and what became of it we do not know. In the chantry certificates³ we find a guild maintaining a priest.

FARTHINGHOE SCHOOL

A merely elementary school is found at Farthinghoe or Fingeringho, as it has been variously called. On 19 June, 1443,⁴ John Abbot, citizen and mercer of London, made his will of lands 'as well in the city of London as in Farnyngho and Astrop in the county of Northampton, namely, that the masters or wardens of the Mistere of the Mercers of London (*Magistri sive Gardiani Mistere Mercerorum*) and the commonalty (*communitas*) of the same mistere, should have and hold to them and their successors all those his lands and tenements in Catton Lane, on condition that they should find yearly a fit and honest chaplain to celebrate in the church of Farningho for his soul and the souls of his parents, friends, and benefactors for ever, to teach and instruct little boys⁵ freely and gratuitously, without taking any pay or gain for the same.' The company were to pay the chaplain 'thus celebrating and teaching, by way of his salary or stipend for the said divine service and labour 10 marks a year (£6 13s. 4d.), quarterly.'

Abbot's will of personalty made nearly two years later, 27 February, 1443-4, gave considerable legacies to Farthinghoe poor church, and was proved 5 March, 1443-4. The directions of the testator were not apparently effectively carried out till 12 February, 1449,⁶ when John Fray, Recorder of London (afterwards Chief Baron of the Exchequer), by will of lands of that date, enrolled in the Hustings Court in 1475, gave to the Mercers' Company tenements held by him in trust in Cattestrete, otherwise Catton Lane, in St. Laurence, Jewry, charged with the maintenance of a chantry in the church of Farnyngho for the souls of John Abbot and others. The will being enrolled in the Hustings operated as a conveyance and under the custom of London obviated the necessity of a licence in mortmain.

This chantry-school was still going on 100 years later, when it appears in the chantry certificates.⁷

But the commission of Edward VI. shows that Farthinghoe had already forgotten the name of its benefactor, for the return⁸ runs: 'Farninghoo. A stipendary preest, founded by whom yt is unknown, but the incumbent is payed a pencion of £6 13s. 4d. a yere by the Companye of Mercers in London.' The incumbent was 'James Coles, of thage of 40 yeres, well learnyd, and teacheth children frely and hathe a pencion of £6 6s. 8d. of the king as a late monk of the late monastery of Billesdon.' The goods were worth 13s. 4d. The company itself, however,

¹ Lincoln Epis. Reg. Gynwell, fol. 135b.

² *Early Yorkshire Schools*, ii, 62.

³ Chant. Cert. 36.

⁴ P.C.C. 34, Luffenham, p. 269.

⁵ 'Ac parvulos parochie de Farningho predicta libere et quiete docturum et imformaturum absque stipendio vel lucro proinde recipiendo.'

⁶ *Cal. Hustings Wills*, ii, 574.

⁷ *English Schools at the Reformation*, 146-7, from Chant. Cert. 36, No. 5.

⁸ Chant. Cert. 35, No. 21.

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returned¹ that 'John Abbot gave unto the master and wardens to finde a prest singing at Fingeringhoo in the countie of Northampton and also for keping of a fre scole to teache younge children in the same towne, lands amounting to £9 16s. 8d. ; whereof to James Collis, prest, by yere for his stipende £6 13s. 4d. ; and then remayneth clere £3 13s. 4d.' which the company put in their pockets. The school not being a grammar school was not within the exemption of the Chantry Acts and so was suppressed, the company retaining the lands subject to an annual payment to the crown of the amount of the priest-schoolmaster's salary, and this was bought back from the crown in a great united purchase by all the London companies combined. As Catton Lane is now Gresham Street, the investment was a fortunate one for the company. The priest's house and garden at Farthinghoe were in 1563 in the hands of Geoffrey Dormer.²

THINGDON

William Aston, citizen and freeman of London, by will 16 February, 1455-6, enrolled in the Hustings Court in 1460, gave to the rector, churchwardens, and parishioners of St. Martin's, Ludgate, in London, all his lands and tenements in the parish outside Ludgate in trust to pay a rent-charge of 7 marks for a chantry in St. Mary's church, Thyngdon, where his daughter Agnes lay buried, for his soul and for those of Adam and Emma his parents, two wives named Jane, and others. This chantry was duly established ; it was in fact also a school, as appears from the report of the commissioners of Edward VI.³

It does not appear what relation, if any, this bore to the foundation for which Richard Walter, citizen of London, by will in 1542 gave £500 to build a school and purchase land of £40 a year value for endowment. Effect was not given to Walter's bequest until, under a decree of Lord Keeper Coventry in 1587, the money was paid to trustees and a school built in 1595,⁴ and by deed of 2 September, 1635, two 'yardlands' and a house and tanyard in Rothwell were conveyed for its endowment ; which under an Inclosure Act in 1812 became an allotment of 45 acres, let for £70 a year in 1816.

By a decree⁵ on a commission of charitable uses, 8 February, 1683-4, 'it was declared that the schoole house between the churchyard south and an ancient way north was for a free schoole for teaching and instructing the sons of all such persons as are or shall be inhabitants of Thingdon, without any salary or reward to be exacted of the parents or guardians.'

By a scheme of the Court of Chancery 1722 the endowment was definitely appropriated to elementary education, and has so remained ever since.

ALDWINKLE

At Aldwinkle Chamber's Chantry was founded, we are told by the Chantry Commission, to find⁶ a priest 'to teach 6 poor children of the town, and to distribute in alms yearly unto 2 poor bedemen of the almshouse, 26s. 8d.' The priest was paid £8 10s. 8d. a year, a good salary as times went, especially as the school was not a grammar school at all, but what we should call an elementary school. The foundation ordinance⁷ on 8 November, 1489, by William Chamber was for a chaplain to sing for the founder's soul and for the souls of William Aldwinckle,⁸ of John Chamber and Ann, the founder's father and mother, and others, at the altar of Our Lady in All Saints' church, Aldwinckle ; and 'to teach and inform 6 boys of the town of Aldwinckle of the poorest sort (*maxime indigentes*) in spelling and reading (*in syllabilacione et lectura*).⁹ The boys were to be named by the founder and Elizabeth his wife, and after their death, three by the rector of St. Peter's, Aldwinckle, and three by the chantry priest himself. It was a free school, as the priest was to teach 'gratis, without demanding or receiving any remuneration from their parents or friends.' John Soliman was the first incumbent. No more is known of this ill-fated foundation, which was one of the few

¹ Chant. Cert. 34.

² Chan. Inq. p. m. (ser. 2), cxxxvii, No. 36.

³ Chant. Cert. 36, No. 15. 'John Cotton, incumbent . . . well learynd and a precher, and teacheth childerne.'

⁴ Carlisle, ii, 206.

⁵ Chancery Petty Bags. 8.

⁶ *Engl. Schools at the Reformation*, p. 146, from Chantry Certificate 36 (Henry VIII).

⁷ Harl. MS. 614, fol. 48.

⁸ A brass in All Saints' Church records, 'Hic jacet Willelmus Aldewynckle, armiger, qui obiit 28^o die Augusti A.D. 1463 ; cujus anime propicietur Deus.' Ann Chamber was no doubt Aldwinckle's daughter.

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on which Henry VIII entered under the provisions of his Chantry Act of 1545.¹ That Act made no provision for the continuance of schools. So this early elementary school, after a career of little more than half a century, disappeared for ever.

SPRATTON

At Spratton there was 'one chauntrie,² cauled the chauntre of Sprotton, founded to mayntayne a preste there to syng in the parishe church of Spotton (*sic*) for ever. The valewe of the landes appertaining to the said chauntrie £5 12s.; whereof rents resolute 23s. 6d.; the kinges tenthes 10s.; for ye prestes stipend 78s. 6d. et seq.'

At the dissolution in 1548³ this is described as 'the chantry there (Sprotton) founded within the parishe church there, by whom yt ys unknowen, to finde a preest to sing for ever; worth in landes and tenements £8 18s. 7½d.; rents resolute 6s. 7½d.; and to Bernard Brandon, preest, doctor of Dyvinitie, mete to serve a cure, at the age of 40 yeres, and hathe no other lyving, £5 6s.'

From neither of these chantry certificates should we have gathered that this chantry was also a school; but we have direct evidence that it was, for in 1520 Thomas Hartwell, chantry priest there, by his will⁴ gave 'to every scolar of my paryshe that can syng, 4d., and that cannot, 2d., and to every scholar that I have else, 1d., and that haue been my scolars, beyng at my buryal, a peny, and as moche at the moneth day; to every scolar of myne that are present, and to such as have been my scolars, beyng then in holy orders, present at my buryall, 12d.'

Barnard Brandon, D.D., no doubt also taught a school there; but as we have no mention of it in the chantry certificates we must assume that it was a song school only, or not by foundation a grammar school.

FAWSLEY

Here there was, for a time at all events, an endowed elementary school, for Sir Richard Fawsley, knt., by will in 1528 left 10 marks for the wages of a secular priest to sing for his soul in the parish church for 20 years, 'and the said priest shall during the sayd tyme teach children their playne song after the nombre and rate that my executors shall think mete and convenyent, without any thinge taken of the sayd children, or of their friendes, for ther techinge.' This bequest would have run out by 1548, which is no doubt the reason why there is no mention of it in the chantry certificates.

Doubtless there were numerous other such endowments which have not yet come to light to show that it is not only in these latter days that 'rich men living peacefully in their habitations' have made provision for the elementary education of their poorer neighbours.

ADMINISTRATIVE COUNTY OF NORTHAMPTON

ABTHORPE.—Mrs. Jane Leeson built a school in Abthorpe about 1642, and by will proved 1649 devised lands to pay £8 yearly to a schoolmaster for teaching poor children gratis. An Act of Parliament was passed in 1737 'for enabling the Master of the Free Grammar School within the said Hamlet of Abthorpe and Foxcoate to be Vicar' of the parish, the then schoolmaster to be vicar so long as he should continue to be master, and the person at any time to be appointed to be in Holy Orders and vicar of Abthorpe so long as he continued to be master. In 1833 the school was taught by a deputy of the vicar, and was then probably an elementary school only. The present national school, seating 139, appears to be held in the original school building, enlarged in 1866, and the endowment of £8 yearly is applied to its support.

ALDWINKLE.—By will of 19 May, 1663, the Rev. Richard Thorpe directed that a quartern of land in Barby should be settled upon the school at Aldwinkle, if there should be

¹ *Engl. Schools at the Reformation*, p. 64, Chan. Misc. R. bdle. xiii, file 5.

² Chant. Cert. 36, No. 13.

³ Chant. Cert. 35.

⁴ Northampton Probate Registry, Bk. B. 38.

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a school there, towards the education of poor children in the knowledge and fear of God, and good literature and letters. This endowment of about £14 yearly is applied to All Saints' and St. Peter's National School, seating 112, and built in 1872.

ARTHINGWORTH.—The foundation of this school and an endowment of 24 acres of land are ascribed to Wm. Marriott, who died in 1733. The Charity Commissioners formulated a scheme for regulating the school in 1860; and in 1900 the old buildings were sold and the proceeds applied towards the cost of the new school, then built, which seats 42, and is a church school.

AYNHO.—The former free grammar school here, founded in 1671 by Richard Cartwright, in performance of the will of Dame Mary Cartwright of 1654, was converted into the Cartwright Exhibition Fund by a scheme under the Endowed Schools Act, 16 May, 1893. The endowment, consisting of a yearly rent-charge of £20 and a sum in consols arising from the sale of the grammar school buildings, is applied to the national school, built in 1903, and seating 151.

BARBY.—It has been customary since 1795 to apply for education about £80 yearly, a portion of the income of the Barby Town Lands, a foundation made under an ancient grant and regulated by a decree of the Commissioners of Charitable Uses, 7 October, 5 Chas. I. This is applied to the present church school, built in the churchyard by public subscription about 1863, and enlarged 1876, seating 113.

BARNWELL ST. ANDREW.—By deed of 6 May, 2 Jas. I, the Rev. Nicholas Latham, rector of Barnwell, settled lands upon trust *inter alia* for 4 schools in Barnwell—St. Andrew, Brigstock, Weekley or Warbeton, and Hemington or Luddington—and a boys' school was established in Barnwell and supported out of this endowment. In 1838 Wm. Bigley founded a girls' school with an endowment, now £746 17s. 10d. consols, and gave the Latham school a further endowment of £860 12s. 8d. consols. New premises for both these schools were built in 1874 by the fifth duke of Buccleuch. They are under Charity Commissioners' schemes of 1877 and 1900.

BENEFIELD.—By will of the Rev. Francis Broade of 1783 the income of £300 consols was bequeathed for education in this parish, and is applied to the national school, seating 124, founded in 1820 and rebuilt in 1903.

BLAKESLEY.—Foxley's School for boys, seating 39, was founded by Wm. Foxley, who, by will, 1 January, 1669, devised lands to support a schoolmaster to teach a grammar school for boys at Blakesley. Under Chancery scheme of 30 December, 1847, the school was made elementary.

BLISWORTH.—For the origin of the endowed school here, a fifteenth-century grammar school, and its history, see above among grammar schools.

BRAUNSTON.—William Makepeace, by will of 2 May, 1733, devised a 'quartern of a yard land' upon trust for education. In lieu of this land an allotment of 14 a. 2 r. 32 p. was made on the enclosure of the lands of the parish. The school, which was founded in 1733, has been rebuilt, 1846 and 1867, is national, and seats 220.

BRIGSTOCK.—Latham's Charity School seats 200, and was founded by the Rev. Nicholas Latham, who, by will of 6 April, 1620, devised lands in Ringstead to the warden of his hospital in Barnwell St. Andrew, upon trust *inter alia* that he should pay out of the rents £10 yearly to a schoolmaster for teaching poor children to read in the town of Brigstock, for which purpose he also gave a house in Brigstock called the Town House. By an Inquisition under a Commission of Charitable Uses of 4 September, 25 (or 24) Chas. II, it was found that one Brown had 70 years before given some land for the maintenance of a Latin school in Brigstock. The land so given was exchanged for other lands on the enclosure in 1799. In 1870 the school received £30 yearly from the Barnwell Hospital.

BRIXWORTH.—The national school seats 243. By deed of 14 September, 1665, Thomas Roe conveyed lands to trustees to pay to the schoolmaster in Scaldwell £10 yearly, being the rent of lands demised for 99 years from 13 September, 1665. On the enclosure in 1780 an allotment of 24 a. 0 r. 31 p. was made in lieu of the original land, the rent of which proving in time sufficient for the support of two schoolmasters, the inhabitants of Scaldwell and Brixworth, by indentures of 5 and 6 June, 1822, directed that one half should be paid to the master of the school at the Town House in Scaldwell, and the other to the schoolmaster of Brixworth. The endowments are the subject of a scheme of the Charity Commissioners of 9 July, 1897.

BURTON LATIMER.—The endowed and infants' school, national, seats 650. Elizabeth Margaret Burbauld, by deed of 1 June, 23 Eliz., settled lands to the use of a schoolmaster to

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teach a free grammar school here. A schoolhouse was conveyed to trustees by deed of 21 June, 32 Eliz., by Wm. Vaux, Lord Harrowden, and George, his son. An annuity of £7 is payable to the schoolmaster out of a farm at Burton Leonard, and the school also receives the rent of 7 cottages which were formerly the poor-house belonging to Scott's Charity, founded by Wm. and Agnes Scott about 1514. This school was originally a grammar school : see above among grammar schools.

CHELVESTON CUM CALDECOTT.—The endowed school was founded under indentures of 12 and 13 June, 1760, by Abigail Bailey and Ann Levett. It seats 104, and was rebuilt 1796.

COLD ASHEY.—A school, founded by deed of 1735, was sold in 1867, and a new site, given by the Rev. Wm. Mousley, vicar, in 1867, is now let to the County Council, whose school seats 93. £36 11s. 6d. consols, resulting from the sale of school buildings comprised in a deed of 1735, is held to the credit of the school by the Official Trustees of Charitable Funds. W. Wickes and R. Ward in 1710 and 1736 gave endowments producing £24 yearly. A school board was formed 21 May, 1872.

COSGROVE.—There was a lace school here of considerable antiquity where girls were taught the art of pillow-lace making. The present national school, built in 1844, seats 98.

CULWORTH.—The endowed school, national, seating 89, formerly known as the charity school, was built by Mrs. Merial Danvers before 1795. By deed of 23 November, 1795, Martha Rich and Frances Rich endowed it with a yearly rent-charge of £65. It also has £500 consols arising from accumulations of income.

DAVENTRY (BOROUGH).—The Abbey School, national, seating 613, is the successor of the charity school, the origin of which is as follows :—Edward Maynard, D.D., by will of 20 December, 1736, gave to the corporation of Daventry £200 towards maintaining a charity school, which legacy, with another of £10, bequeathed by Wm. Sawbridge in 1719, and donations of £40 from Mrs. Shuckburgh, Bromwich, £10 from Thomas Wilson, £50 from John Sawbridge, and £300 from Thos. Thornton (at the desire of Catherine Combe), were laid out in 1745 with other benefactions in the purchase of lands at Cosford, now known as the Woodford Estate, producing about £120 yearly. Other endowments are :—A rent-charge of £6 yearly under the will of Nathaniel, Lord Crewe, bishop of Durham ; a yearly sum of £4 given by Edward Sawbridge in 1772 and payable out of the Boddington Charity Estate ; a sum of £100 given by Peter Sutch for apprenticing a boy from the school and invested in the Cosford lands ; and a sum of £10,750 consols held by the Official Trustees of Charitable Funds for the charity school. In 1862 the charity school was without authority incorporated with the national school, and in 1887 new premises were acquired.

DODFORD.—Joseph Cook, by will of 12 May, 1779, gave £500 for establishing a charity school, and directed that the master should wind up and take care of the clock and chimes in the parish church and ring the scholars' bell. Thos. R. Thornton in 1842 added £250, and the total, £1,000 consols, is applied to the church school, built in 1840, and rebuilt 1903, which seats 50.

DUDDINGTON.—The Jackson School, seating 78, was built under will of Wm. Jackson, 12 November, 1667, and rebuilt 1893. Wm. Jackson also charged a farm at Helpston with a yearly payment of £10 to the master.

EAST HADDON.—Under an Enclosure Act of 1774, certain lands were allotted upon trust *inter alia* for teaching poor children to read and write. The school, built by H. B. Sawbridge, esq., in 1851, seats 127.

EASTON.—Garford's Charity School, boys, national, seating 128, rebuilt in 1867, was founded by Richard Garford, who, by will of 24 May, 1670, devised 3 messuages in Crutched Friars, London, for teaching and apprenticing 4 boys. In 1766 Brownlow, earl of Exeter, gave a house and garden for the school, and a piece of land was also given on the enclosure in 1818.

FINEDON.—Sir Richard Walker, by will of 1580, gave £500 for building and endowing a school. The building of the boys' school dates from 1595, and about 45 acres of land were purchased for its maintenance under a Chancery Decree of 1632. The girls' and infants' schools were established in 1714 as a charity school, Sir Gilbert Dolben being the principal contributor. The school lands now produce about £80 a year, and this endowed national school seats 1,296.

FLOORE.—Abigail Rushton, in 1730, invested £100 in trust for teaching 4 poor children ; and Richard Capell, in 1835, left an endowment producing £60 yearly for the education of 20 poor children. The present national school, seating 283, was built on glebe land.

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GREEN'S NORTON.—The Slapton Charity Estate of about 24 acres was purchased under the will, dated 1719, of Dr. Aaron Wood, rector, and the lands have been applied for education in Green's Norton and Whittlebury, Green's Norton receiving about £22 yearly. The schools in both places were kept in houses belonging to the duke of Grafton. In 1819 they became national schools. The present building, seating 171, was built in 1874. The infants' school has an endowment of £538 7s. 2d. consols, bequeathed by John Elliott in 1865.

GUILSBOROUGH.—The national school seats 157. This school was founded in 1609, and was formerly known as the Writing School. A decree of the Commissioners of Charitable Uses, 19 February, 1625, recites a gift of £100 by Wm. Gilbert in 1609 for a free school, and gifts by other persons, the whole amounting to £205, of which £25 had been spent on a schoolhouse, and £180 in purchase of 29 acres of land. The original building was exchanged in 1764 for another house, and the present school was built in 1867 by the Rev. T. S. Hichens, vicar.

HANGING HOUGHTON.—Sir Edmund Isham, by will of 16 November, 1762, bequeathed £1,500 consols upon trust for education (except as to £5 per annum to be given to the poor). This is applied to the Lamport and Hanging Houghton Free School, seating 102, and built 1852. A Chancery Order of 31 July, 1822, directed that there should also be payable £21 yearly for education, and a sum not exceeding £10 yearly for repairs of the schoolhouse, out of the surplus rents of the charity estate at Brixworth arising from the charities of Sir Justman Isham (will 30 December, 1670) and Lady Denton, for apprenticing.

HARPOLE.—Under an Enclosure Act, 1778, there being then no school in the parish, an allotment of 26 a. 3 r. 5 p. was made in respect of the town land for a schoolmaster. This is applied to Harpole Free School, national, seating 180, and built originally in 1835, on the site of certain parish cottages. In 1864 a new school was built on glebe land, and in 1900—an infant school was added.

HARRINGWORTH.—The school here, seating 95, and built in 1825, receives a sum of £40 yearly under a scheme of the Charity Commissioners of 1884 from charity estates, which include the educational charities of Elizabeth Gardiner (given before 1705) and of the Rev. M. Palmer (given before 1755).

HELLIDON.—John Ball, by will of 6 July, 1618, bequeathed a rent charge of £20 for maintenance of a master, and a further sum of £100 for a schoolhouse. The present parochial school, seating 125, was built in 1854, and enlarged 1885 and 1894.

IRTHLINGBOROUGH.—Wm. Trigg, by will 25 February, 1728, gave a rent-charge of £17 to the master of the charity school he had built in Irthlingborough for the instruction of children who should have received infant baptism according to the doctrine of the Church of England. The instruction was to include reading, knitting, and spinning, and every scholar who had spun for 3 years was to receive a Bible, and on the 5 November every scholar was to have a half loaf, and the master 2 loaves. In 1830 the school was a national school, and the provisions of the founder no longer observed. It was rebuilt in 1867, and seats 323; a school board was formed 3 May, 1872.

KING'S CLIFFE.—Mrs. Elizabeth Hutcheson, in 1744, set up a school in King's Cliffe for 18 boys. In 1747 she purchased a schoolhouse, and by deeds of 14 and 15 May, 1753, and deed of 1754, conveyed estates for its support. The Rev. Wm. Law, author of *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*, in 1727 set up a school for 14 girls; in 1751 he built a new schoolhouse for them, and by deeds 19 and 20 October, 1753, conveyed estates for their education and maintenance. The endowment produces about £700 a year, part of which is applicable for almspeople, and is regulated under the Endowed Schools Act by a scheme of 19 August, 1889, which directs that the schools shall be public elementary schools. The endowed school also benefits under Miss Louisa Perry's bequest for the national and Sunday schools here by will proved 1869. It seats 280, and was rebuilt 1873. A school board was formed 21 December, 1874.

LITTLE HARROWDEN.—Wm. Aylworth by deed of 17 January, 1661, gave a rent-charge of £20 for a free grammar school in Little Harrowden for children of that parish and of Orlingbury, and by subsequent deeds lands were conveyed to the same use. The master was to be a graduate of Oxford or Cambridge, and to instruct the children in the Church catechism. Though the school was by foundation, and in fact a grammar school, as early as 1830 it was an elementary school only. The present building, seating 220, was erected in 1851, and enlarged in 1876 and 1890.

LONG BUCKBY.—The Rev. Langton Freeman in 1783 gave an endowment of £20 yearly for education here; this foundation is regulated by a scheme of the Charity Commissioners

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of 21 April, 1882. The board school, seating 528, was built 1873-4, a school board having been formed 3 November, 1871.

LOWICK.—Lady Elizabeth Germain, by indenture of 20 May, 1725, which recites that her late husband, Sir John Germain, had left £1,000 for maintaining a charity school here, and that she desired to add £40 a year more, conveyed a schoolhouse for the use of the charity school, and the rectory of Ringstead and other property upon trust for £90 yearly, now paid to the charity school at Lowick, which seats 81.

MEARS ASHBY.—The endowed school, formerly Kinloch's Charity School, was built in 1879, and seats 133. Sarah Kinloch by will of 16 June, 1710, gave £200 for teaching children to read and say their catechism. This endowment now consists of 24 a. 3 r. 25 p. of land in Arthingworth, producing £40 a year.

NETHER HEYFORD.—William Bliss, by will of 23 February, 1673, gave £100 for a schoolhouse for children of Lower and Upper Heyford, and especially for such children as bore his name, and lived within 5 miles of Heyford; he also gave £300 for the schoolmaster, which was invested in land, and this, with £3,697 7s. 11d. consols, together produces about £130 yearly. By a scheme made under the Endowed Schools Act, 23 October, 1877, the Upper and Lower Heyford Bliss Charity School was directed to be a public elementary school. It was rebuilt in 1879, and seats 254.

OLD.—The church school here seats 110. An endowment for education in this parish was founded by the Rev. James Parr in 1774.

PASSENHAM-WITH-DENSHANGER.—John Swannell, by will, 12 March, 1707, charged land in Denshanger with £2 10s. yearly for teaching poor children to read and write. Payment of this seems to be in abeyance. The parish school, seating 219, was built, the mixed school, 1858, and the infants', 1871.

POUNDLE.—The infants' school at Ashton was built in 1707, and was founded by Jemima Creed, who, by will dated 11 February 1705, devised lands, now 15 acres (settled by deed 20 January, 1708), for this purpose. The national school, seating 446, was built in 1842; and further endowments for education are Branston's gift of £5 yearly, and Walcot's legacy by will of 1825, now £298 17s. 1d. consols.

PATTISHALL.—Thos. Young, by will, 31 December 1684, bequeathed land upon trust for the education of 2 poor boys. The property of this foundation consists of a schoolhouse (rebuilt 1818-19) and a close of land now producing £12 yearly. Wm. Pinckard, by will in 1647, made several bequests for the education of the children of the parish, now £3,892 11s. consols. The present church school, built 1855, seats 244.

PAULERSPURY.—The church school here, seating 197, and built 1860-1, has the following endowments:—Wm. Marriott, by will, 17 October, 1720, gave £6 yearly to the master of Paulerspury School; Thos. Nicholl, by will, 15 August, 1726, gave a rent-charge of £5 a year for education of 6 poor boys here; and Mr. Isaac Lovell, by will in 1861, gave an endowment now represented by £2,000 consols. The buildings were enlarged 1879 and 1892.

PYTCHLEY.—The endowed church school, now seating 183, was founded as a free grammar school. The buildings, dating from 1770, were enlarged by Lord Overstone in 1870. The trusts of the school buildings and adjoining close were declared by deed of 26 January, 1826, in which the origin is stated to be unknown, but is ascribed to Wm. Aylworth, who, by will, 10 August, 1661, gave £20 a year for a free school in Pytchley, for the children of Pytchley, Isham, and Broughton, the master to be a graduate of one of the universities, and to teach the Catechism, and be conformable to the Church of England.

SCALDWELL.—See under Brixworth, in regard to Thomas Roe's Charity. Edward Palmer in 1735 gave land producing £2 yearly for the master. The present national school, seating 87, was built in 1836.

STAVERTON.—The free school buildings were erected in 1852 by the Rev. John Bull, vicar, and seat 93. This school (Church of England) has the following endowments:—By indenture 5 February, 1767, the Rev. Francis Baker gave lands for a master, and on inclosure in 1774 an allotment of 27 ac. 3 r. was given; and Catherine Burbidge, by will, 23 December, 1767, gave £100, which was laid out in a house for the master.

STOW NINE CHURCHES.—The Rev. E. Williams by will in 1719 gave £120 for a schoolmaster. The present parish school appears to have been in existence about 1733; and the buildings, which seat 66, seem to date back to 1813, but to have been altered in 1866-7 and 1899.

SUDBOROUGH.—The church school, seating 68, built in 1841, receives the income of £666 13s. 4d. consols, arising from the charity of the Marchioness of Bath, who, by deed

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20 October, 1788, established a school for the instruction of 30 boys and 30 girls in the principles of the Church of England.

SULGRAVE.—John Hodges, by will, 18 June, 1722, gave a schoolhouse in Sulgrave for 10 poor children, and a rent-charge of £4 a year for the master and for repairs to the school buildings. Robert Gardiner, by deed 2 February, 1763, gave a rent-charge of £5. These two charities, by a Charity Commissioners' Scheme, 26 February, 1897, are applied for prizes at the national school, which seats 103.

SYRESHAM.—Conquest Jones, by will 2 May, 1773, bequeathed £100 for teaching poor children to read and write. This sum was expended in 1833 towards purchasing the school premises. George Hammond, by will 3 February, 1755, bequeathed £300 for a schoolmaster to teach 10 poor children of this parish; this was invested in £513 18s. 4d. consols. The present national school buildings were erected in 1872, and seats 180. The school is regulated by scheme of the Charity Commissioners, 12 January, 1872.

UPPER BODDINGTON.—The Boddington School (Church), seating 117, was built in 1870. The following charities for education have been founded here :—£100 given by the Rev. Dr. Maynard about 1740; £50 by Dr. Knowles in 1774; £15 by an unknown donor; £50 bequeathed in 1791 by Wm. Miller; £90 bequeathed by the Rev. Richard Wainman before 1825; and certain real estate by Richard Lamprey in 1758.

WALGRAVE.—The Walgrave and Hannington National School, which seats 162, was built in 1828, and enlarged in 1897; it has an endowment of £12 a year under the will of Montague Lane, 16 May, 1670, which bequeathed £200 for a schoolmaster to teach the English and Latin tongues, regarded as a charge of £12 yearly on the Montague Estates.

WATFORD.—Sarah Clarke in 1702 bequeathed £400 for the education of poor children, which was invested in 30 ac. 1 r. of land, conveyed by deeds 24 and 25 May, 1725; this produced in 1825 £44, in 1870 £35, but now only £18; spent, under Charity Commissioners' Scheme, 26 October, 1883, in school prizes at the board school, which seats 118, and was built by Harriet Lady Henley, 1857, and enlarged in 1889, when the infants' school was added. The school board was formed 8 December, 1871.

WEEDON BECK.—Nathaniel Billing, by will, 5 February, 1712, proved 1713, directed that a school should be erected for the education of 20 boys born in the town or parish, and land purchased for their support. The boys were to be clothed 'in a kersey coat or a coarse cloth of whitish colour, and red buttons and buttonholes, a flat cap with a white tuft on the top, and white ribbon round each of the caps, and a pair of shoes once in every two years'; these clothes were to be in the custody of the master in order that the scholars might 'appear decent at Church on Sundays and Holidays.' A school was built, and 40 acres of land bought. The rent of the land was £100 in 1825, £105 in 1870, but now appears to be £45 only. The school (national, seating 108) also enjoys half the income of £94 15s. 10d. consols from the charity of the Rev. John Rogers of 1736, and the interest of £115 1s. 8d. consols, the gift of Edward Thornton in 1881, for prizes. The boys' school was rebuilt in 1862; the girls' and infants' schools were erected in 1860. Billing's Charity is under a scheme of the Charity Commissioners, 26 November, 1862; Rogers' Charity, under Charity Commissioners' Scheme of 29 January, 1897.

WELFORD AND SULBY.—The endowed school buildings, seating 198, were conveyed by deed of 1807, and rebuilt in 1859. £10 is received by the master as interest on £100 given by Rene Payne about 1747, and on £100 given by John Payne by will of 25 May, 1764, together with half the rent of land devised by will of Richard Ward, 9 July, 1736, for educational purposes in Welford and Cold Ashby.

WELLINGBOROUGH.—Freeman's Endowed School, seating 440, rebuilt in 1851, and enlarged 1871, was founded by John Freeman, who, by will dated 24 May, 1711, devised a schoolhouse for a charity school for the instruction of poor children in the principles of the Church of England. Richard Fisher, by will, 9 May, 1711, gave £20 yearly for the support of the charity school (as well as gifts to the grammar school, as to which see above). In 1767, under an Inclosure Act, 55 a. 1 r. 13 p. were given in lieu of Fisher's Charity land. Mary Roane in 1715 gave £100; Samuel Knight in 1728 £100; and John Robinson in 1791 £100. The lands now produce about £200 yearly, of which this school receives one half.

WELTON.—The church school, seating 114, built about 1810, is partly supported out of the Town Land Charity, the origin of which is unknown, but of which the trusts were declared in a deed of 29 September, 6 Chas. I, and since 1822 it has been customary to apply about £140 of their income to this school. It was rebuilt about 1874 by Colonel Clarke.

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WESTON FAVELL.—Weston Favell and Abington (Church) School, which seats 108 and was built in 1876, is supported by the following endowments:—By release, 27 February, 1704, Hervey Ekins and Elizabeth his wife gave land for the support of a schoolmaster for the education of children from Weston Favell, and failing a sufficient number from that place, then from Great Doddington, or in the case of an insufficient number from Great Doddington, from the town of Northampton. Thomas Green, in 1739, gave lands in augmentation of this charity. Under Charity Commissioners' Scheme, 22 December, 1874, three-fifths of the income are applicable for education and apprenticeship.

WHILTON.—The free school (church), seating 89, was founded by Jonathan Emery, who, by will, 7 October, 1768, gave £500 invested in 11½ acres of land, conveyed by deed 6 April, 1789. A further endowment of about 16 acres arises from a legacy left about 100 years ago by Mrs. Judith Worsfold. The lands now produce £68 yearly.

WHITFIELD.—The national school, seating 66, built 1837, and enlarged 1894, is endowed with four acres of land producing £3 a year, purchased under deed 3 August, 1764, and thereby declared to be held in trust for paying a schoolmaster to teach poor children, and for providing books and clothes for them.

WHITTLEBURY.—For endowment of the church school, seating 143, see under Green's Norton.

YELVERTOFT.—The board school seats 113. There was formerly a free school, established about the beginning of the eighteenth century as a charity school. Contributions in aid of this school were invested in 1713 and 1720 in lands conveyed upon trust for the support of a schoolmaster. In 1777 an allotment of 28 a. 0 r. 19 p. was made in lieu of the original lands; and the school was the subject of Charity Commissioners' Scheme, 9 February, 1883. A school board was formed 13 April, 1874.

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GLINTON.—The Peakirk-cum-Glinton National School seats 156. Anne Ireland, by will 1 January, 1711, gave £100 for maintaining a charity school in the parish, invested in real estate, which produces about £50 yearly. The mixed school was built in 1845, and the infants' in 1895.

PETERBOROUGH.—St. John's (Church) School, seating 1,013, built, the boys' school in 1860, and the girls' school, 1896, benefits under the will of Anne Ireland, 1 January, 1711, which bequeathed £100 for a charity school in the parish of St. John Baptist, Peterborough.

THORNHAUGH.—A school board was formed 11 July, 1876. The board school seats 144, and is attended by children from Wansford. It benefits under the will of the Rev. Thomas Woolsey, 26 March, 1707, bequeathing £40 to be laid out in land for the support of a schoolmaster to teach poor children of the parish. This sum, with sundry small donations amounting to £20, was lodged in the hands of the duke of Bedford. At the inclosure in 1812 an allotment of 4 a. 2 r. 20 p. was granted to the duke as trustee of the school, which was then held at Wansford, in lieu of certain land supposed to have been given by a Mrs. Russell, and a further allotment of 1 r. 6 p. was afterwards made to the duke in respect of common right. The Official Trustees of Charitable Funds hold £44 13s. 5d. and £87 2s. 11d. consols and 6 acres of land in respect of these charities, and the income is applied in school prizes.

COUNTY BOROUGH OF NORTHAMPTON

KINGSTHORPE.—The former free school in the High Street of Kingsthorpe was founded by Thomas Cooke in 1693, and by deed, 2 February, 1753, his widow, Elizabeth, after reciting that the said Thomas, his brother, Sir Charles, and his father, Thomas, had disposed of the rents of certain lands towards the maintenance of a schoolmaster, conveyed these lands upon trust for the education of 15 boys and 15 girls of Kingsthorpe. The endowment, applied to the national school, seating 352, built, the mixed school in 1840, and the infants' in 1873, is applicable in scholarships under Charity Commissioners' Scheme, 23 August, 1895. The premises include the Manor House, belonging to the Town Lands Charity, converted in 1874 into the infants' school.

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INTRODUCTION

THE present expansion of the industries of Northamptonshire is of quite modern date, though as early as the time of the Roman occupation quarries were opened in the limestone of Barnack and Stanion, the potter's art flourished on the Huntingdon border, even the surface iron was probably smelted for purely local needs. The early Middle Ages saw little development except in the larger output from the Barnack quarries. So rich was the county in stone that almost every manor at one time possessed a quarry of its own or could draw on one at easy distance, while the fine freestone near the northern waterways enjoyed a more than local repute.

The leather trade next challenged, and won for itself a pre-eminent place amongst the industries of the county, and the manufacture of boots and shoes, one of its specialized branches, may now be regarded as the staple trade of the shire. Cattle from the rich water-meadows of the Nene valley furnished abundant hides, as the bordering forests oak-bark and fuel, to the tanners and leather-dressers. The position also of Northampton itself in the tideway of trade encouraged the development of the town as a manufacturing and distributing centre for products everywhere needed, and thus great store of leather passed down the Nene to the Ouse to stock the booths of Stourbridge Fair. It is probable too that the special repute enjoyed by the county-town as a rendezvous of horsedealers may have induced the settlement of harness-makers and the like. In the early years of the last century the higher wages which successful labour combination produced in London may have led to more capital being invested at Northampton, while quite lately the effect of American competition has been no unmixed evil if it has led to keener attention to the demands of the day and a more intelligent attempt to meet them.

The local lace-making, which can hardly be considered apart from the similar industry in Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire, owed to foreign influence after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes a delicacy of pattern and a fineness of fabric until that time unknown. Later, the

imitation of the coarse Maltese laces dragged the industry to ruin, and no profitable competition was possible with machine-made lace on its own terrain. But our own generation is happily witnessing a revival of the older and fairer work, which it may be hoped will find a place of its own.

The last century has also seen the rediscovery and working of the local iron ore, for which the neighbouring limestone is a ready and suitable flux. As late as the thirteenth century one or two smelters' furnaces may have been alight in the forest region, but from that time there seems to have been no working of Northamptonshire ironstone till the fifth decade of the nineteenth century.

The development and extension of trade is largely conditioned by means of communication; bad roads and dangerous waterways strangle the most promising industry. The mediaeval trade of Northamptonshire was fortunate in possessing two excellent navigable rivers, the Welland and the Nene, and their present state is no indication of their condition when the great house of Peterborough found the tolls at Gunwade a valuable possession, and both rivers saw long processions of boats and barges piled with stone, timber, and leather from the county, while sea-coal and numberless other products were imported through Wisbech and Lynn. So entirely has the network of railways monopolized the carrying trade of the county at the present time that some effort of the constructive imagination is required to gain a right estimate of the place formerly taken by the rivers of the shire. The roads of the county, except the old Roman ways, were in bad weather unsuited for heavy traffic, and the stone of Barnack and the neighbouring quarries would, without ready water-carriage, have been used far less widely than it was.

We have ample evidence of the constant traffic on the Nene at an early period, but during the later Middle Ages there seems to have been little improvement in its condition even if, as appears very likely, it had not actually deteriorated. As early as the reign of James I the river was not generally navigable beyond Allerton water-mill to the south of Peterborough; and Sir William Fleetwood, who at that time made a

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survey, computed that thirty-five locks would be necessary to render it navigable to Northampton.¹ Fuller,² who was a Northamptonshire man, remarked about the middle of the seventeenth century that lessons in cheap transport could be learnt from the Hollanders, but that the design of improving the navigation of the Nene 'hath always met with many back friends, as private profit is (though a secret) a sworn enemy to the general good.' In Queen Anne's reign one obstacle in the way of improvement was the protectionist feeling of Northampton, where it was feared that barley and oats from Huntingdon and Cambridge would be brought down in such quantities by the better waterway as to swamp the local market, while the riparian owners dreaded an aggravation of the chronic floods which were a curse to the Nene valley. The questions involved seemed complex and not easily solved, and Morton, with a proper sense of the inherent wisdom of quarter sessions, was willing to leave to the gentry of the shire the ultimate decision. Apparently they determined in favour of a measure of reform, and in 1713 (12 Anne) an Act of Parliament was obtained for making navigable the Nene between Northampton and Peterborough, which was followed by further amending Acts in 1724, 1756, and 1794.

Coal, iron, timber, wine, and other goods were brought as far as Thrapston by water in 1720, and efforts were made to continue the improvement.³ About 1756 the Nene was locked and deepened at Wellingborough, but the efforts made do not seem to have been always judicious. Some fifty years later it was remarked⁴ that 'a lock given doubtless from the purest patriotic motives in 1760 by J. Spencer, Esq., of Althorp, is so ill-placed that it turns the navigation into a lower channel, where continuing the higher levels would have been preferable.' At the beginning of the last century the Nene was still 'imperfectly navigable' to Northampton, and though Cowper, with the peculiar licence allowed to poets, had apostrophized 'Nen's barge-laden wave,' the ordinary cargo was a sorry affair, four tons or less, principally coals and deals. The same period saw two new undertakings to improve the water-transport of the county. The Grand Junction Canal was cut to join the tidal navigation of the Thames with the principal inland canals. It runs within the county from near Wolverton in the south to Braunston in the west, a distance of about twenty-five miles, and joins the Oxford Canal; branches connect with Stony Stratford and Northampton. The other important canal, the Grand Union, was designed

to connect the navigation of the Trent and Soar with the Grand Junction and the Nene. Starting from the Grand Junction Canal at Braunston, it runs north to the Leicester canal, and possesses a branch to Market Harborough.

The works executed to improve the Nene navigation at Wisbech had an indirect influence on the condition of other parts of the river. In spite of proposals fifty years before, a straight cut was not made to improve the outfall of the Nene below Wisbech until 1770, when it was carried out to a length of 1½ miles.⁵ Between 1827 and 1830 Rennie and Telford prolonged this cut to a total length of 7 miles, and great complaints followed of disastrous floods. In 1852 another Act was passed for improving the drainage and navigation of the Nene, characterized by the *Quarterly Reviewer* as 'stringent and powerful.'⁶ Pamphleteers towards the close of the fifth decade of the nineteenth century were anything but satisfied with the measures taken, and describe the condition of the river as a frightful state of things. They also blamed the conservatism of Wisbech, which refused to give up the old channel through the town for a straight cut, while the sudden and possibly inopportune destruction of the old Wisbech bridge, which had previously throttled the stream, produced all manner of unlooked-for results. Already, however, Peterborough was becoming a railway centre, and her citizens were lukewarm in bettering their waterway, an improvement which its advocates declared would 'open up resources of wealth of which the petty agricultural activity of her business at present is no measure. Wharves crowded with warehouses and timber yards might succeed the present inactive river shore.'⁷ In 1862 a proposal to construct a submerged weir or dam and other works near the Dog and Doublet Bridge was sharply criticized by a pamphleteer, who saw a sinister design on the part of his grace of Bedford to monopolize the river, and who drew a moving picture of the sufferings prepared for Peterborough if the scheme were accepted. The unfortunate city would have 'miasma' continually ventilating through her streets. Mothers may be moaning over their sickly children, and children over their dying parents, in order that the crops of the Thorney estates may be healthy, and that the cattle they rear may grow fat'!

At the present time the traffic on the river is entirely subsidiary to that of the railway, the waterways of the shire are no longer main avenues of transport for heavy goods. From time to time the Nene Navigation Commissioners carry out the necessary dredging to prevent the

¹ Morton, *Nat. Hist. of Northants*, 5.

² *Worthies* (1662), 301.

³ *Northants N. and Q.* iv, 76, 77.

⁴ Pitt, *Gen. View of Agric. for Northants* (1809), 233.

⁵ Harcourt, *Rivers and Canals*, i, 287.

⁶ No. 201, Jan. 1857.

⁷ *Remarks on the River Nene Improvement Scheme* (1857).

⁸ *To Whom does the Nene Belong?* (1862), ii.

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river silting up altogether, but the floods along the valley are unfortunately still to be reckoned with.

The roads of Northamptonshire, except perhaps the great Roman highways, from the nature of the soil through which they pass have not always gained warm commendation. The patriotic Morton, indeed, declared 'the roads in general are not much to be complained of,' but shrewd observers at the beginning of the last century, when the traffic by road had reached a maximum, noticed not only their material deficiency, but the mischief wrought by the incessant passage of prodigious numbers of cattle and carriages. In wet weather the droves of cattle were nearly as injurious as the wheeled traffic, while the statutory duty of repair was very irregularly performed.¹

Lying as Northamptonshire does, 'in the trade way,'² the carriers from an early period formed an important class. An incidental reference to the close connexion between the carriers and the local traders is contained in a Chancery Bill³ which may be attributed with some confidence to the last year of Henry V or the beginning of the reign of his infant son.

By an Act passed 3 & 4 William and Mary the justices of the peace in each county were empowered 'to yearly assess and rate the prices of all land carriage of goods whatever.' At the April sessions,⁴ 1743, the Northamptonshire magistrates declared that divers waggons and other carriers, by combinations amongst themselves, have raised the prices of carriage of goods in many places to excessive rates, to the great injury of trade, and they therefore proceeded to make a new assessment for the year. From London to the places named, the same amount being allowed 'from every of the said places back again to London,' the rates were as follows: 3s. 6d. per cwt. to Northampton, to Brackley, Towcester, Daventry, Higham Ferrers, Thrapston, Wellingborough; 4s. to Kettering, Rothwell, Oundle; and 4s. 6d. to Weldon and Rockingham.⁵

The advent of the railways reduced carriage by the highroad to very small proportions. At present the London and North Western main

line running parallel with the Grand Junction Canal, passes through Blisworth, Weedon, and Welton to Rugby. A branch from Blisworth connects Northampton, Wellingborough, and Peterborough. Peterborough is also a station on the main line of the Great Northern, and thence a branch passes to Stamford by way of Wansford. At Wellingborough the Midland main line enters the county, passing through Kettering into Leicestershire. From Kettering a branch runs to Huntingdon and Cambridge, and another to Manton in Rutland, and thence by way of the Leicester and Stamford line there is communication through Helpston and Walton with Peterborough. The Great Western line from Oxford to Banbury passes through the extreme south-west of the county, and the Great Eastern branch from Ely finds a terminus at Peterborough, while the Great Central, the youngest of the main trunk lines, enters the county by a tunnel 3,000 yards long at Catesby, and leaves it not far from Brackley. The evolution of Peterborough into a considerable railway centre is one of the most salient features of the economic history of the county during the last century.

The more important industries of the county receive special attention in the articles that follow, and it is only necessary to mention here a few which, in spite of their intrinsic interest, the limitations of space have debarred from similar treatment. Charcoal-burning, fully described by Morton in his *Natural History* of the shire, naturally prevailed at one time to a considerable extent in the forest regions of Rockingham, Salcey, and Whittlewood. The very early pottery of Castor has already been treated in the section on the Roman period. At a later time clay from Cosgrove and its neighbourhood was manufactured at Potterspury into a coarse ware, such as flower-pots and vases, an industry now discontinued. Brick-making is still as it has been for centuries, a natural outcome of the excellent material which the shire affords.

A curious local trade now practically extinct was the preparation of the famous Finedon dried apples. They resembled the Normandy pippins of the present day, but instead of being dried in the sun, were placed on trays and set in the bakers' ovens some hours after the bread was drawn. When taken out they were cautiously pressed betwixt finger and thumb, as it was of the utmost importance not to break the skin, and then set apart to cool. This process was gone through again on nine or ten successive days, and in their final form the apples, which would keep for months and were esteemed as delicacies for dessert, had been pressed quite flat in form, and were not more than half-an-inch thick. A tough-skinned apple was naturally in request, Meltons, Beaufins, and Norfolk pippins being amongst those used. About the time of the battle of Waterloo the trade was most flourishing,

¹ Pitt, *Gen. View of Agric. Northants* (1809), 231, 232.

² Morton, op. cit. 18. He mentions that one of the Towcester inns (in 1712) was commonly said to have the best custom of any single inn on the Chester road, op. cit. 25.

³ Early Chanc. Proc. $\frac{69}{885}$ (P.R.O.).

⁴ *Northants N. and Q.* i, 260.

⁵ According to an advertisement in the first number of the *Northampton Mercury*, May 2, 1720, each passenger by the Flying Waggon, which left the Fleece Inn on Tuesday, May 10, at 5 a.m. to arrive at the 'Rose and Crown,' in St. John's Street, London, on Wednesday, was to pay 6s., and for all goods above 14 lb. to pay $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. The return journey was on the Thursday and Friday.

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and every autumn, advertisements of the Finedon dried apples, for which Mr. J. Abel was the chief Northampton agent, used to appear regularly in the local paper.¹ Dried apples were also prepared by Mr. E. Chapman at Kettering about the same time. Mr. William Butlin, of Finedon, is said to have been one of the last to manufacture these delicacies for sale, but Mr. Chapman, of Finedon, also prepared apples in this way till about twenty-three years ago.

Another curious local industry with a history of at least two hundred years—which however, still exists, though sadly diminished—is the wood-turning of King's Cliffe. In the opening years of the eighteenth century there were more than twenty craftsmen engaged in 'turning dishes and spoons.'

'The latter,' says Morton,² 'is a distinct trade of itself, and tools they have appropriate to it. There is scarce any town in England wherein this sort of handicraft is so much professed or is managed with so great dexterity as here.'

At the beginning of the last century turner's ware, with cheese, and linen furnished the staple of the King's Cliffe Fair on 29 October.³ In the sixties⁴ there were some forty or fifty wood-turners at work at King's Cliffe, but at the present time hardly more than ten. The organization of trade is quite primitive, and, except when two in the same family work together, there is no partnership or employment of others. Amongst the articles made may be mentioned butter-prints, spice-boxes, mouse-traps, bread-plates, egg-cups and spoons, rattles and tops. For the turning a rough lathe is used, which is worked by the foot, but any special carving, as in the case of the butter-prints, is done by hand. In more prosperous days, some twenty years ago, a few lathes were worked by steam-power. The woods generally used are maple, sycamore, alder, birch, lime, chestnut, beech, ash, and white thorn. So great is the dexterity acquired and inherited in the trade that one worker turned 417 egg-cups in eight hours for a wager, and during one of these hours actually made sixty-three, taking a trifle less than a minute for each egg-cup. Unfortunately the competition of cheap foreign wood-ware is seriously affecting this ancient local industry.

In respect to the history of printing at the county town it may be noted that as early as 1720 a weekly paper was established, printed, as the first number of the *Northampton Mercury* informs us, by R. Raikes and W. Dicey, near

All Saints' Church. They thankfully acknowledge the unanimous approval⁵ given to their project by the mayor and the city fathers generally, and express their surprise that 'this famous, this beautiful, this polite corporation has not longer ago⁶ been the object of those many printers who have established printing offices in towns of less note.' Just two weeks before their Northampton venture the same proprietors had apparently started the *St. Ives Mercury*. The *Northampton Mercury* was a fine example of the 'new journalism' of the time. In the fifth number, after naming nineteen counties to which its humanizing influence reached, the Editor pleasantly adds:—

'But we will not say it goes into Cheshire, Lancashire, Somersetshire, Yorkshire, for fear we should romance like our Stamford neighbour, who gives out that no other country paper extends itself into half the counties that his does.'

The London papers were largely drawn upon, and trade returns summarized, while a really satisfying horror or sensational murder sometimes received fuller treatment.⁷

After this brief allusion to the early history of printing in the county town, it is necessary to mention that Northampton possesses one of the oldest book-binding establishments in England, that of Messrs. Birdsall & Son.⁸ There is good reason to believe that the trade was existent in the town early in the eighteenth century, but the proved continuity of the firm dates from 1757, when John Lacy, who had recently acquired the business, carried it on in the Drapery. After a while he took his son into partnership, and they ultimately sold the business in 1792 to William Birdsall, a member of an old Yorkshire family who had settled in Northampton, and who is now represented by Richard Birdsall, the grandson of William Birdsall's nephew.

In the Middle Ages brewing was a general and necessary industry. Although at the present time, owing to the introduction of other beverages, the quantity of malt liquor consumed is relatively much less than it was, yet the malting and brewing carried on in the shire is still extensive, and among the oldest firms may be mentioned Messrs. Phipps & Co., of Northampton, formerly of Towcester. Other Northampton firms of repute are the Northampton

⁵ *Northampton Mercury*, 2 May, 1720. No. 1. It may be noted that Dicey of the *Northampton Mercury* was one of the most successful producers of the Chapbooks which formed such a striking feature of the eighteenth century. Some are advertised in the early numbers of the *Mercury*.

⁶ It will be remembered that over 130 years before, the secret Marprelate Press had been for a short time at Fawsley. Plomer, *English Printing*, 139.

⁷ *Northampton Mercury*, i, 171, 499.

⁸ *The British Bookmaker*, iv, 5, et seq. (Dec. 1890).

¹ *Northants N. and Q.* vi, 16, 17.

² *Op. cit.* 488.

³ Pitt, *op. cit.* (1809), 238.

⁴ We are indebted to the courtesy of G. K. Papillon, Esq., for the information here given as to the present state of the industry.

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Brewery Company, Dorman, Pope & Co., and T. Manning & Co., while Oundle possesses the important brewery and mineral-water factory of Smith & Co., and the Anchor Brewery of C. F. McKee. The King's Royal Crown Brewery Company and William Blencowe & Co. are two well-known Peterborough firms, and others of good local repute might be mentioned at Daventry, Kettering, Brackley, and Wellingborough. Besides the brush-making¹ business the only other county industry which we can mention here is the manufacture of agricultural implements. This, as might be expected in a shire where the farming interest is strong, employs a large number of hands, probably well over 3,000 in number, comparing poorly with the forty or fifty thousand workers in the boot and shoe trade, and the leather and allied industries, but otherwise exceeding any other single trade. Such firms as Barford and Perkins, of Peterborough; William Ball &

Son, of Rothwell and Kettering; G. Lewis & Son, of Kettering; Wm. Gascoigne & Son, of Wellingborough, with many others may be mentioned as keeping up the good repute of the county for agricultural implements and machinery of the best type.

In conclusion, we may remember that Fuller⁶ declared in the seventeenth century that in respect to manufactures 'this county can boast of none worth naming.' The slight textile trade which he knew is practically gone, but there has been an enormous expansion in boot manufacture, and although even at the present time the shire is predominantly agricultural, yet industry of the highly organized factory type has a definite place in its economy. In Kettering also, with its great co-operative store and its thriving co-partnership business, the county may claim what has been lately styled⁷ 'the worthy Mecca of the co-operative world.'

QUARRIES (HISTORICAL)

The quarries of Northamptonshire may be divided into two classes, those mainly in the north of the county close to convenient waterways, which often sent their stone far afield, and the remainder less happily situated in the south and centre, enjoying a more local and restricted repute.

Of the northern quarries Barnack yielded to none in antiquity of origin. The Roman builders who used the Alwalton marble for the inner lining of the dwellings at Castor also worked the stone at Barnack, and even carried it beyond the confines of the present shire. The statue² from the Bedford purlieu of Rockingham, now at Woburn, the torso³ found at Barnack vicarage, and the inscribed stone⁴ brought to light in 1884 during the restoration of Peterborough Cathedral, may be advanced in illustration; while trained observers have recognized in the remains of distant Verulamium and the plinth of the Roman wall of London oolitic stone which with a high degree of likelihood may be assigned to the same quarries. Apart from the excellence of its output Barnack from its position between the Welland and the Nene possessed singular advantages in the nearness of water-carriage,⁵ while for land transport the Ermine Street was close at hand.

¹ There are at least four firms at Northampton, two at Kettering, and one at Wellingborough.

² *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 190.

³ *Ass. Arch. Soc. Rep.* ix, 158.

⁴ *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 176, 177.

⁵ There seems to have been a tradition of the existence of a haven at the foot of Pillsgate Hill. Morton, *Nat. Hist. of Northants*, p. 110. Whether the 'portecros' in a Pillsgate rental (Faustina, B iii, f. 114) refers to this it may be impossible to decide.

In the Saxon period, when the religious houses of the fens began to build churches of stone, it would have been strange if the local material were set aside, and we may well believe that the famous foundation stones of Medeshamstede, of which Hugo Candidus⁸ gives from his own inspection so impressive an account, were derived largely, if not entirely, from the neighbouring quarries; while the Saxon remains still existing at Peterborough furnish clear evidence of the use of Barnack stone.

Dependent as we are on a comparatively few chartularies hardly saved from the pillage of the religious houses, it is well-nigh impossible to determine the exact dates when the various houses of the Fenland first acquired rights of quarrying at Barnack, or to trace this exercise of the privilege with even approximate completeness. At least as early as the reign of the Confessor the great abbey of Ramsey received licence⁹ from the sister house at Peterborough to obtain 'werkstan at Bernak and walstan at Burgh' for the use of their church, while in return the brethren of Ramsey furnished 4,000 eels to the Lenten fare of Burgh, though a writ of Henry I confirming this right of Ramsey and addressed to the abbot of Burgh may suggest that Peterborough afterwards repented of the bargain.¹⁰ Later in the twelfth century, in 1185, Ramsey

In any case there would seem to exist even at the present time traces of wharves on the Welland near at hand.

⁸ *Worthies* (1662), 279.

⁹ W. J. Ashley, *Surveys Historic and Economic* (1899), 401.

¹⁰ Sparke, *Hist. Angl. Scriptores*, p. 4.

¹¹ *Cart. of Ramsey* (Rolls Ser.), i, 189.

¹² *Hist. Rames.* (Rolls Ser.), 229.

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obtained further rights in the quarries of Barnack, when Gervase de Berneche offered¹ on the altar of God and St. Benedict 40 perches of land in his quarry in pure alms. Nearly a hundred years after, probably during the headship of William of Gomecestre, Ramsey is again found² acquiring quarrying rights in the field of Walcot at Barnack from Richard son of Cathelina, while for this grant Brother Ralph of Olney, 'custos operum,' paid 5 marks sterling,³ the first witness being John son of Hugh Fauvel, of Walcot.

The connexion of Crowland with Barnack, if we may credit the recital of Ordericus Vitalis,⁴ also goes back to the reign of the Confessor, when Abbot Ulfketel, who had been a monk of Peterborough, undertook the building of a new church owing to the ruinous state of the old, and was greatly aided in his praiseworthy undertaking by Earl Waltheof, who granted to the abbey 'villam quae Bernecha dicitur.' The extent of the grant may quite possibly have been exaggerated or peculiar conditions have induced forfeiture on Waltheof's fall. But even if we leave this statement quite on one side there is abundant later evidence that Crowland was in possession of land at Barnack,⁵ whilst Barnack rag has been recognized in the existing fabric of the abbey church.⁶

The monks of St. Edmund at Bury had also at a very early period obtained the privilege of quarrying stone at Barnack, and a writ⁷ of the Conqueror forbids the abbot of Peterborough to interfere with the passage of the stone 'ad aquam,' as formerly he had done. A later undated confirmation⁸ by an abbot of Peterborough is instruc-

¹ *Hist. Rames.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 334, 335. Was this Gervase, described as the son of R' (extended, probably incorrectly, 'Regis' elsewhere), the Gervase Painel who befriended Sawtry in much the same way?

² *Anct. D.* (P.R.O.), A 5831.

³ A slight acquaintance with fabric rolls of Ramsey of a later time has not furnished further specific notices of stone from Barnack. Possibly a more exhaustive search might supply the deficiency. It would not be surprising, however, to find that by the middle of the fourteenth century the supply of stone still available was only sufficient for local requirements.

⁴ (Migne), 365.

⁵ Spalding Reg. Harl. 742 (B.M.), fol. 316b. Also in a rental of Peterborough in Faustina, B iii, fol. 108, 'terram quam abbas et conuentus de Crouland tenent de dono quondam Gilberti de Bernak.' It may be remarked that the very fine chartulary of Crowland in the possession of Lord Lucas contains no reference to any quarry at Barnack. This, however, in no way invalidates the positive evidence already quoted.

⁶ Cf. especially a slab with a punning and alliterative inscription of the thirteenth century again used in later work by John Tomson. *Arch. Soc. Journ.* xlvii, 275; *Fenland N. and Q.* i, 135.

⁷ Dugdale, *Mon.* i, 101.

⁸ Reg. of Peterb. MS. 38 (Soc. Antiq. Lond.), fol. 45. For this and other valuable references we are indebted to the courtesy of Miss J. Davis.

tive in this respect. It ratifies the gift to St. Edmundsbury of a rood of land in *campis de Castre*, by William the son of Reginald, and further allows to the Suffolk religious 'liberum cariagium suum per viam publicam de Bernak et per terram illam usque ad aquam sine omni impedimento de nobis et ballivis nostris,' with permission also to carry marble or any other stone for their use freely⁹ on the Nene between Alwalton and Burgh. The annual rent for this permission and grant is fixed at 6s. This deed is of peculiar interest, as the two stones in Castor Field near Gunwade Ferry are called St. Edmund's stones in ancient terriers, while the balk they stood upon was in Morton's time known as St. Edmund's balk,¹⁰ and they may possibly have indicated this ancient right of passage. Material confirmation may further be found as to the main facts from the observation of ashlar work of Barnack stone¹¹ in the still-existing tower gateway of Bury St. Edmunds. Even as late as 1335 the monks of St. Edmunds apparently enjoyed a lease of a quarry at Walcot, one of the manors of Barnack, but were prevented from working it by John Griffyn,¹² Thomas de Totenham, and others, who seized the tools of the abbey and worked it themselves. The king on 7 August issued a commission of oyer and terminer to deal with the matter.

Sawtry, that 'pore abbaye' of the old rhyme, was another Fenland house which soon after its foundation obtained a quarry in Barnack from Gervase Painel and Peter de Stamford, namely 'acram illam que Crossedeacra¹³ dicitur.' This possession could only be made effective and useful if the grantees were allowed to make a cut or lode through the marshland of the demesne of Ramsey from Sawtry to Whittlesea Mere, a concession which they seem to have obtained in the time of Abbot William of Ramsey.¹⁴ Some friction between the neighbouring foundations seems to have followed. It is possible that the religious of Sawtry did not use their privilege with befitting humility; they were somewhat in the delicate position of the poor relation, while Ramsey was still sore from the onslaught of Geoffrey de Mandeville, and

⁹ 'Sine omni exactione.' Peterborough claimed toll of boats or barges (*navium*) at Alwalton. Cf. Hugo Candidus, Sparke, op. cit. 80.

¹⁰ Gunton, *Hist. of Ch. of Peterb.* (1686), p. 4. Morton, *Nat. Hist. of Northants*, p. 551.

¹¹ Yates, *Mon. Hist. of St. Edmundsbury*, pt. ii, p. 13.

¹² *Cal. Pat. R.* (1334-8), 207. Griffyn had married an heiress of the Favels, whose names constantly occur in connexion with grants of quarries on their property in Barnack parish.

¹³ Papal confirmation by Alex. III. Cott. Aug. ii, 125 (B.M.). The name of this holding recalls the many crosses of Barnack field. Cf. Alissecros, Sariscros, in a rental. (Faustina, B iii, fol. 116, 117).

¹⁴ *Cart. Mon. Rames.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 233, between 1160-1177.

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divers of the brethren were inclined to charge their fellows with vulpine astuteness and unnatural and scandalous alienation of the goods of the house. However this may be, Sawtry obtained in 1176 a confirmation from Pope Alexander III, which not only ratified their possession of the quarry but also 'polas illas que sunt inter abbatiam vestram et Witthesmara et fossatum quod pro attractu lapidum ad constructionem ecclesie vestre propriis manibus et sumptibus fecistis.' But as late as 1192 the whole matter is dealt¹ with in a fine at Huntingdon, 22 August, 3 Ric. I, between the abbot of Ramsey and the abbot of Sawtry. It was agreed by the parties that all lodes made through the marsh by the monks of Sawtry were to be stopped 'excepta illa magna lada quae vadit de Withlesmare versus Saltreyam.' This was to remain open so that stone and other things necessary might thus be procured. The Cistercians of Sawtry on their part undertook to refrain from planting trees or building on Ramsey Marsh, or allowing their fishermen to encroach thereupon. But they might construct one little rest-house (*casam*) where the conductors of the stone barges should take their ease (*quiescere*) if need arose.

Spalding, another house of the fens, in its early days a cell of Crowland, acquired extensive interests at Barnack about the middle of the thirteenth century, in the time of the famous Prior John, who even as almoner had been a great builder, and had aided Prior Simon his predecessor in the reconstruction of the church and monastic buildings.² As prior he ruled the house well, 'custodiens eam a lupis irruentibus,' and added greatly to its landed wealth, obtaining from Sir Hugh Favel, from John his son, and Sir Ranulph³ son of Peter of Barnack, 3 acres 3 stangs and 7 perches of land in the quarries for the sum of £24 6s. 8d. Even to the time of the dissolution Spalding seems to have retained certain interests at Barnack,⁴ though at that period the stone was no doubt worked out.

Not only was Barnack stone extensively used in churches within the soke of Peterborough, and carried by water to the marshland of Norfolk,⁵ but it has even been recognized in the monolithic shafts of Gundulph's crypt at

Rochester.⁶ To Peterborough the Barnack quarries were a mine of wealth not only in the stone thence derived, but from the valuable tithes which they shared with the rector of the parish.⁷ Besides the old rights, the monastery acquired extensions from time to time,⁸ and free-stone would seem to have been dug and carried from Barnack and Walcot for the use of the house at least as late as the fifteenth and sixteenth years of Abbot Richard Ashton⁹ (1453-4), while 'sclattis bastard' were also bought at Walcot.¹⁰ It is difficult to fix even an approximate date for the closing of the Barnack quarries. With our very imperfect material arguments *ex silentio* are unwise, and it is probable that small quantities of stone may have been raised for local purposes and for use at Peterborough long after the general export trade was at an end. We may, however, be fairly certain that the Barnack quarries were practically worked out by the commencement of the sixteenth century, and now only the uneven surface of the 'Hills and Holes' indicates the former scene of such abundant labour and keen rivalry.

The stone of Stanion was certainly worked during the Roman period, and furnished the foundations¹¹ of the Roman villa at Great Weldon in the Chapel Field. In the early years of Edward I¹² the quarry of 'Stanerne' supplied stone towards the repair of Rockingham Castle, and Morton¹³ believed that this quarry, which was of considerable extent, furnished the free-stone for the building of Weldon, Geddington, Corby, and many other churches of the neighbourhood. It had been worked out long before the eighteenth century.

The famous quarries of Weldon may next be mentioned, which more than 500 years ago are said to have furnished stone for Geddington Cross.¹⁴ Constant entries on the masonry accounts show that it was in much request for the repair of Rockingham Castle. In 4 Edward I¹⁵ Edward Geoffrey the quarryman was paid 8s. 2d. for cutting 700 freestones at 'Weldedon.' And the weekly wage of a man who provided a cart for bringing stone from Weldon was 3s. 4d. In the same roll we find 2s. 6d. paid for 100 freestones bought of Master Thomas at Weldon. The carriage of these cost a shilling. This Master Thomas of Weldon was an important person, who not only sold stone, but apparently provided¹⁶ skilled stone-cutters and layers (*cissores*

¹ *Cart. Mon. Rames.* i, 166.

² Dugdale, *Mon.* iii. 209. Cf. notes *b* and *k*. Simon died 1252 or 1253.

³ In abstract 'Richard,' Add. MS. 35296, fol. 428, but cf. charters in Harl. 742, f. 317. It is worth noting that the perch used for measuring is different in these three cases. Sir Hugh's is of 16 ft., John Favel's 20 ft., and the last donor's 18 ft. The amount given in the text is derived from the abstract of Prior John's acquisitions.

⁴ Dugdale, *op. cit.* iii, 232.

⁵ In 1301, as shown by the sacrist rolls, quantities of Barnack as well as Caen stone were bought for Norwich Cathedral.

⁶ *Fenland N. and Q.* v, 76, on the authority of Mr. J. T. Irvine.

⁷ Lib. Swapham, fol. 199b.

⁸ Cf. MS. Faustina, B iii, 54.

⁹ Vesp. A xxiv, fol. 26b.

¹⁰ Ibid. fol. 34.

¹¹ *V. C. H. Northants.* i, 193.

¹² 6 & 7 Edw. I. Accts. Exch. K.R. $\frac{480}{23}$ (P.R.O.), and 8 & 9 Edw. I, Ibid. $\frac{480}{23}$.

¹³ *Op. cit.* 110.

¹⁴ *Northants N. and Q.* ii, 113.

¹⁵ Accts. Exch. K.R. $\frac{461}{15}$.

¹⁶ Ibid. $\frac{480}{18}$.

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et cubitores) with a certain number of unskilled labourers, and personally directed their operations. During the week in which St. Simon and St. Jude's Day fell in 6 Edward I, he himself drew a salary of 16*d.* Eight skilled stonemasons and layers, including Master Thomas's two sons, drew 13*d.* each, except one of the sons, also named Thomas, who was only paid 9*d.* This, it may be remarked, was the weekly wage of each of the four labourers (*servitores*) attached to the firm. Probably Thomas junior was only an improver. The three quarrymen were paid a shilling a week each.

The stone for the repair of Rockingham was by no means always procured from the same quarry. Stanion has already been mentioned. Coarse stone was sometimes obtained close to the castle, and slates were brought from Harringworth,¹ and later from Collyweston. Nearly two centuries later we find an entry² on a roll of 1 & 2 Edward IV of 5*s.* paid for stone called 'tabulstones,' brought from 'Stainardis' at a cost of 3*s.* In the same roll of 1 & 2 Edward IV 10*s.* is mentioned as having been paid for 'vna roda tabulorum,' bought at Wakerley.³ The carriage cost xv*d.*

Of the quarries of Weldon, Leland remarked⁴ in his *Itinerary*, 'On the south side of Welleden, a little without it, hard by the highe way, ys a goodly quarre of stone, where appere great Diggys.' At a later time Weldon stone has also met with considerable approval, both within and without the county, for its close texture and perfect crystallization. It was used during the building of Gonville and Caius College at Cambridge, and other work in the University town,⁵ while Kirby Hall, Rushton Hall, and the Triangular Lodge are its sufficient monuments in the Elizabethan period and the reigns of the early Stuarts.⁶ As an illustration of its employment in other ways, the Apethorpe accounts show us a free mason of Weldon commissioned in 1662 to make forty-four flower-pots of stone of the bigger sort and thirty-two lesser ones.⁷

The stone of King's Cliffe was of sufficient repute to be used far beyond the boundaries of the county, especially at Cambridge, where it was employed for the Gateway Tower of King's Hall⁸ in 1518-9, and later at Gonville and Caius and elsewhere. The masonry accounts for the porch of Corpus Christi Chapel, erected by Lady Bacon, and destroyed by Wilkins, show that the stone from King's Cliffe

was taken by cart to Gunworth (Gunwade), and thence by water-carriage to Jesus Green in Cambridge.⁹ From the accounts of a quarry in 'Clyff Park' for the year 1556, it appears that the three men employed to raise stone at 2*s.* the ton, using the tools provided by Sir William Cecil, which included 'ij races, vj wedges, a barre of yron, a betell of Iron, a poolerace and peckaxe, and couettes and peces of couettes,' dug 59 tons of freestone and 9 or 10 tons of paving-stone.¹⁰

The stone-workers and slaters of King's Cliffe, Stanion, and Weldon were sometimes keen poachers, for the deer of Rockingham offered tempting spoil.

Before we pass to a mention of the quarries of Mid-Northamptonshire and the south of the county, whose output was mainly for local use, the famous stone slates of Collyweston, Easton, and Kirby demand attention. Slates of this description were certainly quarried by the Romans, and have occurred both at Irchester and in a villa at Apethorpe Park.¹¹ During the Middle Ages they were also in great request. Whilst repairs were being made at Rockingham Castle in 49 Edward III,¹² in view of a visit from the king to hunt in the forest, 76*s.* was paid for 9,500 stone slates, and their carriage from 'Colyn Weston' to the castle cost 28*s.* 6*d.* at 3*s.* the thousand.

A similar roll¹³ dealing with the repairs at Rockingham and Benefield New Lodge between Candemas, 12-14 Richard II, shows that 4,500 'sclatstones' were bought for tiling at 6*s.* 8*d.* the thousand, and their carriage from 'Weston juxta Stanford' cost 13*s.* 6*d.* In the next century¹⁴ we have an entry in a Peterborough account-book in the twelfth year of Abbot Richard [Ashton] (1459?), 'Paid to William Fyscherre of Eston for half a thousand slates 3*s.*; also 20*d.* for twenty large slates (*grossis sclattis*). And a few years later,¹⁵ in the year 37 Henry VI, slates were bought of William Rede, apparently at Kirby. Carriage is at least charged for a third part from 'Kirby felde,' at the rate of 2*s.* In the account¹⁶ of Griffin ap Richard, bailiff of Collyweston (24 Hen. VII—1 Hen. VIII), the issues of the quarry 'saltstones' (*sic*) are returned at £1 6*s.* 8*d.* A similar entry is made for the next year. A generation¹⁷ later the issues of the quarries at Collyweston, in the accounts for 37-38 Henry VIII, are returned at £1 5*s.* 6*d.*, which had been received for 'slatestones' sold to divers

¹ Accts. Exch. K.R. $\frac{480}{33.25}$ (P.R.O.). ² Ibid. $\frac{481}{14}$.

³ There were quarries in this neighbourhood at a very early time. One close to the house of Fineshade is mentioned in Harl. Ch. 49, G 51 (B.M.).

⁴ (Hearne, ed. 1745), i, 13.

⁵ Willis, *Arch. Hist. of Camb.* ii, 174; cf. i, 294.

⁶ *Northants N. and Q.* iii, 113.

⁷ MS. Hist. of Apethorpe, by Lady Rose Weigall.

⁸ Willis, op. cit. ii, 452.

⁹ Ibid. i, 293.

¹⁰ S. P. Dom. Mary, ix, 57.

¹¹ *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 182, 192.

¹² Accts. Exch. K.R. $\frac{481}{8}$ (P.R.O.).

¹³ Ibid. $\frac{481}{15}$.

¹⁴ Vesp. A. xxiv, fol. 17.

¹⁵ Ibid. fol. 68*b*.

¹⁶ Mins. Accts. Exch. Northants, 24 Hen VII; 1 Hen. VIII, No. 4, and 1-2 Hen. VIII, No. 26.

¹⁷ Ibid. 37-38 Hen. VIII. No. 58.

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persons, whilst in 1567, when Elizabeth was firmly established on the throne, loads of slates were bought for repairs done to the Queen's Majesty's house at Collyweston.¹

Not only were these heavy tiles of stone-slate constantly employed in the district where quarried, as at Burghley House in the earlier work there, but also carried across the county border. At Cambridge they were employed for roofing St. John's Chapel and Trinity Great Court, and to some extent at Corpus and Peterhouse, though now partially replaced by other material. Watson, the episcopal chemist of the eighteenth century, comments on the durability of the Collyweston slate used at Cambridge, but declares that it imbibes more water and retains it longer than the Westmorland variety, though on the other hand it does not imbibe half so much, nor retain it for a quarter of the time that a common tile does.²

Towards the end of Elizabeth's reign and in the time of her successor considerable litigation took place as to manorial rights and questions of tithe in Collyweston. During one of the earliest of these cases, in 31 & 32 Elizabeth,³ Thomas Smith deposed that the queen's officers or their deputies used to dig slate of all the tenants' lands there except the glebe. He further stated that he had known no person of Collyweston dig slate of the glebe there until now lately. William Woolman confirmed this, and deposed that he had known the parsons and their farmers interrupted and forbidden to dig slate by Mr. Lewys and Mr. Dallyson (officers of the queen). Clement Lewys, a son of the former officer, stated that his father took away the tools from the men appointed by Arthur Bannister, the farmer of the parsonage, to dig slate, but at the earnest request of Sir Edmund Brudenell, who needed slate for his buildings, appointed him a slate-pit on the queen's ground. William King confirmed the fact that Bannister dug slate for Sir Edmund till he was forbidden by the king's officer, and he also remembered that the long land in the Conduit Field, parcel of the glebe, was digged before the coming of the present incumbent, Mr. Hunt. He also declared, and this is worth notice, that the leaseholders and copyholders of Collyweston dig slate upon their own grounds. The statement of the next witness, however, shows clearly that this right was conditional on a fine to the lord. 'Mr. Dale and Constance Smyth, being lessees for years, and also the copyholders there, have used to dig slate of their grounds so leased and held, compounding with the officer for 3s. a pit.' Judging by the depositions⁴ taken in 11 James I,

some of the copyholders objecting to slate being dug by the officers of the manor on the arable lands of their holding, had recouped themselves, carrying away 'ten loads of slate to make slate, worth as slate about five marks.' Zachary Hunt, the parson who had also figured in the former case, declared from the testimony of ancient men of that town, that 'the custom of digging of slate upon the copyhold lands' was of long standing. One Richard Cordale, of Easton, aged sixty years and thereabouts, in reply to a question about the Conduit Field, deposed: 'In those pits was the first place that he wrought when he was prentice; the place where he digged when he was first set on work was arable ground. The digging was for both slate and stone. He knows not the continuance.' Probably it is a fair inference from these Jacobean depositions that roofing-slate was then made from the stone blocks in the way described by Morton a hundred years after. The slate-stone after exposure to the frost was cleft along the fissures or seams with any fit tool.⁵

There is a curious Northampton proverb,⁶ 'It is all along o' Collyweston,' which has been thought to refer to these famous slates. Their detractors declare that the Collyweston slate is heavy, hard to fix, and unless well fixed liable to slip. In fact, that picturesque though Collyweston roofing may be, it is, unless executed in an unusually high-class style, apt to prove a disappointment. This explanation does not commend itself to the natives of Collyweston. To them the proverb voices the jealousy of competing thatchers and of the traders in blue slates and tiles.

A quarry rather less ancient than some of those already mentioned, and not so favourably situated in respect to water-carriage, was that of Raunds. The 'Rance Rag' or marble was long famous for chimney-pieces and window-tables, whilst Thomas Grimbold, one of the stone-masons employed in the rebuilding of Clare Hall in 1638 and later, was a native of the place and belonged to a family identified with stone-working. His business passed to Robert Grimbold, son of Edward and Mary Grimbold, of Raunds, and him we find in 1676 as the master-mason of the new library of Trinity College, Cambridge.⁷ The stone of Stanwick was similar to that of Raunds. Two quarries in the west of the county furnished stone often used together, the white marble of Culworth and the dark, almost black, stone of Byfield. The halls of many of the older houses of the gentry in that part of the county were formerly paved with these marbles, alternately set in squares and highly polished. Harlestone also furnished a great quantity of stone in the

¹ Accts. Exch. K.R. 542 (P.R.O.).

² *Chemical Essays*, iv, 316.

³ Exch. Dep. 31 & 32 Eliz. Mich. No. 1 Northants.

⁴ Exch. Dep. Easter, 11 James I, 24 Northants.

⁵ Morton, op. cit. 489.

⁶ Markham, *Northants Proverbs*, 22.

⁷ Willis, op. cit. iii, 532, 533.

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Middle Ages,¹ and Morton describes the blue rag here quarried for paving, whetstones, and tombstones.²

Although nearly every quarry shows some peculiarity in colouring or texture, it may be said generally that in the middle and south of the county the stone is warmer in tint, tending more to yellow and red, while the famous northern stone exhibits tones colder and greyer; and it is worth notice that in the Kettering and Wellingborough district ironstone³ was from an early period used for ornamental masonry, while in the neighbourhood of Northampton the walling of many of the churches is built almost entirely of this material.

Cosgrove and Stratford possessed important quarries in the south during the Middle Ages, and in accounts of the repairs at Silverston, the royal hunting seat near Whittlewood Forest, we find in 4 Edward I a charge of 2s. 6d. for stone bought at Stratford, whilst its carriage cost a shilling.⁴ Helmdon parish was long famous for quarries of fine oolitic freestone suitable for carved work, and the Northampton Cross is of this material.⁵ The remains of the old manor house of the Washingtons at Sulgrave show that it was built of local limestone and roofed with stone-slates, which were probably supplied from Helmdon.

Great quantities of stone were raised round Northampton for building purposes, and sometimes there were complaints of encroachments on the king's highway.⁶ The repair of the town walls necessitated constant expense for the quarrying and carriage of stone.⁷ Most of the manors of the county possessed stone or slate quarries within easy distance, and Leland noticed⁸ that 'Welingborow is a good quick Market Toun buildid of stone as almost al the Tounes be of Northamptonshire.' In the case of

Northampton itself, timber began to be more used in the Tudor period, and Ray⁹ in 1658 remarked that 'the houses were built of timber notwithstanding the plenty of stone dug in that country,' but after the disastrous fire of 1675 the tide turned, and Defoe describes¹⁰ Northampton 'finely rebuilt with brick and stone.'

Occasionally the sovereign gave licence to favoured persons to dig for stone in the royal forests. Thus the churchwardens and parishioners of Towcester were granted permission by Edward IV to raise stone in the bailiwick of Hanley in Whittlewood Forest for the building of their church 'xl feet every way square within any place of our quarry,' and this privilege was confirmed by Richard III on 2 March in the first year of his reign.¹¹

Now and again amongst the too often stereotyped and banal accounts of stewards and receivers we may be happy enough to find set out the details of work at some private quarry when stone was needed for walls or tenement repairs. A fifteenth-century example¹² at Welton has points of interest. One Edmund Perkins and his company (*societas*) were engaged to dig the stone at the wage of 4d. a day to each man, and they received 39s. 4d. in all. For making a path from the stone-pit four men were paid 4d. each, and two men for two days at the same wage brought 'ramella fonte petrarum.' Apparently the skilled craftsmen demurred to clearing the surface soil, and two Irishmen, the helots of vagrant unskilled labour, earned 13s. 4d. for 'le ryddyng de le stonpit vsque ad petram.' In addition seven excavators were paid 16s. 4d. for seven days' work, while the filling of the stone-carts took five men three days and cost 7s. 6d. In conclusion one Thomas Archare drew 4s. 6d. for filling up the pit, and the carter's bread and cheese and beer accounted for a shilling.

QUARRIES AND MINES (TECHNICAL)

BUILDING STONES

Northamptonshire is, on the whole, particularly well off for building materials; stone, clay, limestone, sand and gravel are within comparatively easy reach of most towns and villages. This is due to the frequent alternation of hard

and soft strata in the Jurassic rocks of which the county is built up.¹³

There are three ways in which we might classify or arrange the building stones of Northamptonshire—into red¹⁴ stones and white stones, into sandstones and limestones, or in order of age according to the geological formations from which they come. We adopt the latter course, because, all things considered, it appears to be the best.

¹ In some of the Welton accounts of 8-9 Edw. IV, Mins. Accts. $\frac{24}{15}$, fol. 43 (P.R.O.), occurs the item 'For vij cartes at Harleston for to feche ston, xvjd.'

² Op. cit. 108.

³ From information kindly furnished by C. R. Peers, Esq.

⁴ Accts. Exch. K.R. $\frac{48}{4}$.

⁵ *Mem. of Old Northants*, 171.

⁶ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 3; cf. ii, 13.

⁷ Accts. Exch. K.R. $\frac{477}{14}$ (1-11 Hen. IV).

⁸ Itin. (Hearne, 1745) i, 8.

⁹ *Northants N. and Q.* iii, 241.

¹⁰ *Tour.* ii, Letter 3, p. 130.

¹¹ Harl. MS. 433, fol. 165b (B.M.).

¹² Mins. Accts. $\frac{24}{15}$, fol. 34, 38-39 Hen. VI (P.R.O.).

¹³ *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 1-40.

¹⁴ 'Red Stone' used in a general sense includes all stones coloured by peroxide of iron, which may specifically vary in colour from yellow to dark brown.

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The lowest geological formation exposed at the surface in Northamptonshire is the Lower Lias, but no building stones are obtained from it within the county.

THE MARLSTONE ROCK-BED OF THE MIDDLE LIAS—RED STONE.—The geological maps accompanying the article 'Geology' in Vol. I of this history will show the area covered by the upper part of the Middle Lias of Northamptonshire, and the uppermost and chief bed of this formation, commonly called the rock-bed, has been largely used for building purposes. The stone is nowhere very thick in Northamptonshire, but varies very much in character; it may be an earthy limestone, a calcareous sandstone, or an ironstone. It gets very thin and useless for any purpose towards Market Harborough.

Houses and churches built of the Marlstone rock-bed are always essentially red or dark brown, for the sufficient reasons that superficial Marlstone quarries, where there is little or no capping of impervious Upper Lias clay, yield a red rock chiefly, and red rock works more easily and is more certain to stand the weather than the unweathered bluish or greenish rock; that is to say it is better that all possible chemical changes should have occurred in the rock before it becomes part of a building. Still, in squaring up blocks of stone the blue interior is often necessarily exposed, and stone still blue or green may be found forming parts of quite old buildings, which shows how slow is the process of oxidation in some cases.

The Marlstone rock-bed is never a freestone, and is preferably or necessarily placed in a building as it exists in its natural bed. It has been used for gravestones, doorsteps, and the floors of houses. For the latter two purposes the blue stone is the better, as it suffers less by friction than the softer red stone, and in use becomes very smooth though somewhat uneven. Thin flaggy beds in the Marlstone at Chalcombe, near Banbury, have been used as stone-tiles.

At a little distance away it is often impossible to tell a Marlstone from a Northampton Sand building, though in a Marlstone area there is of course much probability that it will be the former. A close inspection is generally sufficient to decide the point, for the Marlstone is nearly always fossiliferous (belemnites being abundant) and the Northampton Sand seldom so. With both of these stones, in the better class of buildings as a rule, all the angular parts, such as corners, door and window recesses, etc., are formed of freestone, either white oolitic or red sandstone.

Marlstone quarries have been very numerous, but it is doubtful if there is a single one now in work for any purpose in Northamptonshire.

Other hard beds of the upper portion of Middle Lias have occasionally been used for building purposes, seldom houses, however, and rarely with satisfactory results; the rocks are generally too shaly or too soft to last well.

IRONSTONE BEDS OF THE NORTHAMPTON SAND—RED STONE.—The lower ferruginous beds of the Northampton Sand have been used for building—that is to say, the beds which are not sand, but are or were oolitic iron ore. This particular stone is rarely used now for building, although an examination of a few old buildings leads one to suppose it was the most commonly used stone in earlier times. It is an ironstone, irregular in constitution and colour, and no doubt difficult to work, but very durable owing to the large percentage of dark brown hæmatite it contains.

Before the Tudor Period Northampton would seem to have been largely built of stone, and again after the great fire in 1675 stone was chiefly used till bricks mostly displaced this material, and it is of interest to know where were the quarries which supplied it. The writer can get no definite information on the point, but nevertheless thinks that they can be located with a high degree of probability. On the area now occupied by Hazelwood Road and the houses and gardens on each side of the street, there used to be a large field known as Manning's Close; it was fairly level, that level being the level of Waterloo, and so looked at from the iron railings protecting it in St. Giles Street, there was a deep drop, and the large amount of excavated material must have been Northampton Sand. There used to be a similar depressed field on the site now occupied by Messrs. Cooper's (late Manfield's) factory on Campbell Square. Many people now living well remember both of these artificial depressions, but no one remembers anything being got from them. Mr. Wm. Hull remembers that there was another large excavation, or partly filled-up one, which gave some trouble to his father (also Wm. Hull) when he was building the county jail on the Mounts, and that he himself encountered troublesome made-up ground when building the British Schools close by. Where Langham Place now stands was, in the memory of many people, a mass of broken ground known as Stone-pit Close, and the recently filled-up hollow on the Race Course, at the back of Louise Road, formerly fenced off and known as the 'Spencer Plate Grounds,' was most likely another excavation for stone. The 'Hills and Hollows,' an area of broken-up ground about a mile from the Race Course along the Kettering Road, now occupied by the Golf Club, was undoubtedly made by the excavation of Northampton Sand for some purpose.

Although it is extremely probable that all the excavations above referred to were made for the purpose of getting Northampton Sand building stone, it does not follow that only the lower ironstone beds we are here considering were got or used, indeed it is certain that some of those to be described later were also employed for the buildings of Northampton.

To a certain extent, though not so accurately

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as with the Marlstone, the area occupied by the Northampton Sand outcrop (see 1 in. maps of the Geological Survey) gives the area on which Northampton Sand houses occur. The red rock is too variable in quality, however, to be fit for building wherever it is found, in fact it is more often not fit than fit, though where not fit for building it may be an excellent ironstone.

RED AND YELLOW FREESTONES OF THE NORTHAMPTON SAND.—The top of the Northampton Sand nearly everywhere is a white sand, and between this and the ironstone beds below may be beds of a very variable character, and some of these, in certain places, are sandstones which can be worked as freestones, the colour varying from nearly pure white, through yellow and brown, to deep red, according to the amount of iron contained in them.

The Red and Yellow Freestone has been much more abundantly used than the white, but without the aid of a lens it is not always possible to discriminate between the red oolitic stone and the red sandstone. Many of the older buildings in Northampton are built of this red sandstone, they may be seen in Sheep Street, Silver Street, St. Mary's Street, and elsewhere; and the darker, richer-looking stone is still quarried at New Duston for the ornamental work of new buildings,

The New Duston quarries, of which there are several, yield quite a variety of building stones, which are distinguished by the quarrymen by such terms as 'The Roylands,' 'White Pendle,' 'The Yellow' building stone, 'Best Brown Hard,' 'Rough Rag,' and 'Hard Blue.'

Harlestone quarries are very old, and the stone from them was of great repute in Morton's time (1712), but as at the New Duston pits, which are quite near, various kinds of stone are obtained.

It must be borne in mind that the Northampton Sand red and yellowish freestones are not necessarily all sandstones: both limestones and sandstones of not greatly different outward appearance may come from the same quarry. This is particularly noticeable at the once celebrated quarry at Mears Ashby, known in Morton's time as 'High Delves,' but now only by the name of 'Idle Pits,' apparently because only opened up now and again for some special work, the best yellow building stone lying rather deep, under about 12 ft. of other material. The yellow stone here is essentially an oolitic freestone, and although it is sometimes very siliceous, an excellent weatherstone, and good-looking, as may be seen in the villages around, Sywell, Mears Ashby, and Earls Barton. From the same quarry, however, is obtained a good red sandstone freestone, as Morton informs us, that 'never fails in the weather,' and was used in all the water-mill heads from Billing to Doddington.¹

WHITE FREESTONE.—The uppermost beds of the Northampton Sand, known as the Lower Estuarine Beds, usually consist of an exceedingly fine, white, light, purple or slightly ruddy sand, hard and lumpy when dry, but crumbling to a powder when wetted—a material which no one would think of using for building purposes. It used to be sold in Northampton for scouring, sanding floors, etc. It is now used in various places to a limited extent for mortar (preferably with some sharper sand), and for mixing with plaster for walls and ceilings; but here and there the sand is sufficiently indurated to furnish an easily-worked and not bad-looking freestone. It stands the weather pretty well, but is really too soft and porous for a good building stone. The Northampton Infirmary and a few buildings in Northampton and Kingsthorpe were built of this stone. Good examples are the Inland Revenue Office in Bridge Street, and some houses in Sheep Street, Northampton. All this stone came from a quarry immediately north of Kingsthorpe. Apparently a rather good stone from these beds has been used at Cosgrove, in the southern portion of the county, for some ashlar work in a light-coloured freestone is to be seen in the rectory there, though other parts of this house and the village generally is built of not particularly good Great Oolite limestone. Bridges,² under the head of Cosgrove, says: 'To the south-west are quarries of good freestone fit for building,' which may refer to this, as it is somewhat difficult to think that he would call the Great Oolite limestone of that locality a freestone.

CALCAREOUS BEDS OF THE NORTHAMPTON SAND—WHITE PENDLE.—To the north-east of Northampton, towards Weston Favell and Buttock's Booth, the lowest beds of the Northampton Sand are limestones containing coral, with very little iron in them; and over a much larger area around Northampton, extending from north-east to north-west, from the Billing Road, Northampton, and Abington Park round to New Duston and Harlestone and northwards as far as Pitsford, between the true ironstone beds and the true white or variegated sands, are some good calcareous beds suitable for building purposes, known as 'Pendle' or 'White Pendle.' Four of the new churches in Northampton, St. Paul's, St. Mary's (Far Cotton), St. Matthew's, and Christ Church, have been largely built of this stone.

The stone is a white or yellowish limestone, and always occurs in comparatively thin layers. It is sometimes oolitic, but apparently consists mostly of comminuted shell fragments and calcareous débris. It was probably a coral mud. Although the stone is usually built up as it lies in the bed, that is, in thin slabs, it wears very well in all positions and can be used for kerb-stones, and is frequently used on end for rough wall copings.

¹ Morton, *Nat. Hist. of Northants*, 102.

² *Hist. of Northants*, i, 285.

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All the stone quarries now open around Northampton yield this stone. The Nursery Pit, Kingsthorpe (this stone only); New Duston and Harlestone (other kinds of stone also); Bass's Pit, close to the Race Course in Kingsley Road, also yielded this calcareous stone, but the quarry is now closed. Incidentally it may be mentioned that this is a purely local stone. It is found in no other parts of the county. The Mears Ashby oolitic freestone is probably a contemporary deposit.

BARNACK RAG.¹—The oldest well-known building stone of the county of Northampton is the Barnack Rag, constituting a portion of the Lincolnshire Oolite series. The old stone quarries at Barnack, south-east of Stamford, according to Bridges were at one time the largest of any inland place in the kingdom. At the present time no stone is got, and the site of the once-famous quarries to the south of Barnack now constitutes a large area of broken ground known as 'Hills and Holes.'²

The Barnack Rag is a coarsely-bedded, coarse-grained freestone, oolitic in part, but mostly composed of rounded or concretionary-coated shells or shell fragments, or pieces of coral, cemented together by carbonate of lime, though it varies in character. The beds may be 3 ft. or 4 ft. thick, and blocks of 30 cubic ft. and upwards, weighing two or three tons, have been obtained. At Barnack the Rag beds were low down in the Lincolnshire limestone, but similar though inferior 'Rag' beds occur at other horizons in the limestone series at other places; the peculiar deposit being due, probably, to local circumstances, as is evidenced by the unusual abundance of fossils in them.

STANION FREESTONE.—In point of age, probably the extensive now disused quarries to the east of Stanion, known as Lord Cardigan's Pits, come next to Barnack. The best of the Stanion stone is very similar to Weldon freestone, but other parts are not so oolitic, but are more or less earthy and compact limestones like the main mass of the Lincolnshire Oolite.

WELDON FREESTONE.—At the present time Weldon freestone is the most noted stone of the county, and the quarries are very old, as may be judged by the extent of broken ground or 'Hills and Holes' where the older workings were near to Weldon village. The quarries have never been closed, so far as is known, some stone having always been got, but on the opening of the Kettering and Manton railway line in 1880 greater facilities were provided for getting the stone away. Since 1888 they have been successfully exploited by Lord Winchilsea and his able and courteous manager, Mr. John Rooke, to

whom the writer is indebted for much of the information here given.

Like the Barnack Rag, the Weldon freestone belongs to the Lincolnshire Oolite formation. It is a rather coarse-grained oolite of a pleasing yellowish colour, inclining to red. The best stone is very even in texture, comparatively soft, and easily worked without water, though it hardens rapidly on exposure to the atmosphere. The concretionary oolitic granules and shell fragments are bound together by carbonate of lime in the form of sub-crystalline calcite, according to Mr. George F. Harris, F.G.S.,³ and this is more enduring than aragonite as a cementing material.

Good specimens of the rock, when separated from the main mass, give out a metallic sound when struck, 'ring like a bell' as the quarrymen say. Blocks are quarried up to 80 ft. cube or more, but the average size is 16 ft. cube. The stone is sawn out of the main mass in situ, in open workings, but it has been worked underground.

An analysis of the stone made by Professor Atfield, Ph.D., F.R.S., gave:—

	Per cent.
Carbonate of lime - - - -	94.35
" " magnesia - - - -	3.55
Iron (as peroxide) - - - -	.61
Alumina - - - -	.25
Silica - - - -	.08
Moisture, with traces of organic matter, manganese, etc. - - - -	1.13
	<hr/> 100.00 <hr/>

Specific gravity 2.42 to 2.45.

Weldon stone has been used in the construction of many buildings in Northamptonshire, churches, mansions, and smaller buildings. Amongst the more interesting may be mentioned the ruins of Lyveden and Kirby Hall, the recently restored Rothwell Market House, Rushton Hall, the Triangular Lodge, and Castle Ashby. Whiston church is built almost wholly of Weldon stone, and is practically in the same condition now as when left by its builder, Anthony Catesby, at the time when Henry VIII was pulling down the monasteries. Amongst the more important buildings outside the county where Weldon stone has recently been used may be mentioned University Library, Cambridge; Eton College Chapel; Lincoln Cathedral Chapter-house; Royal College of Music, Kensington; Rochester Cathedral; Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge; the Royal Infirmary, Sheffield; All Hallows' Church, London, and Merton College, Oxford.

Pipewell and Wakerley have yielded a stone similar to Weldon.

In addition to the regular freestone quarried at Weldon there are irregular bands of rag or rag-

¹ Any hard, coarse-textured stone is called a Rag or Ragstone.

² *Hist. of Northants*, ii, 489.

³ Author of *Granite and our Granite Industry*.

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stone, hard, sometimes blue-hearted, semi-crystalline, fossiliferous limestones, which will take a polish like marble—Weldon marble—but owing to irregularity of lines of cleavage, often not seen when the stone is got, they are unreliable for building purposes, and are not worked much.

The 'rag' beds seem to run anyhow, so that good freestone may occur at a higher or lower level, be thick or thin, or be above or below patches of ragstone. The rag may be used for work where hardness is the chief consideration, for road-mending, steps, and walling.

Commonly, freestones are quarried in large blocks and allowed to season, and are sent to their destination to be cut up there. There are advantages, however, in shaping the stone for its intended use in the 'green' state—that is, as soon as possible after it is quarried, because then, presuming the stone may be relied upon to stand frost, the so-called 'quarry water' in the stone, highly charged with carbonate of lime, gradually evaporates and leaves on the surface of the stone a fine deposit of crystalline carbonate of lime, which is decidedly protective. After the stone has once dried fresh surfaces will not have this protective coat.

GREAT OOLITE LIMESTONE.—The Great Oolite limestone rock has been used for building purposes from one end of the county to the other, near to where the rock occurs superficially, and yet it is mostly a very inferior stone for the purpose. It is an irregular shelly limestone, often brashy, seldom oolitic, and after weathering, the shell fragments, being less easily attacked than the mass of the stone, often stand out in relief. As a rule it must be built up as it lies in the ground, and even then the edges of the stone weather so badly that in a house-front of this stone in good repair, about as much mortar as stone is seen, and this feature alone generally serves to distinguish a Great Oolite limestone building. Still, whole villages are so built, and they look very bright and tidy.

Notwithstanding the generally inferior quality of the Great Oolite limestone of Northamptonshire for building purposes, and its extremely limited use at the present time, certain quarries acquired a considerable amount of notoriety in the past, as Culworth, Blisworth, and Cosgrove,¹ and we may presume that they deserved it. Blisworth has yielded a freely working oolitic limestone,² which was sawn up and faced for flooring, window-sills, chimney-pieces, and other purposes. The same quarry also yielded 'Pendle,' that is to say flaggy beds, useful for rough building work. As red Northampton sand and white Great Oolite limestone, more or less suitable for building purposes, occur near together at Blisworth, there may be seen at that village houses built of alternating layers of these two rocks.

¹ Morton, *op. cit.* 108.

² Sharp, *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.* xxvi, 378.

At a few places in the north-easterly parts of the county the Great Oolite limestone may be worked as a freestone. Stone from Oundle and Geddington Chase has been so used.³

THE CORNERASH has been used as a building material for rough work, such as walls, but to a small extent only.

MARBLE

MARBLE.—Certain compact, hard, shelly beds in the Lower Lias, Lincolnshire limestone and the Great Oolite limestone have been polished and used as marbles.

LOWER LIAS MARBLE.—It is recorded that at Watford, north-east of Daventry, a shelly limestone on a similar horizon to the so-called Banbury marble,⁴ i.e. near the top of the Lower Lias, has been dug and polished for marble.

Weldon rag has already been mentioned as a stone which will take a good polish, and can be used as a marble.

Great Oolite limestone can sometimes be used as a marble. Raunds ragstone and Stanwick ragstone, bluish grey shelly limestones resembling forest marble, were once rather noted, and have been used for chimney-pieces, for monuments in churches⁵ and other ornamental work, after polishing. A similar hard, blue, shelly limestone used to be quarried around Castor and Peterborough, and at Alwalton, just over the borders of the county, but is lacking in durability. It was known as 'Alwalton marble,' and was used in the Early English portions of Peterborough Cathedral as a substitute for Purbeck marble in the small clustered columns which characterize that style.⁶

SLATES

DUSTON SLATES.—The thin, flaggy, calcareous beds of the Northampton sand, still largely used in and around Northampton for building purposes, and known as 'White Pendle,' have also been used for roofing purposes, and were sometimes sold under the name of Collyweston slates. They are never used now. At New Duston there is a field known as 'Old Slate-quarry Close,' and in the middle of a small spinney in this field is a deep depression, where at some unknown time in the past slate was obtained in much the same way as Collyweston slate now is, by 'foxing'—that is, by sinking shafts and quarrying the stone required by means of adits. This has been ascertained by more recent excavations on the same site.⁷

³ Judd, *Geol. of Rutland*, 214.

⁴ Woodward, *Jurassic Rocks of Britain*, iii, 297.

⁵ Morton, *op. cit.* 107.

⁶ Judd, *op. cit.* 202.

⁷ Sharp, 'The Oolites of Northamptonshire,' in *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.* xxvi, 371.

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According to Morton, slates were also obtained from Pitsford, Weston Favell, and Pytchley.

COLLYWESTON SLATES.—The term Collyweston slate is given to a fine-grained, calcareo-arenaceous rock occurring at the base of the Lincolnshire limestone. It is found and has been worked at other places besides Collyweston, such as Kirby and Easton, between Collyweston and Stamford. The quarries at and near Collyweston have been worked from very early times, and at the present time furnish a considerable share of the employment for the inhabitants of that village.

The methods of extracting, splitting, and finishing the stone are interesting, but can only be very briefly referred to here.¹ There is only one bed of stone yielding slates, but it varies in thickness from 6 in. to, in rare cases, 3 ft., or its place may be entirely occupied by sand. It is worked in open quarries, or in 'fox-holes,' i.e. long galleries underground, in the winter, December and January, both to avoid the trouble with water in the adits which would occur later on, and to take advantage of the frosts and thaws of the early part of the year to split the stone. The blocks of stone are spread out on the ground, and they must not be allowed to get dry before the frost acts on them, and so, if necessary, they are regularly watered up to about March. If the quarry-water once dries out of the stone no artificial wetting afterwards is of much use, and the stone is then 'stocked' and used for road metal. The stones are of course split by the freezing of water along the planes of bedding, and the cleaving of them afterwards by the workman is easy, though requiring skill. Dressing and trimming follow the splitting, and the slates are stacked in different sizes.

The Collyweston stone is mostly blue-hearted, and so the slates are often parti-coloured, yellowish, buff, and blue, but they gradually become more homogeneous in colour on exposure on a roof. The slates look very nice when covering a stone building, whether white stone or red. As examples of red stone buildings covered with them may be mentioned St. Sepulchre's Church, Northampton, and the recently-erected Weston Favell House, near Northampton.

The slates are fairly durable when carefully selected, but they should always be fixed with mortar or cement as well as pegged, so that they do not fall away if cracked. The usual plan is to use the largest slates for the eaves of the building and then regular lines of diminishing sizes to the ridge; the ridge itself being formed of special tiles of a yellowish white colour, made at Whittlesea.

A few old Collyweston slate roofs may be observed in ancient Northampton buildings, and quite a large number of buildings in the towns

and villages of north-easterly Northamptonshire. This is one of the few building materials regularly sent out of the county to distant places.

The slaty beds of the Lincolnshire Oolite, where not suitable for slates, known as 'Pendle,' are sometimes used for paving, walling, and other purposes; such have been worked about Cottingham and Whittering (Whittering Pendle).

BRICKS AND POTTERY

Bricks have been and are now made at quite a large number of places in Northamptonshire, though the tendency is for the number of places where they are made to diminish. Indeed, the introduction of modern methods of manufacture necessitating much machinery and power has practically shut up all the smaller brickyards where barefooted men and boys dug the clay, wheeled it in hand-barrows to and from the moulding-bench, and splashed themselves from head to foot as they dabbed the wet clay into the mould and made one brick at a time.

Only red bricks are produced from the blue (ferruginous) liassic clays of Northamptonshire; but of course blue bricks can be, indeed they have been, produced; and some of the oolitic clays will produce a white or very light-coloured brick. White bricks are made at Eye from the Oxford clay.

Within the writer's memory, Lower Lias clay has been worked for brickmaking at Braunston, Welford, Buckby Wharf, and Marston Trussell; but none of these brickyards, unless possibly the last-named, are now in work.

Bricks have been made from the sandy calcareous clays of the Middle Lias at Watford and Crick, but the Watford works have been closed many years. These loamy clays are on the whole rather good for brickmaking, and the finely divided calcareous matter is no objection, as it acts as a flux to the silica in burning, and so helps to produce a good hard brick. It is also said to diminish the contraction of the new brick in drying. More than a certain amount of calcareous matter in a clay, however, altogether destroys its use for brickmaking.

The number of places where Upper Lias clay has been worked for brickmaking is very large, but it will suffice to say that more or less extensive works now exist at or near Easton Neston (Towcester),² Blisworth, Gayton, Heyford, Northampton, Wellingborough, Rushden, Irthlingborough, Kettering, and Corby.

The Lower and Upper Lias clays always contain argillo-calcareous nodules, which if left in would burn to lime, and 'blow' the brick afterwards when it got wet. In most cases the nodules are moderately large and easily picked out of the clay as it is worked up; but in other cases,

¹ For fuller description, see Woodward, *Jurassic Rocks of Britain*, iv, 482.

² Recently closed.

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where numerous small nodules occur, called 'Race,' a system of screening has to be adopted, the clay is pressed through perforated plates, and the small nodules are left on the top. This is practised at Corby Brickworks. Of course iron pyrites is also bad in a clay, the bricks made from such a material are likely to effloresce much with wetting and drying, owing to the crystallization of sulphates of iron, calcium, and magnesium. The Upper Lias clays formerly worked at Grafton Regis and Paulerspury are particularly liable to this defect.

At some of the brickyards, tiles, drain-pipes, flower-pots, etc., are made.

The Lower Estuarine Beds are mostly sands, but here and there, are sufficiently argillaceous to be classed as clays, and at Cottingham and Deene have been used for brickmaking.

The Upper Estuarine Beds, constituting the base of the Great Oolite series, are really very good clays for brickmaking, and it is rather singular that they are not more often used. The best red facing bricks used in Northampton are made from this clay at Hopping Hill, between Northampton and New Duston. The writer does not know of any other brickworks in operation, but such have been at Buttocks Booth and Moulton Park, both north-east of Northampton and south of Moulton; between Stanion and Brigstock, Great Oakley, and Woodnewton. Fire-bricks and tile-ware of peculiar hardness and soundness are made from this clay, to the north of Stamford, just outside the county.¹

The Great Oolite clay has been used for brick-making at Bedford Purlieus and New England, near Peterborough. It is somewhat bituminous near to Peterborough.

The Oxford clay, and particularly the lower portion known as the Kellaways Beds, has been worked a little in Northamptonshire, at Raunds, near Brigstock, Benefield, Southwick, Oundle and elsewhere.

As to pottery clays, both of the Estuarine Beds, the upper and the lower, have been used for pottery and terra-cotta, where they approximate to one another in composition by the lower becoming argillaceous or the upper siliceous, such changes being likely to occur in Estuarine deposits.

The Roman pottery found at Castor (*Durobrivae*), near to Peterborough, was probably made from the Estuarine clays in Normangate Field there.

Prof. Judd states² that west of Burghley Park the Lower Estuarine clays were worked up into terra cotta. The clay was 1 to 4 ft. thick, of a pale blue colour, and somewhat sandy, and according to Mr. Lumby, the then proprietor, it is composed of almost pure silicate of alumina, with a little free sand in very fine grains. This admixture of the clay with fine sand is said to

greatly improve the quality. Mixed with a very small quantity of the white clay from Poole, in Dorsetshire, these Lower Estuarine clays make an excellent cream-coloured terra-cotta.

The white clays at the base of the Upper Estuarine series at Wakerley constitute an excellent fire-clay, and are used for terra-cotta. They contain a rather small amount of alumina, about 15 per cent., much finely divided quartz, and a fairly large amount of carbonate of lime. Presumably the carbonate of lime combines with the silica in burning.

LIME

The chief rock burned for lime in Northamptonshire is the Great Oolite limestone, but the marlstone rock-bed, calcareous beds of the Northampton sand, Lincolnshire limestone, and Cornbrash are all used on occasion, so that lime can generally be procured within a few miles of any place in the county. The Marlstone rock-bed is only occasionally fit for lime-burning, and then as a rule only for agricultural purposes; but the phosphates in it are valuable. The calcareous beds of the Northampton Sand have been used sometimes, but are not a success, as there is a likelihood of much slag being formed. The Cornbrash, too, has only been used for lime-burning, as far as the writer knows, about Peterborough.

The more compact limestones give the strongest limes for building purposes, as they are more argillaceous, and so actually form cements. The less compact and purer limestones are, of course, more suited for agricultural purposes.

MARL has been much used for applying to the land since Saxon times, and no doubt many of the old depressions indicating the sites of ancient excavations were marl-pits.

LIME EARTH is a name given to a cream-coloured argillaceous bed occurring in the Great Oolite limestone series at Oundle that was sometimes used for mortar without burning.³ A white gritty earth was once obtained at the Clipston stone-pit, which was used to make a kind of plaster by simply mixing with water without previous burning.⁴

CEMENT

The great cement works of the district, where they use the limestones of the Lower Lias, are a little outside the borders of the county; but in recent years 'Portland Cement' has been manufactured at Irthlingborough by Messrs. Dunmore, Limited, who have been good enough to furnish some particulars of their process and analyses of the material.

¹ Judd, *Geol. of Rutland*, etc. 189.

² *Geol. of Rutland*, 103, 165.

³ S. Sharp, *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.* xxix, 280.

⁴ J. Woodward, *Nat. Hist. Foss. Eng.* (1729), pt. i, 7.

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The Portland cement is made from Great Oolite limestone and Upper Lias clay. Both materials are dried, the stone is crushed to pieces about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. to 1 in. cubes; and they are then mixed in approximately the proportions of five parts of limestone and one part clay, and ground together to a fine powder. This powder, then called raw meal, is damped, pressed into bricks, and the latter burned in ordinary baffle kilns to the point of vitrification. The clinker, which is black and very hard, is then finely ground, and is the Portland cement of commerce.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSES OF MATERIALS AND RESULTS

Substances.	Limestone.	Clay.	Cement.
Silica	—	36.49	—
Insoluble siliceous matter	0.90	17.08	23.00
Alumina	1.60	21.18	5.43
Ferric oxide		9.35	4.57
Lime	54.30	0.58	64.50
Magnesia	0.35	0.40	.10
Alkalis, etc.	—	—	.87
Carbonic anhydride	42.64	—	1.30
Sulphuric acid	—	—	.03
Water and loss21	—	.20
Combined water and loss.	—	14.92	—
	100.00	100.00	100.00

The insoluble siliceous matter of the clay consists of:—

Quartz	14.03
Silica	1.80
Alumina51
Magnesia07
Soda67
	17.08

ROAD METAL

Probably every one of the hard beds of the Jurassic rocks in Northamptonshire has been used for road metal somewhere, but the chief have been the Marlstone rock-bed, the pendle beds and shatter-stone, or rubble waste of stone quarries in the Northampton sand, Lincolnshire Oolite waste and rag, Great Oolite limestone, and Cornbrash, and so quarries for this purpose have been very numerous, one in nearly every parish—the parish stone-pit; but since the displacement of soft local stone by the granites, syenites, and metamorphic rocks of Leicestershire or other places for the main roads, one is only occasionally opened up or worked for the sporadic repair of by-roads. Most of the old quarries worked for this purpose (or building) only are now grassed over.

SAND AND GRAVEL

Gravel abounds in Northamptonshire, deposits of pure sand are rarer, but sand can often be obtained by screening the gravel, and the best sand is seldom so good that screening can be avoided. The writer has records of upwards of a hundred sand or gravel pits, and the list is certainly not complete, so that a very abbreviated description will have to be given.

NORTHAMPTON SAND.—This is mostly not a sand, although much of it in places may be sandstone. Still, over by far the larger area where the Northampton sand is worked as an ironstone, including all the easterly parts of the county, the oolitic iron-ore is succeeded directly by the white sands of the Lower Estuarine series. These white sands, dug to such a great extent to get at the underlying ironstone, are very little used. They can be and are used to a limited extent for mortar, with or without a coarser, sharper sand, and for mixing with plaster for walls and ceilings, also for scouring purposes. They have been sent away, too, for furnace work, and can be made into glass. They have been worked for some of the local purposes named at Harpole (Sandy Lane), Kingsthorpe, Earls Barton, and elsewhere.

PREGLACIAL SANDS.—The cleanest and best sand in the county is obtained from some pits in the parishes of Courteenhall (often called Wootton Pits) and Milton, though the same beds extend in a comparatively thin band through Rothorpe, Bugbrooke, Nether Heyford, and to the north of Daventry, and have been worked at all the places named.¹ Not only is this the best building sand, but the best to be obtained for furnace work in the iron industry.

There are similar sand beds, possibly of the same age, at Badby, south of Daventry, and in the parishes of Moulton and Overstone.

GLACIAL GRAVELS AND SANDS.—The widely distributed and often thick beds of intermixed gravel and sand resulting from the washing of the first boulder clay that covered Northamptonshire are commonly called mid-glacial gravels, and they occur anywhere—on the tops of hills or in the bottoms of valleys—but attain their greatest development in the western parts of the county (see article, *Geology*, in vol. i, p. 25). No place is far from some form of these gravels, so that pits may be opened for a particular purpose and closed again, but in some districts they are deficient in sand, and so sand has to be obtained from a distance. The district towards Harborough is considered to be a bad one in this respect by builders.

The gravel beds vary greatly in character, sometimes containing considerable numbers of large well-rounded erratics from rocks older than those found in the district, including many Bunter

¹ *F.C.H. Northants.* i, 22 et seq.

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pebbles; in others newer erratics predominate, such as chalk and flint. It is possible that some of the very chalky gravels, such as are met with at East Haddon, Little Brington, and other places, may be post-glacial in age.

Gravels of almost entirely local material are met with at Pytchley and Brigstock, the former consisting of Great Oolite limestone, and the latter of Lincolnshire limestone.

RIVER GRAVELS OR VALLEY GRAVELS.—The gravels which occur below the present river level of the Nene, and are seldom worked as gravel because of water, are mid-glacial gravels,¹ but the true valley or river gravels occurring at various heights above the present River Nene have been worked at many places between Northampton and Peterborough, largely for ballast for the railway line in the past, though little so now. The low-lying gravels are rather inferior in quality, that is to say they are dirty.²

IRON ORES

The Iron industry of Northamptonshire can claim no continuous history from the period of Roman occupation, in spite of its probable existence at that time and even earlier.³ Domesday, however, furnishes more certain evidence⁴ that ironworkers were then to be found in the county, and furnaces were probably still alight in the reigns of the early Plantagenets.⁵ Soon after all trace of iron-smelting is lost, and when Morton wrote, in the reign of Queen Anne, the very existence of native ore within the county boundaries was denied.⁶ Not till the middle of the last century did this ancient industry, through the re-discovery of the metal, awake to vigorous life. The re-discovery of Northamptonshire iron ore took place about the year 1850, and was initiated by Colonel (afterwards General) Arbutnot taking a piece of the ore, not a very good piece, however, to Dr. Percy, at Birmingham. Colonel Arbutnot was referred to Mr. L. H. Blackwell, of Dudley, who visited the county and sent specimens of the ore to the Great Exhibition of 1851.

The first ore smelted in the district was in February, 1852, by Mr. Thos. Butlin, who a little later commenced the manufacture of iron commercially at the East End, Wellingborough, under the title of Messrs. T. Butlin & Co.

The iron in the Northampton sand that is mostly worked for smelting is in the form of

brown hæmatite, or Limonite, a hydrated ferric oxide; but this is not always the case, and it gives little idea of the variability of the rock in which the iron occurs. For instance, the colour may be either yellow, red, brown, almost black, grey, green, or bluish green; and the matrix be essentially either siliceous, calcareous, or argillaceous (earthy); indeed, different beds in the same quarry might give all these three different kinds, hence a proper selection of the ore may be a matter of considerable importance in producing a uniform quality of iron. Taken as a whole, the ore may be described as siliceous, and limestone is used as the flux for it, though it should be mentioned that the most compact ore has oolitic grains disseminated in it, and all forms are pretty sure to yield some rounded and subangular grains of quartz.

So far as colour goes, any one of the three main kinds of stone mentioned above may be yellow to dark brown; the more sandy beds being pretty uniformly coloured, and the calcareous and argillaceous ones irregular, and very commonly consisting of one mass of cells of various sizes, composed of concentric layers, oval or subangular, of rich dark iron ore, enclosing a nucleus of yellow or red argillaceous or sandy matter, or green oolitic carbonate of iron, the so-called cellular ironstone.

The green and grey ironstone is essentially oolitic carbonate of iron, the oolitic granules being from $\frac{1}{80}$ to $\frac{1}{100}$ of an inch in diameter. The grey variety is especially characteristic of deep-seated iron ore, where percolating water has not been able to oxidize and redistribute the iron, and in these situations, as a rule, a much greater thickness of the grey ore occurs than is ever found of the green.

The workable ironstone is always low down in the Northampton sand, and may vary in thickness from 4 ft. to 20 ft., the average being 9 ft. or 10 ft., but occasionally the lowest beds, those resting on the Upper Lias clay, are discarded for one reason or another. At Pen Green, near to Corby, they are discarded because too argillaceous; at Duston and other places they are discarded because containing too much phosphorus. These bluish-green beds that are refused because of the supposed presence of phosphate of iron in them, however, contain no more, and maybe less, phosphoric acid than some of the brown ore. The blue-green colour may be due to silicate of iron in part.

The average yield of ore per acre has been put at 10,000 to 12,000 tons,⁷ but, of course, is

⁷ For information on many points that cannot be included in this article, see 'On the Northampton Iron Ore District,' by W. H. Butlin, B.A. Camb., a paper read at the annual meeting of the Iron and Steel Institute, May, 1883; and also, by the same author, an article 'On the Smelting of Northamptonshire Iron Ores,' in the *Iron and Coal Trades Review* (1884).

¹ *V.C.H. Northants*, i, 28.

² Beeby Thompson, 'The Cow Meadow Gravel Pit,' *Journ. Northants Nat. Hist. Soc.* xi, 207.

³ *V.C.H. Northants*, i, 152, 206.

⁴ *Ibid.* i, 304 n.

⁵ Harl. Ch. 49 G. 51 (B.M.), and cf. Morton, *Nat. Hist. of Northants*, 550.

⁶ Morton, *op. cit.* 549. He believed the early smelters had imported ore from other counties.

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a variable amount owing to the variable thickness of workable stone. The greatest thickness worked in Northamptonshire is at Duston, close to Northampton, but in a southerly and south-easterly direction from here the ironstone beds rapidly thin out and disappear (see article *Geology*, i, 16). To the south-west, at Culworth and Towcester, it has been worked a little. In a north-easterly direction, from Northampton to Stamford, workings have been, and are very numerous, where the Northampton sand comes to the surface, or can be got at under a reasonable amount of overburden of other beds, say 14 ft. or 15 ft.

The usual method of getting the ironstone is by long, open workings, the material of the overbearing and all useless stone being thrown on the opposite side of the cutting to the rock face. This waste material is soon levelled and very quickly cultivated, so that there is no great disturbance to the agriculture of the district.

There is very much ironstone in Northamptonshire below workable depths by open workings. Small attempts have been made to mine the ironstone by running tunnels underground at Cogenhoe and Woodford, but the only one conducted on a comparatively large scale is at Slipton, to the west of Thrapston.

When the ore is smelted in the district it is often calcined before being placed in the furnace, to drive off hygroscopic moisture and further oxidize the green ores. It is considered best to calcine to a brick-red colour only. The yield may vary from 24 to 56 per cent. of metallic iron, but 40 per cent. would be considered good.

For fluxing the ore the ordinary Great Oolite

limestone of the district is mostly used, a limestone containing something like 90 per cent. of carbonate of lime. Various limestone quarries around where furnaces exist are kept open for this purpose alone. At Kettering they use the Lincolnshire limestone.

The cinder or slag resulting from the combination of the gangue of the ironstone with the lime of the limestone, and consisting chiefly of the double silicates of lime and alumina, is used for various purposes : such as road-mending, as ballast on the railway, and at Finedon it is being manufactured into paving sets.

THE MARLSTONE IRON ORE.—All the preceding remarks on ironstone refer to the Northampton sand ore, the only ore now worked for iron in the county, but it may be mentioned that attempts have been made to work the ferruginous Marlstone rock-bed in the extreme south-western parts of the county. Extensive preparations were made in 1874 to work the ore in the parish of King's Sutton by a Company, under the title of 'The Nell Bridge Iron Ore Company.' In the circular issued by the Company the ore is described as purely oolitic, yielding 30 per cent. of metallic iron, and 33 per cent. of lime, the proportion of lime being sufficient for the ore to flux itself, and making it especially valuable for mixing with refractory ores. Very little was done, and the quarrying was abandoned.¹

THE GREAT OOLITE IRONSTONE.—Ironstone of good quality is found² at the base of the Upper Estuarine beds in the eastern parts of the county, and has been worked a little, but does not pay. The same remark applies to ironstone found in the Great Oolite clay.

BELL-FOUNDING

The earliest date on a Northamptonshire church bell is 1317, but it was not until the seventeenth century that there is any evidence of bell-founding within the county. This is first found at Chalcombe, a village three miles north-east of Banbury. The industry was established there by Henry Bagley (or Bagle), about 1632, who used as a trade-mark three bells. He died in 1676, and the foundry was carried on by his two sons Henry and William and a nephew named Matthew. About 1720 a second Matthew Bagley, a son of William Bagley succeeded to the foundry, and with his death the foundry at Chalcombe is said to have ended. At Ecton there was established in business another member of the same family born at Chalcombe, Henry Bagley, a son of John Bagley, the brother of the first bell-founder at Chalcombe, and consequently a brother of the first Matthew, the partner of Henry and William. This Henry Bagley of Ecton is first heard of in

connexion with the casting of the bells of Lichfield Cathedral. In 1700 he cast the present ring of bells at Castor, on the sixth bell of which is the following inscription : 'I To The Church the Living call, and to the Grave do summon all. Henry Bagley Made Me, 1700.' He was buried in Ecton churchyard on 1 April, 1703, and the business apparently died with him. There was still one more Henry Bagley, a bell-founder, of the Chalcombe Foundry, who was a brother of the second Matthew, and died in 1785. This Henry Bagley we find settled at Witney in Oxfordshire, probably after working for a time in the Chalcombe foundry with Matthew. In 1752 he printed a Catalogue of 'peals of bells . . . and bells cast by Henry Bagley of Chalcombe in the county of Northampton, Bellfounder [who now lives at Witney in Oxfordshire].'

The first and second bells at Weedon, dated

¹ Beeby Thompson, *Middle Lias of Northamptonshire*.

² *V.C.H. Northants*, i, 18.

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1745, were probably made by this Henry Bagley, while altogether more than 120 bells now in use in the county were turned out by the Bagleys from the Chalcombe foundry.

At Kettering in the early part of the eighteenth century there was a family of Eayre, clockmakers. On the fourth bell of the ring cast in 1714 by Richard Sanders of Bromsgrove, appears the name, 'T. Eayre, Horo.' This Thomas Eayre, who died in 1716, had a son Thomas, born in 1691, who in conjunction with John Eayre, probably his uncle, opened a bell-foundry at Kettering; we find bells from this foundry at Cranford St. John, Burton Latimer, Mears Ashby, and Warkton.

A bell from this foundry at Cranford St. John, dated October, 1717, is inscribed: 'Thomas et Johannes Eayre de Kettering fecerunt'; the date of the following year is found on bells at Burton Latimer, Mears Ashby, and Warkton—all from the same foundry. After this date there are no bells that bear the name of John Eayre, and the foundry seems to have passed under the sole management of Thomas Eayre, whose bells are fairly numerous both in Northamptonshire and in the adjoining counties. Thomas Eayre carried on his father's business as a clock-maker. At a vestry meeting in November, 1749, it was agreed to bargain with Mr. Thomas Eayre for a new clock, the price of which was not to exceed £60. He also made a wonderful chime for Lord Mahon of Great Harrowden Hall, which consisted of thirteen dish bells, the biggest of which is about 2 cwt. Thomas Eayre died in 1757, leaving as sole executor his only son Thomas, who had been associated with his

father in the bell-foundry, but he carried the business on only for a few years, the foundry being closed about 1762. The bells made at Kettering are good in tone and well cast, and are plentiful in Northamptonshire and in the neighbouring counties. The site of the Kettering bell-foundry was in the street now called Wadcroft, which was formerly known as Bell-founder Lane.

There was a third bell-foundry at Peterborough established by Henry Penn, in which were cast some good bells for churches in Northamptonshire and the adjoining counties. These were cast, as the dates on them show, between 1703 and 1729. Penn, however, did not please the good people of St. Ives, who, not very satisfied with his work, went to law with him. Penn gained the day, but died from the effects of over-excitement as he was mounting his horse to return home after the assizes at Huntingdon. The site of the Peterborough foundry is not definitely known, but it is thought to have been situated on the east side of Broad Street. Penn cast the whole ring of six bells now in use at Yardley Hastings, where the curfew is rung daily from Michaelmas to Easter. There are altogether over thirty-five bells in the county by Henry Penn. It will be seen by this short account that bell-founding was continuous in Northamptonshire from 1632, the earliest date of the Bagley firm, down to 1761, the date on the tenor bell at Earls Barton, recast by Thomas Eayre, who is said to have become a bankrupt shortly after this, his business being taken over by Edward Arnold, a nephew who set up business at St. Neots.

PIPE-MAKING

Towards the end of the seventeenth century smoking was not only allowed at the evening meetings of the aldermen of Northampton, but pipes were provided at the town's expense.

In 1692, 8s. 8d. was paid for candles and pipes for the hall. In 1698, 3s. was spent on '2 grosse of Pypes for the hall.' In 1703 2s. 7d. was paid for six pounds of candles and half a gross of pipes, and the practice of purchasing pipes for the aldermen lasted to a much later time.¹

As the only noted tobacco-pipe clay used at this period in England, except the clay of Poole and the Isle of Wight, was raised in Northampton Fields, it is a legitimate inference that these pipes were of local manufacture. Morton, the county historian, in the autumn of 1705 examined two clay pits situated on the land of Francis Arundel, Esq., which were worked for the purpose of raising this special material. In one the clay

sought for was black, in the other grey, but both varieties burnt very white. 'The diggers,' he proceeds,² 'cut the clay into rectangular masses, which are sold either by measure or weight. If the block of tobacco-pipe clay be ten inches thick, then about thirteen inches square will make a hundredweight of it. The men who carry coal out of Warwickshire and Leicestershire to Northampton do frequently load back with the clay. The like is done by the waggons that bring us sea-coal from Bedford. It is, as I am credibly informed, the main ingredient, if not the only clay that's wrought up in Brown Ware of the Nottingham potteries. It is used at Oxford for making pipes, being mixed with a white clay from Shotover Hill.'

As early as 1722 we have direct evidence of the existence of the manufacture of pipes in Northampton, and it is probable that it had then been established for at least a generation. The

¹ *Northampton Borough Records*, ii, 174.

² Morton, *Nat. Hist. of Northants*, 71.

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following advertisement appears in the *Northampton Mercury* of 3 May in this year: 'Whereas William Bett, a tall thin youth about 22 years of age with short brown hair, a sad coloured coat and Leather Breeches, went away from his Master, James Morgan, Pipemaker in Northampton, on St. James's Day last: this is to forbid all Persons from harbouring or employing the said William Bett at their Peril; or if he will return again to his Master, he will be kindly received and all faults forgiven. N.B.—The said James Morgan will give any good workman a year's work in his trade of pipemaking with good Wages.'

In the Parliamentary election of 1768 three Northampton electors appear as following the occupation of pipe-making.¹

In 1785² John Roberts, a pipemaker, was appointed town crier. In 1801 his son, Robert Roberts, also a pipe-maker, was appointed keeper of the town gaol, and also acted as bell-man and sheriff's officer.³ He conducted his business of pipe-making on the gaol premises, latterly with the help of his son Edward, who in 1830 took premises in Scarletwell Street, and on these same premises Mr. Alfred Roberts, son of the last-named, with the help of his son, continued the business established by his great-grandfather before 1780.

That beds of clay suitable for pipe-making existed locally is proved by frequent references in the columns of Northampton's first weekly newspaper, *The Mercury*, earliest produced in 1720. From the columns of *The Mercury* we also gather that beds, probably of river-drift clay, existed south of Northampton Fields and in Moulton Field, the latter being inferior in quality to the former. The earliest reference is in 1726, and appears in the form of an advertisement:

'This is to give notice to all Pipe Makers and Waggoners, that Tobacco Pipeclay at Northampton Pits will be sold for Eightpence a hundred on the 27th of this instant June. Ready money at the Pits and welcome!'

On 6 February, 1743-4, appears:

'This is to give notice to all Pipe Makers and others, That Tobacco Pipe Clay, both Grey and Black, will be sold for fourpence per hundred this season, at Northampton Pits, by Messrs. Daws and Company.

Note.—Any person that will bring a customer to the above-named Daws shall have Twopence for their pains paid by Mr. John Daws.'⁴

In 1747 we find, under date 1 June:

'To be sold, at Samuel Pool's, in Abingdon (*sic*) Street, Northampton, the very best Black-Grey Pipe Clay at Fourpence per 100 weight.'

¹ Phillips MSS.

² *Northampton Borough Records*, ii, 87.

³ Neild, *State of Prisons* (1812), 436.

⁴ *Northampton Mercury*, 13 June, 1726. ⁵ *Ibid.*

We give one further example, as it alludes to the Moulton clay:

'To all Pipemakers and others that use Tobacco Pipe Clay. That they may be kindly used with the Best of Clay from the Pits on Northampton Fields by directing to Samuel Poole at the Star⁶ in Northampton.

Note.—All Chapmen sending as above may depend on having none of the clay from the pits in Moulton field,⁷ which was found so prejudicial to the fair Trader.'⁸

The allusion in the above advertisements to waggoners and chapmen would seem to imply that all the clay was not used locally, and thus confirms Morton's statement already quoted. The pits seem to have run from where the Militia Stores now stand to the back of the Grand Stand on the Racecourse. The bed was thoroughly worked out, but even now, when trenches are made in the streets in the vicinity, traces of the clay can still be seen,⁹ while it ended in a coarser kind of clay which was not suitable for pipes, but was used by the makers for lining their kilns.¹⁰ It is to this clay that the noted Northamptonshire geologist referred when he wrote:

'Near the stand on the Racecourse was a large pit quarried for clay, sand and building stone. At the top of this section was a cream-coloured clay, probably of drift origin.'¹¹

Some time before the year 1850 the supply of local pipe-clay was exhausted, and since this time the clay has been procured from Devonshire.¹²

Beside the Roberts family the following names occur in Northampton as tobacco-pipe makers. In 1840 Francis Street, of Horse Shoe Street, Northampton, followed by Thomas Street, of Horse Shoe Street, Northampton, in 1856. This business was taken by Brooks and Hughes, who closed down about 1890. In 1835 James Chick was making pipes in Foundry Street, and the business was continued by his son until 1880, and then came to an end.

At Brackley William Reeve made pipes from 1850 to 1866, while a considerable amount of pipe-making appears to have been carried on at Peterborough in the middle of the nineteenth century; as for example in 1847 by T. Brown,

⁶ The Star Inn was in Abington Street at the corner of Dychurch Lane.

⁷ About 3 miles north of Northampton.

⁸ *Northampton Mercury*, 5 June, 1749.

⁹ See article by Mr. A. Adcock in *Northampton Daily Reporter*, 12 Nov. 1901.

¹⁰ Information supplied by Mr. Alfred Roberts, who joined his father about 1855.

¹¹ Article by Samuel Sharp, Esq. *Proceedings of Geol. Soc.* 9 March, 1870.

¹² Morton had stated in 1712 that so much of the clay had been 'dugged up at Northampton in the last thirty or forty years that, as the workmen say, there is not above a bench or two of it left' (*op. cit.* 71).

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Boonfield, Pipe Lane, and by W. Brown, in Fengate. The industry ceased on the death of Mr. W. Brown in 1890. As far as can be ascertained there was no suitable clay to be obtained locally, and it was all imported. The iron moulds used for pipe-making by Mr. Brown were presented to Peterborough Museum in 1895.

There does not appear to have been much development in the mode of manufacture of clay pipes, so far as one can judge in comparing specimens of the seventeenth century with those of our own day, except that a greater variety of shape and more ornamentation are now employed. A short space may be well devoted to describing the mode of manufacture.

First, the clay is washed and 'sifted' to rid it of extraneous substance. It is then well soaked and tempered by hammering with a heavy iron bar; this renders it soft and malleable. After a further soaking the operator, taking a small lump, rolls it out on a table, first by hand, then by means of a shaped board, until it obtains the rough form of a pipe with long stem and knob at the end to represent the bowl. The rough

shapes are left to dry partially. When ready one is taken and pierced right up the stem with a long steel instrument (a delicate operation requiring a nice sense of touch) and placed in an iron mould, which is made in halves closely fitting together, and the exact shape of the finished pipe. The mould is inserted into a small machine, consisting of a screw, gin-head, and lever handle, and pressure induced by the lever compresses the clay until it entirely fills the mould, and at the same time hollows the bowl of the pipe. The shaped clay is now released from the mould, the piercer is withdrawn, and the pipe placed in a rack to dry further. It is then taken by the finisher, who scrapes off any roughness and once more introduces the piercer, to make sure the draught is clear. After further drying the pipes are packed in fire-brick boxes, termed 'saggers,' and baked in a coke-heated kiln for eight hours. After the withdrawal and cooling of the pipes sealing wax is applied to each stem-end to prevent adhesion to the lips of the smoker, and the process of manufacture is complete.

LEATHER

In the earliest notices of the leather trade in Northampton we hear of the 'Tanners,' who by means of liquors produced from the bark of oak-trees turned the thick ox hides into leather fit for boot soles and harness, and who also tanned calf skins, which, being passed on to the currier, were by him stuffed with oil and fat, and thus rendered soft and pliable for boot uppers. We also hear of the 'Tawyers,' probably divided into two classes, (1) the oil dresser who would deal with the heavier classes of skins, such as horse and deer, dressing them into 'buff leather'; and (2) the whitawer,¹ using alum and salt for his medium, and dealing with the pelts of dog, sheep, and goat. It should be said that all these means are in use at the present day in preparing different kinds of leather.

All towns of any size in mediaeval England would have their various forms of leather industry; in fact Professor Thorold Rogers goes so far as to say 'that tanning or tawing of leather was a by-product in most villages,'² though this statement must not be taken too literally. Northampton, at any rate, appears in early times³ to have possessed a tanning industry of more than local importance. Heavy leather was not a commodity that could be produced everywhere, and for its manufacture oak bark as

a tanning agent was indispensable. In some parts of the country oak trees do not grow so readily as in others, and in days when roads were bad and transit difficult one would not expect to find tan yards at great distances from their principal furniture. It is therefore no surprise to find merchants from Northampton travelling to the great fair of Stourbridge, near Cambridge, with pack-horses and wains laden, not only with wool, but also with leather. The town of Northampton was of sufficient importance to give its name to one of the streets of booths so hastily constructed for this three weeks' fair.⁴

Such muniments of the town as were mercifully spared by the fire of 1675 bear witness to some regulations as to tanners.

The *Liber Custumarum* sets forth the customs or usages as well as the 'assize' of the various trades which were in force in the middle of the fifteenth century. The earliest regulation which concerns us is in protection of town tradesmen against strangers, it being ordered that no stranger shall be permitted to purchase hides or skins (unwrought) except in fair time. Such jealous care and watchfulness over the raw materials of trade is frequently exhibited not only for the manufacturer's sake but with an eye to market dues. Thus we read a little later that no 'forestalling' can be allowed: but hides and skins brought from the country must not be bought outside the walls of the town, but must

¹ Leather produced by alum and salt is white, hence whitawer, i.e. white tawyer.

² *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, 46.

³ In a rental of the abbey of St. James, which may be assigned to the reign of Edward I, mention is made of 'Viculus tannatorum.' Add. R. 6117 (B.M.).

⁴ *Northampton Borough Records*, ii, 536.

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be brought into the 'Kings Chepying Os'¹ and there exhibited for sale. So also no butchers or other persons of the town may take fresh hides away for sale elsewhere, except it be to a fair, under penalty of 2s. fine.

'TANNERS. The assize of a tanner is that he tan no sheep leather, goat leather, deer's leather, horse leather, nor hound's leather, nor that he tan no leather to sell, but that it be thorough tanned.

And he do contrary to any of these his fine is, at every time six shillings and eight pence; and to forfeit that is forfeitable. And if he will not beware by two warnings the third time he to be amerced and judged according to the form of statute.

CURRIERS. The assize of a currier is that he curry no manner of leather but that it be thorough tanned. And that it be curried with sufficient stuff. And it to be searched and seen by an officer of the town to see that it be good and able. And that his leather be good and able and truly curried, and if he do contrary to any of this to be amerced and judged according to the form of statute.

WHITTAWER. The assize of a Whittawer is that he make nor Tawe no manner of leather but sheep's leather, goat's leather, deer's leather, Horse leather, and hound's leather. And that it be made of sufficient stuff. And if he do contrary he to be amerced and judged according to the form of the statute.'

The oath of the searchers of leather the eighth year of the reign of Elizabeth (1565):

'You shall swear that you shall well and faithfully assist the searcher appointed for the search of leather, and wares made of leather, according to the Act of Parliament made in the fifth year of the Queen's Majesty's reign: touching tanners, curriers, shoemakers and other artificers occupying the cutting of leather, to your best knowledge and cunning, so help you God, and by the holy contents of this book.'

A tanner in the fifteenth century was expected to keep his leather in the 'pits' a year and a day, otherwise it was considered not well tanned, but 'raw.' 'And if he do the contrary he shall lose six shillings and eight pence.'

In 1566 a constitution for the company of the whitawers and tanners was enrolled in the town's records⁴ by which it was ordained that every year upon the Sunday after the feast of St. Luke the Evangelist with the licence of the mayor the members of the craft should meet together and nominate two wardens to rule and govern the said crafts for the year following, and to redress and remedy all manner of deceit and default that may be found. Any man chosen as warden and refusing to serve is to pay 10s., half to the town and half to the craft, whilst the wardens are to collect any fines incurred by infraction of the rules of the craft, and account for

the same at the year's end under a penalty of 20s., half to the town and half to the craft. They are also to make an assessment of 20s. on the craft for the benefit of the town chest. Any member of the craft refusing to attend the summons of the wardens, to be fined twelve pence for each offence.

'And further it is enacted and agreed that their shall noe stranger nor furreyner come into this market within the towne of Northampton to buy anie hide or hides, bullocke skynne or caulfe skynne but that he or they shall bring in quantitie as muche lether readie tanned into this Markett to selle the same daye as he or they shall buye roughe hydes or skynnes the same daye in the same markett by the same the saide stranger or forryner.'

The 'foreigners' also are forbidden to purchase any hides or skins before twelve o'clock under penalty of 6s. 8d. or to bespeak any from the butchers. Further they are only to make their purchases at the special stand in the market-place appointed for that purpose, and anyone doing contrary to this order shall be fined.

Regrating or buying to sell again at a profit is penalized. No 'manner of person' is to buy rough hides or skins except to tan or dress them into leather. If he resells them in the same condition as bought he must pay a fine of 10s., half to the chamber of the town and half to the occupation.⁵ Any member of the craft withstanding the wardens or refusing to obey any of the above ordinances shall pay for every time of offending 10s., and every warden neglecting proper oversight of matters pertaining to the craft shall pay 20s. as aforesaid.

'And furthermore it is agreed and enacted that there shalbe noe forreyner or stranger of this occupation called the occupation of Tanners and Whittawers come to the town to sell anie manner of cloute leather cut into small bendes or peeces, but onelie at the two fairs as be assigned by the charter of the towne.'

The two fairs would be those mentioned in the charter of 11 Henry VII, when permission was granted to hold one fair every year for ever on the feast of St. George the Martyr (23 April) and on the day next preceding it and the six days following; and the other on the feast of St. Hugh the Bishop (17 November), the day preceding, and the six subsequent days.

In 1582 the town authorities enacted⁶ further rules for the governance of the whitawers.

Two masters chosen yearly to oversee that the hides and other ware exposed for sale were properly and sufficiently dressed; with power to confiscate any that were deficient. None of the craft to withstand the warden under penalty of

⁵ Many of these ordinances are in conformity with the provisions of statutes of Edward VI and Elizabeth, which attempted to reimpose minute regulations of trade after the earlier patterns.

⁶ Ibid. 297.

¹ Market House (chepe = a market).

² *Liber Custumarum*, fol. 95 verso.

³ Ibid. fol. 96. The spelling has been modernized.

⁴ *Northampton Boro. Rec.* ii, 295 et seq.

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3s. 4d. No foreigner of the craft shall trade save at the two fairs. No tanners shall cast any dead horse, mare, or gelding, or any hog, dog or other such carrion, on the streets, ways, ditches, or any ground of the town save in the marehold, under a like penalty. The master shall yearly between 6 March and 4 April bury the bones that have been cast in the marehold under penalty of 3s. 4d. No beast to be slaughtered save in the marehold. The master to pay yearly 6s. 8d. to the mayor for the constitution of the craft. All fines to be divided between the town chamber and the craft.

By 1606 it is evident that the laws governing the craft of tanners or whitawers had fallen into abeyance, for the assembly agreed and ordered¹:—

‘That the Tanners of this Corporation upon payment of the sume of fourtie shillings which they are in arrearages shall have a new constitution with such orders as they shall think fit for the better government of their companie and as their councell shall advise them to be agreeable with the lawes of this land for and upon the olde Rent accustomed paid for the same.’

It is possible that all these elaborate restrictions and regulations may have acted beneficially in the earlier times, but by the eighteenth century signs are not wanting that commerce had outgrown such swaddling clothes. The increase in the population and the greater facility for trading between the different English markets, as well as with the Continent, enhanced competition and resulted in business being placed on an entirely new footing, though the fact remains that the old style produced excellent results as regards the marketable article of commerce. It needs but to examine the cap of estate of the Black Prince (probably made of oil-dressed leather) preserved in Canterbury Cathedral, or the shoes (chiefly made of tanned or curried leather) made in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries exhibited in the Guildhall and Northampton museums, and the excellence and permanence of the constituent materials are evident.

That tanning was an important industry in many villages of the county, often handed down from father to son, is plainly shown, both from parish registers and local wills. Owing to the length of the process² some considerable capital was required, so that anyone embarking in this branch of the leather business must needs be a man of substance. The Judkins family, tanners at Brixworth and Heyford, furnish a good example. A member of the family, Thomas Judkins, started a tan-yard in Northampton, and in 1588 was one of the bailiffs of the town. It was probably owing to the reimposition in Tudor times of the earlier restrictive enactments (which had gradually fallen into disuse) that it became

necessary for him to come to Northampton. As a freeman of the town and no longer a ‘foreigner’ he would escape many of the irritating and hampering regulations imposed on such as resided even a few miles beyond the borough boundary. That he resided near St. Peter’s is probable from the records of baptism of his children in the register of that parish. Possibly it is his old yard that is advertised for sale in 1729, ‘at the back of St. Peter’s Church,’³ as we cannot trace any other tan-yard in the vicinity. A Thomas Judkins appears as mayor in 1601 and again as bailiff in 1625, and as chamberlain of the town in 1635–6.

We find, however, after the first few years of the eighteenth century that the restrictions became relaxed, and that the conditions relating to buying or selling, whether of the raw material or leather, tend to be left more and more to the contracting parties. That the tanners valued their exclusive rights and fought hard against the rescinding of their privileges granted to them in Elizabeth’s reign is, however, evident from two cases of a century or more later.

At the October assembly, 1669, it was stated that William Knight, a tanner of Abthorpe⁴ near Towcester, a foreigner⁵ and no freeman, had lately in open market bought on several Saturdays several raw hides of foreign butchers, contrary to the orders, customs, and constitutions of the town of Northampton, and that these hides, being both foreign bought and foreign sold, were forfeited, seized and sold by Mr. William Wallace and Mr. Edward Ivory, the bailiffs, according to ancient usage and custom. It was further stated that William Knight had commenced a suit at common law against the bailiffs, and it was resolved by the assembly to support the bailiffs in resisting the action. The cause came on for trial at the Northampton assizes in 1670, and the judge ordered the case to be referred. William Knight, however, became ‘sensible of his error,’ and instead of persevering in his action petitioned the corporation to be admitted as a freeman. At an assembly held in September, 1671, he made due submission, and promised to purchase the hides again of the bailiffs, whereupon it was ordered that he be admitted a freeman, at such rates as the mayor and aldermen should determine.⁶

In 1708 the tanners petitioned the assembly to stop George Morgan of Slapton, and Joseph Tomes of King’s Sutton, country tanners, from buying great quantities of cow hides in open market, to the breach of the freedom of the town. The tanners stated they had gathered £10 towards

³ *Northampton Mercury*, 29 Feb. 1729.

⁴ See MS. Bodleian Library, MS. Top. Northants 9, fol. 117, and not Althorpe as stated in *Northampton Borough Records*, ii, 298.

⁵ The ‘foreigner’ lived within ten miles of Northampton, but any person not being a freeman of the town was so designated.

⁶ *Northampton Boro. Rec.* ii, 299.

¹ *Northampton Boro. Rec.* ii, 298.

² ‘A year and a day,’ see *ante*.

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the legal prosecution of the offenders and asked the help and support of the assembly in prosecuting the case. The petition was granted.¹

Is it owing to the altered conditions and a more severe competition that we find during the eighteenth century so many tanneries for sale, and not a few tanners forced to compound with their creditors? From 1768 to 1800 we hear of the attempted sale or closing of yards at Drayton, Newnham, Wellingborough, Stanwick, King's Sutton, Wilbarston, Brigstock, Syresham, Rothwell, Rushden, Kettering, Northampton, Oundle, and Lowick, and some of them were in the market twice or more. We also hear of tanneries at Towcester, Slapton, Wilby, and Abthorpe.

In 1729 an advertisement appears of 'a compleat and effectual method of tanning without bark by a gentleman who received £200 for the discovery,'² and there is no doubt that experiments were constantly being made with a view to cheapening the dressing of leather.

At any rate the costliness of the process was not due to the excessive wages paid by the tanners. A further reference to the same source shows us what was probably the standard wage. 'Wanted a journeyman tanner, 7s., 8s. or 9s. per week. Enquire Mr. Bellamy, Lowick, or Mr. Baggerly, Oundle.'³

Evidently the orders relating to the sale of goods in open market were not now enforced. Leather was still brought into the town from the neighbouring villages, but a leather market had been established at the Star Inn in Abington Street, removed in 1723 to the 'Talbot,' in the Market Square, and again to the 'Peacock' in 1726. It appears, however, that at St. George's Fair, and at the important cheese fair held yearly on 19 September, there continued to be a considerable exhibition of leather. The old enactments against 'regrating,' or buying hides and leather to sell again in the same condition as bought, are no longer enforced. The *Mercury* of 22 May, 1742, records the death of Mr. Alderman Woolston of Northampton, and says, 'he was the greatest dealer of leather in these parts.' In 1777 an advertisement from Wellingborough tells us that

'Hadlington and Sharman have taken a Warehouse in Dy Church Lane, Northampton, and supply hides, butts and insole leather, also curried leather. Saturdays 11 to 4.'

In 1762 men are required for dressing 'Allom' leather at Rushton Mill, near Kettering.

In 1790 considerable agitation was caused by the rise in price of oak bark. It appears that a large quantity had been sold for export, and a meeting of Northamptonshire tanners was held at Oundle, 30 October, at which it was decided to

petition the government to lay a tax on bark exported from the kingdom, it being the opinion of the meeting that

'as the free exportation of bark is highly injurious to the Leather trade, and consequently to the Revenue of this Kingdom, we feel ourselves deeply interested in its discontinuance.'

This protest not having the desired effect a further step was taken in April, 1791, when the public was cautioned⁴ against buying and re-selling oak bark contrary to the statute of 1 James I, c. 2.

That other branches of the trade were straining after the enforcement of the old by-laws is shown by the declaration⁵ of the curriers which appeared in the *Mercury* two years later, protesting strongly against persons who had not served a seven years' apprenticeship working as curriers.

In the year 1795 prices of leather in the London market are given weekly in the Northampton paper. The following list is interesting for comparison:—

Butts. Crop Hides 50-60 lb.	14½ to 15d. per lb.
" " 60-70 "	15 " 16d. "
Dressing Hides, 12½ to 13d.	per lb.
Calf Skins, 40-50 lb.	21 to 23d. per lb.
" 60-80 "	20 " 22d. "
" 80-120 "	18 " 20d. "

The large amount of extra business caused by the demand for boots in the army during the Peninsular war affected the leather producer equally with the boot manufacturer in Northampton. It seems that the journeymen curriers embraced the opportunity, and endeavoured to improve their position by combining to raise wages. On 14 November, 1812, the following notice appears:—

'To Curriers.

In consequence of Proceedings having been instituted against the Journeyman Curriers late in our employ for a Combination the undermentioned have absconded and left their work in an unfinished state, it is therefore earnestly requested that the trade in general will refuse to entertain them till they have made a full Atonement for their highly improper and unwarrantable Conduct. (Eight names of workmen given).

Signed:—John Shelton. } Master
Samuel Hartup. } Curriers.⁶
Tho. Bumpus. }

The great cost of the war had caused the government to grasp at any means of increasing the revenue, and in the last session of Parliament of 1812 a tax had been imposed on all leather whether of English or foreign manufacture. The tax was a heavy one, consisting of 3s. per hide on all ox, cow, or horse hide dressed by oil or alum, and three halfpence per pound avoirdupois when tanned. Calf skins had to pay in proportion,

¹ *Northampton Boro. Rec.* ii, 299.

² *Northampton Mercury*, 16 June, 1729.

³ *Ibid.* 10 August, 1762.

⁴ *Ibid.* 16 April, 1791.

⁵ Dated Northampton, 8 June, 1793.

⁶ *Northampton Mercury*, 14 Nov. 1812.

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goat's 4s. per dozen, sheep from 2s. 3d. to 1s. 6d. The collection of such a tax must have been tiresome and in many cases quite unremunerative, the excise officers having to visit every yard and factory, stamping the finished goods and collecting the custom dues. The glovers and parchment makers also came within the scope of the Act, which provided for a drawback or repayment of the whole of the duty in case of the goods being sold for export. This drawback was much objected to by boot manufacturers, who complained that English leather could be bought more cheaply abroad than in the country of its production, and that as a consequence their tradesuffered from unfair competition.

Northampton seems to have been at once affected. On 2 December, 1812, 'The Tanners, Curriers, and Shoe Manufacturers are requested to meet at the Black Boy Inn to procure a repeal of the additional tax on leather laid in the last session of Parliament.'¹ Six months later a further meeting was held with the same object in view, and to thank 'the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Althorpe and Wm. Ralph Cartwright, Esq., the members in Parliament for this county, and the Right Honourable Earl Compton and William Hanbury, Esq., the Members for the Town, for their great attention and support to a Bill to repeal the additional Tax on Leather, the General Impolicy of which, as well as its injurious effects upon the Leather Trade were incontrovertibly proved before a Committee of the House of Commons.'² No relief having been effected, the agitation recommenced in 1816, and on 30 March a meeting of tanners, curriers, and shoe manufacturers, was again held in Northampton with a view to petitioning Parliament, and in April it was decided that a committee be appointed from the county to present such a petition. In May the mayor of the borough (Wm. Brown, Esq.), presided at a town's meeting, and the former resolution was affirmed. In May, 1816, Lord Althorpe, in the House of Commons, moved for leave to bring in a Bill to repeal the tax. The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved an amendment to the effect that a committee be appointed to consider whether the tax might not be rendered productive without the restrictions complained of. The amendment was carried by 121 to 86. The trade, however, had to wait a further fourteen years before the obnoxious tax was repealed.

From the Poll Book of 1820 we learn that there were five tanneries in Northampton owned and situated as follows :

Geo. Blackabee, South Quarter.
Wm. Britten, Bridge Street.
John Chambers, Gregory Street.
James Nichols, Bridge Street.
Wm. Pettit, Cotton End.

¹ *Northampton Mercury*.

² *Ibid.* 7 June, 1813.

The first-named may have been Judkins' old yard at the back of St. Peter's Church ; it has continued to be used for the purpose of leather manufacture and fellmongering to the present time and is now occupied by Mr. James Wisdom, fellmonger. Brittons' yard was probably situated in Angel Lane and occupied the site of the present electric-light works. Old disused pits are remembered there by many of the older inhabitants of the town. Of the last three there is now no trace.

It has already been stated that early enactments of the Legislature (which were incorporated and reinforced in the 2nd James I) prohibited the use of horse hides in making boots and shoes. Although they had practically become inoperative, it was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that the laws were repealed. It may seem strange that the very Act which recognized the futility of applying 'bygone' standards to its own day, appealed to a quite mediaeval method of attempting to ensure carefulness on the part of the butchers or others engaged in the flaying of animals. The carelessness or want of skill of the operator in this process appears always to have been a vexation to the tanner or leather dresser in England ; and never more so than to-day. Unfortunately the skin of the animal (unless it be of the fur-bearing kind) seems to be regarded as a by-product, and often its value as the raw material of the leather manufacturer is much reduced by the rough-and-ready methods employed by the flayer. That a badly flayed skin commands less price than a well flayed one is self-evident, and were it not that it is regarded as a by-product, this must have had its effect in the exercise of greater care on the part of the butcher. To fine a person for depreciating the value of his own goods seems strange to the modern mind.

The following notice however appears in the *Mercury* of 29 March, 1823 :

'In pursuance of an Act passed in the 39 and 40 Geo. III, entitled an Act to repeal so much of an Act passed in the 2nd James I as prohibits the use of horse hides in making boots and shoes ; and for better preventing the damaging of raw hides and skins in the flaying thereof, I, George Osborne, junr., Mayor, appoint a certain piece of ground on the Wood Hill for the examination and inspection of raw hides and skins within the town of Northampton and three miles round.

Penalties for gashing and flawing or damaging :

Hides, not to exceed	10/-	nor less than	1/-
Calf Skins, not to exceed	5/-	" "	6d.
Horse, Mare, or Gelding,			
not to exceed	5/-	" "	1/-
Hog, Pig, Sheep, or Lamb,			
not to exceed	6d.	" "	3d.

28th March, 1823.'

There do not appear to have been many convictions locally, and it was probably found that the law was unworkable.

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The great depression of trade consequent on the expenditure upon the Peninsular war seriously affected the leather industry in Northampton. Although with the return of better times the boot industry revived until the town took its place as the most important centre of the men's trade in the country, there appears to have been a lack of enterprise about the sister industry which preferred attempting to entrench itself behind old privileges rather than strike out a new course more in accordance with the altered conditions of trade subsequent to the legislation of 1830. Accordingly much of the trade that might have been retained went to Leeds and other centres in the north of England, and large importations of curried calfskins from France largely took the place of the home-produced article. In heavy leather only did England retain its superiority, but in Northamptonshire the tanyards yearly became reduced in number. From 1840 the number of leather manufacturers in the town became smaller, and the number of merchants selling the produce of other districts and also foreign leather increased.

In 1847 we can trace tanneries for heavy leather at the following places in the county: Brigstock, Drayton, Duddington, Higham Ferrers, Kettering (2), King's Sutton, Northampton, Warkton, Wilby, and Stanion. In 1854 four at least had been closed. In 1890 three only remained, while in 1906 not one of those at work in 1847 continues, though two new yards have been opened in Northampton. One of these was started about 1860 by a Mr. Anderton, who acquired a disused clay pit at the corner of Monk's Pond Street and Spring Lane, utilizing the excavation for the site of his tan pits. He was unsuccessful in his enterprise, and was followed three years later by Mr. William Borton, who in turn disposed of the yard to Mr. S. B. Thompson in 1864. This gentleman tanned excellent leather for many years, retiring with a competence in 1893, the business being purchased by Messrs. Pettit & Son,¹ who continued to work it on the old lines (so far as the long tanning process with oak bark as a medium is concerned), and in conjunction with their business of leather dressers, which will receive mention latter.

Mr. Borton afterwards started a tanyard between the north side of the racecourse and the brickyards, where vestiges of the old pits may still be seen, but the business was not long continued. In 1846 Messrs. C. Cherry & Co. advertised their commencement in the business of enamelling and japanning of leather in all its branches in St. George's Street, Northampton.² At this time japanned or patent leather was used

in considerable quantities, and was mostly imported from France.

About the year 1832 Mr. Marmaduke Wetherell came to Northampton from Lincoln and started a tanyard in St. James' End, beyond the west bridge. He concerned himself chiefly in the tanning of horse hides, though in later years the business under his son, Mr. James Wetherell, and afterwards in the partnership of Messrs. Wetherell and Neepe, was considerably extended, and a branch warehouse and currying shop was opened in Newland, extending through to Grey Friars Street. After the death of Mr. James Wetherell in 1882 the Newland premises and business were taken over by Messrs. T. Wetherell & Co., and the yard and business in St. James' End continued by Messrs. Neepe and Denton. A further change occurred in 1892 when the yard was bought by Messrs. Brice & Co., and on their business coming to an end in 1896 the tan-yard was sold to the Northampton Tanning Company, with Mr. Carlton Heal as director of its affairs. New pits for the tanning of sole leather on the mixed tannage or Lancashire principle were immediately laid down, and at the time of writing (1906) the output of the yard averages about five hundred hides per week.

The firm of Messrs. T. Wetherell & Co., consisting of Mr. T. Wetherell and his two sons (the son and grandsons of the originator of the business) still continue the currying and leather-dressing in Grey Friars Street, and have also acquired extensive premises in Wood Street, for the manufacture of leather suitable for leggings, gaiters, and linings.

About the year 1860 a new leather was introduced into this country from France called Calf Kid. This was a soft-faced material, somewhat resembling glove kid, but naturally having greater firmness as being made from calf skin instead of goat. The leather soon won popularity, and in a short time English leather-dressers entered the field. Messrs. Wade & Sons were the first in Northampton to commence its manufacture. The leather was dressed with alum and salt, flour, egg yolk and olive oil. Mr. William Wade had begun business as a fellmonger and woolstapler in 1825, and a few years later embarked in leather-dressing. About 1860 he had commenced curing Smyrna sheep skins with alum for the Yeovil glovers, and from that to dressing calf kid was only a step. This branch of his business was successively carried on under the direction of a Mr. Cant and a Mr. Fudger, but finding the demands of the new trade somewhat exacting, Mr. Wade relinquished it in favour of his earlier style of business. As he had associated with him his two sons John and Henry, the firm was now known by the title of William Wade & Sons, and considerable trade as woolstaplers, fellmongers and dressers of Smyrna linings was continued for

¹ The yard was worked out in 1906 as it had ceased to be profitable.

² *Northampton Mercury*, 8 April, 1846.

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some years. The managers, Cant and Fudger, each started dressing calf kid in Northampton, but did not achieve success.

Allusion has already been made to the gradual closing of the old style of tanyard. This has, unfortunately, become a melancholy necessity owing to the altered conditions of trade. The leather and boot industries have suffered perhaps beyond all others, from the craze for cheapness, irrespective of quality, which seems likely to become permanent with the British public. As a consequence the ambition of the manufacturer can no longer be to make the best article possible, but to produce something at as low a price as the power of capital, the manipulation of labour-saving devices, and the saving of time in manufacture (and consequently interest on capital) will permit. Nor is our county in any way singular, for throughout the country, year by year, long process tanyards are closing down as possible buyers of high-class sole leather continue to decrease in number.

About 1885 a new impetus was given to the enterprise of leather producers by the introduction of coloured foot wear. This was brought about in such a curious manner that it is worth mention, as showing from what slender sources a new industry may rise. A party went on a yachting cruise to the East, agreeing that during the trip a specified costume should be worn. Of this, boots made from tan Russian leather formed a part, and proved so comfortable that some members of the party were sufficiently daring to appear in them after their return home. The social position of these innovators was allowed to excuse their eccentricity, but it was proved to the satisfaction of many who wrote upon the subject, that while brown boots might be possible as a luxury for the rich, the climate of the country as well as the sober taste of the people of England in favour of the sombre and neutral tinted, precluded any general business on such lines. Within a short time, however, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales appeared in brown boots, and at once the fashion was established. Russian leather had long been imported into England and used in the manufacture of pocket books, whip-handles, and the like, and a Northampton leather-dresser was one of the first to see that by selecting the stouter skins and re-dressing them, a material suitable for boots could be produced.

Mr. Fred Tyler commenced business in 1878, preparing hides for enamelling, and later dressing them in colours for export. He it was who in 1886 made several large purchases in Russian hides which he stuffed and dyed, and sold to the boot manufacturers. Being one of the first in the field he soon made a lucrative business in this direction.

Boots of real Russian leather, however, were expensive and beyond the reach of the million, so cheaper substitutes were sought. It was

found that calf skins could easily be tanned in this country in such a manner as would render them suited for coloured work, and for the next ten years a great number were annually dressed into 'Russia calf' in all the chief leather-producing centres in England. Among the many firms employed in this branch of the trade in Northampton mention must be made of Messrs. Pettit & Sons, as they have persistently kept in the front rank of those who were not afraid to change their methods or alter their whole process of manufacture, if occasion demanded. Mr. G. W. Pettit commenced business in the year 1877 in premises situated in Tanner Street as a calf kid and mock kid dresser; joined by his father the late Mr. John Pettit a few years later, additional premises were procured in St. James' End; and in 1884 increase of business rendered the building of larger works in Spring Lane imperative.

In 1888, being of the opinion that tan calf would slowly but surely oust calf kid from its position in the public favour, the firm turned all its energies to the production of that commodity, and for several years manufactured large quantities. Many dressers of coloured calf bought their skins ready tanned, but Messrs. Pettit laid down pits on their premises, and buying the raw calf, tanned and dressed it right through all its stages. This gave them a considerable advantage, as they were able to study the leather throughout its process of development, making from time to time any alterations which were considered likely to improve the finished article either in appearance or wearing capacity. While the boot buyer was content to pay a price that would allow the manufacturer to make a really reliable leather, things went well. It was not long, however, before the curse of 'cheapness' spoilt what might otherwise have continued to be a satisfactory trade from all points of view. That lower-priced leather might be produced, inferior tannages came to be used, boots began to crack and split, and a reaction set in.

It is possible that but for the introduction of a new method of tanning, the brown boot would soon have become a thing of the past. The new agent was a metal called chromium. Chrome tannages from a practical point of view stand on a very different footing to all others, and have established their position in the manufacture of almost all kinds of light leather, in competition with all the older methods. Experiment with it had been made in Germany as early as 1852, but the first practical success was not arrived at till 1879, while it was not until 1884 that leather produced by its means in America turned the attention of practical tanners to its importance. From that time till 1890 much time and money was spent in perfecting the process, until calf and goat skins of chrome tannage were at last placed on the market. The leather was found to be

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stronger and tougher in the fibre than that tanned in any other way, and moreover the time taken to produce it was reduced from months to days.

For a year or two the American manufacturers had the field all to themselves, but meanwhile leather experts both in England and on the Continent were hard at work in their footsteps. 'An accurate knowledge of chemistry was requisite, and the closest attention to every detail of manufacture; while in the old ways of tanning the method was largely rule of thumb, in chrome tanning accuracy is essential to success, which has involved the invention of new schemes of analysis which require of the tanner a familiarity with chemistry before undreamt of.'¹ Messrs. Pettit and Sons² were the first in Northampton to seriously attack the problem, and after years of patient and somewhat disheartening striving, were able in the year 1898 to place a pure chrome tanned calf skin before their customers. It is not too much to say that the introduction of chrome tanning has brought about a revolution in the leather trade. Such firms as refused or were unable to depart from the old methods found their market gradually slipping away, and more than a few have had to retire from the trade altogether. The chrome tanned skin, whether in black or brown, was found to be a very serviceable material, and complaints of leather broken in wear soon ceased. In 1904, however, with a desire to cheapen material, an attempt was made to substitute for the pure chrome tannage a combination of vegetable and chrome, by adding a chroming process to a skin already tanned by bark or its substitutes. By this means a leather has been produced very similar in appearance to a pure chrome skin, but possessing neither its strength nor toughness.

During the past few years efforts have been made by a few manufacturers to dress in England, on the chrome system, glazed kid skins, which are imported in immense quantities from America and Germany. In 1903 a large factory situated in Crane Street, Northampton, was acquired for that purpose by the British Crome Tanning Company, and is producing considerable quantities of black glazed kid.

As has been already intimated, the manufacture of leather in the county during the past fifty years has never attained to the importance which would be expected considering the prominence of its boot industry. Higham Ferrers possesses the oldest-established leather-dressing business in the district. Mr. Thomas Sanders, who died in February, 1905, started in 1847 as a dresser of hides for army boots. The business was developed and extended in all branches of currying, and in 1890 the dressing of kips and East India calf for linings was added. On the death of Mr. Sanders the business was acquired by Mr. Thomas Patenall, who continues it under the old name.

In Raunds some of the army boot contractors have for some years curried hides, mostly of Yorkshire tannages, for their own use. In Wellingborough Messrs. J. Page & Co. of the Midland Works commenced a business in 1875 as dressers of Persian sheep and similar skins, for the boot trade, which after the lapse of thirty years is still in a flourishing condition. They were the first outside London to embark in this branch of the trade. Mr. J. Caldicott, who was formerly in Messrs. Page's employ, started a business on similar lines in 1887. In Kettering Messrs. Stimpson Bros., of Northampton, obtained premises in 1897 for the purpose of the manufacture of lining leathers. In 1903 they started making chrome leather, and have been very successful in dressing sheep lining leathers and goat skins by the chrome process.

In Rushden Mr. C. Saunders started about 1865 as a general currier and leather-dresser. The business is still continued by his sons, who during the past two years have turned their attention to chrome tanning. About 1875 Mr. Chas. G. Cunningham started business as a currier of leathers suited to the boot trade, in which he is still actively employed. Mr. Fred Corby in 1890 opened works in Rushden for the dressing of waxed and russet goods for the trade, but now employs himself almost entirely in the dressing of kips and russet linings, of which he handles large quantities.

BOOTS AND SHOES

The fact that King John purchased a pair of single-soled boots and Edward I winter shoes for his fox hunter, William de Blatherwick, and his two assistants in Northampton, has sometimes been given as evidence of the town's early prominence in the boot-making industry. There is no doubt, however, that in mediæval Eng-

land every town was practically self-sufficing as regards the every-day commodities of life, and that those purchases were due to the temporary residences of the kings, either at the Royal Castle in Northampton, or at one of the hunting lodges in the vicinity.

No allusion to shoemaking as a special trade of the town, or to shoemakers or cordwainers as a specially large or influential body, is found either in the *Liber Custumarum* or in the local

¹ Procter, *Principles of Leather Manufacture*.

² Now consisting of the brothers Messrs. G. W. and J. T. Pettit.

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muniments.¹ Indeed, it is not till the middle of the seventeenth century that there is any indication of Northampton specializing in the manufacture of foot-wear so far as actual records are concerned. It is, however, rather suggestive of a trade beyond mere local consumption when we notice the elaborate regulations framed to govern the sale of leather brought for sale into the town market by tanners from the neighbouring villages. Doubtless, owing to the prevalence of oak-trees in the forests in Northamptonshire the bark of which formed the chief tanning agent in those days, the villages throughout the county, or many of them, seemed to have each its tanyard. On the other hand the regulations and restrictions governing the town tanners would lead one to suppose that their industry was a not unimportant one, and that its productions in the way of leather would suffice for purely local needs. It is not unlikely therefore, that there was some small outside trade in boots and shoes, and if so it is probable that their sale was effected by means of the fairs which played such an important part in the distribution of goods in the middle ages.

The *Liber Custumarum* of the town of Northampton, compiled about the middle of the fifteenth century, contains interesting details concerning the regulations of the various trades of the town, including bootmaking.

ORDINANCE MADE FOR THE CRAFT OF CORDWAINERS²

'On the Monday next after the feast of S. Denys in the third year of the reign of Henry IV after the Conquest: For the advantage of the town by John Londham, Mayor of the town of Northampton, by the assent of 24 of his Council sworn, and with the assent of the whole craft of the 'Coruysers crafte' in the same, it was ordained that every man of the craft aforesaid, hereafter commencing to hold a shop of the same craft, shall pay a fine of 6s. 8d. at its commencement, as well for time past as for time to come: excepting those who have heretofore made a fine according to the usual custom of the said craft in the said town of Northampton. And that it shall be allowed to Hugh Brixworth, William Stockton, William Pirye, coruysers, and to Hugh Hikedon, now chosen masters for the coming year, by the said Mayor, concerning

the said craft, and to other masters who for the time shall be hereafter chosen, to levy the said 6s. 8d. from every man so commencing a shop for the same craft, and to pay 40d. of it to the Mayor for the time being for the use of the town, the masters to retain the other 40d. of it themselves, and to dispose of it as shall seem to be most expedient to them, viz., in torches³ and other lights about the Eucharist and at the burial of the dead, to the honour of the town. And further it was ordained by the said Mayor and twenty-four, that it be allowed to the said masters, at the end of their said year, by the assent of the whole of the said craft, to choose for themselves other masters of the said craft, and so from year to year to present these masters so chosen to the Mayor for the time being to take the oath appointed for them; and the said masters being sworn upon the Sacrament, and other former masters shall supervise all shortcomings of the said craft, and shall present to the Mayor for the time being all transgressors of the same craft, together with the shortcomings of the same, so that by the Mayor and his Council, according to the extent of their fault, they can be duly punished and chastised: and if anyone of the aforesaid craft dwelling in the aforesaid town of Northampton shall not come at the summons of the aforesaid masters or anyone of them, or any other deputy of theirs, at the certain times, days, and places assigned to him within the liberty of the same town, then it may be lawful to the said masters, concerning the man so summoned and not coming, as often as he shall contravene this ordinance, to receive and levy for his contempt one pound of wax, of which they shall dispose one moiety to the torches aforesaid, and the other moiety they shall deliver for the use of the town to the Mayor for the time being, etc.'⁴

An ordinance of a later date⁵ (1452) is worth notice as an illustration of the care with which the interests not only of the craft but of the

sutor calcearius. It is noteworthy that in Scotland, instead of cordwainer, the term 'soutar' was used to describe a shoemaker. The term cordwainer and its variants, cordyner, corviser, corviner, etc., all come from the same source. A Spanish leather made originally at Cordova, hence called Cordovan, was held in repute for use in bootmaking. The leather at first was made from goatskins, dressed with alum and salt (*aluta*), but the same term was afterwards applied to dressed horse hides, shaved to a suitable substance for boot uppers. Cordovan came to be called Cordewane ('In gilden buskins of costly cordewayne.'—Spenser, *Faerie Queen*, Book II, cant. 3, stanza 27), and the user of it a cordewainer. In slightly differing forms the word is found in Italian, French, and Dutch as Cordovaniere, Cordonnier, Kordewanier, etc.

³ The lights and torches above mentioned were probably for use in St. Catherine's Chapel, which appears to have been attended by the craft. The fullers, fishmongers, and tailors appear to have had their special lights in the great church of All Saints, Northampton, but not so the cordwainers.—R. M. Serjeantson, *All Saints', Northampton*, pp. 48, 61, et seq.

⁴ *Liber Custumarum*, fols. 30, 31. The original is unpunctuated, but stops have been introduced for convenience.

⁵ *Ibid.* fols. 59, 60.

¹ One, however, of the ancient deeds at the Record Office, A 6444, mentions two shops 'in Rengo Sutorum,' Northampton, 34 Edw. III.

² The Latin term is *Ars Allutiariorum*, and is an example of the curious inconsequence of the time. Although it obviously is used here to describe a cordwainer or cordyner, its literal meaning is a worker in alum-dressed leather, which the shoemaker was forbidden to touch, he being ordered by the assize only to use 'good neat's leather thorough tanned and curried.' See under 'Leather'; and assize of a cordwainer.—*Borough Records*, i, 348. The more obvious way of rendering cordwainer into Latin would be

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town markets were guarded. Here it is ordered that no craftsman having a shop in the town shall be allowed to exhibit his shoes for sale in the market-place. Regulations of the relation between masters and journeymen were also framed.

Any journeyman detected in theft shall not be allowed to continue to work in the town.

Any journeyman, or workman by the day, coming into the town and obtaining work, after one month shall pay 2*d.* to the lights and torches of the craft, and if he stay longer shall pay 1*d.* every quarter.

The penalty for a shopkeeper exposing his shoes for sale in the market-place is 20*d.* to the town chest and 20*d.* to the torches and lights of the craft.

Just a century later (30 January, 1551-2)¹ an order of the town authorities, confirmed in substance the regulations previously made, with the exception that the fines were to be divided between the town chest and 'the occupation.' There were also the following additions. :—

Every shoemaker 'setting up shop' in the town that has not been apprenticed there is to pay 30*s.*—13*s.* 4*d.* to the mayor, a like sum to the 'chamber of the town,' and 3*s.* 4*d.* to the 'occupation.'

For one that has been locally apprenticed the payment is 16*s.* 8*d.*—10*s.* to the mayor and 3*s.* 4*d.* each to the chamber and occupation; while a shoemaker born in the town is to pay 3*s.* 4*d.* only, half to the mayor and half to the occupation.²

The ordinance further decreed that no shoemaker within the town should exhibit his goods for sale either in the market-place or *before* his shop; and no shoemaker not being a franchised man should show or sell any boots and shoes within the liberties of this town under penalty of confiscation.

All master shoemakers shall assemble on the 25 October (St. Crispin's Day), by the consent of the mayor, and choose two discreet men of their occupation

'to reve and serche all manner off hides being barkyd and solde within any place off this town for thintent to knowe whether they be lawfully wrought or no and that no man put anye on sale before they be serchyed and sealyd upon payne off forfayture of all soche hydes so put to sale halff to the Mayor, halff to the occupation.'³

It is also ordered that the wardens of the craft shall yearly collect and gather fines and render a

clear account of the same to the mayor and chamberlains and

'Further if any of the said Occupation be it mr. or Jorneyman do Resist or wilfully stond in any Contention with the Wardens of the occupation contrary, as master to paye for every tyme offendinge vi^{viij}^d ut supra . . . and every Jorneyman xij^d ut supra.'

One other clause is suggestive of the tiresome restrictions which hampered the mere wage-earner or journeyman, for such a one having worked for any master for the 'space of a fortnight or longer and so departeth out of the town and within a quarter of a year doth return again,' is forced to offer his services to his old master before he may seek work elsewhere; and no other master is permitted to employ him unless this course has been taken, under penalty of 6*s.* 8*d.*, half to the mayor and half to the occupation.

In 1555 Robert Horsley and William Saunders, masters of the shoemakers, delivered the 'funds of the holle corporation of corviers craft the some of iij iij^s ij^d' to Thomas Grene, the chamberlain of the town, for its safe keeping.⁴

In a curious book entitled *KAINIKH*, or 'Diet of the Diseased,' published by John Beale, London, in 1633, and written by Dr. James Hart of Northampton, an interesting account is given of the attempt that was made to introduce new industries into the town. Dr. Hart does not even name shoemaking as one of the trades of the town, but it is possible that the movement which he initiated together with Alderman Danby resulted in an impetus being given to the local shoe trade.

At any rate, within a few years Northampton was in a position to justify Fuller's statement that 'the town of Northampton may be said to stand chiefly on other men's legs, where (if not the best) the most and cheapest boots and stockens are bought in England.'⁵

In the year 1642 Northampton executed a large order for boots and shoes for the soldiers destined for Ireland, and had much difficulty in obtaining payment for the same. On 16 April, 1651, Thomas Pendleton and twelve other shoemakers of Northampton petitioned the Committee for Compounding for an order for the Lady-day rents of the estate of Wm. Baud of Walgrave, Northants, a Popish recusant and delinquent, in discharge of their account for furnishing the Treasurers-at-War for Ireland in 1642 by special order of a Committee of Parliament, with 4,000

¹ *Northampton Boro. Rec.* ii, 293.

² In many towns it was both difficult and expensive to obtain the franchise, but in Northampton the freedom of the borough could be obtained in five ways: by birth, by marriage with the daughter of a freeman, by apprenticeship, by purchase, and by gift.

³ See article 'Leather.'

⁴ *Northampton Boro. Rec.* ii, 264.

⁵ Fuller, *Worthies*, 279. An ordinance of 18 Jan. 1656, may point to a reviving of the boot industry, for at an assembly held on that date, 'It was ordered and agreed that the shoemakers shall have A Constitution amongst themselves as other Tradesmen have, and as heretofore they commonly have had.'

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pairs of shoes and 600 pairs of boots for the soldiers there, which they were forced to send to London with a great convoy of horse whereby they were £1,000 out of purse. The House of Commons by order of 17 January, 1648, had authorized the committee of the Goldsmiths' Hall to sell the said estate and pay petitioners. In order thereto the county committee on direction of the late Committee for Compounding, let the said estate to petitioners for £400 a year for three years ended at Michaelmas last, but £208 7s. 6d. was still due to them.¹

In 1648 a further supply of shoes was furnished to Cromwell's army.

On 1 August the committee of both houses resolved

'To write to the Committee of the Army acquainting them that the Committee of Northants have furnished the forces with Lieut. Genl. Cromwell with 2,500 pr of shoes upon condition that they might have the assessments of that County.'

The letter was sent on the following day.²

Again, in 1689 we find Northampton sending boots to Ireland, this time to William III's army. William Harbord, who was paymaster to the forces, writes to the king under date 28 September of that year, and tells him many of the army had neither clothes to their backs nor shoes to their feet; 'we hope that there are come over the 4,000 which I bespoke at Northampton.' On 23 October he writes again—

'4,000 pair of shoes have been distributed which I caused to be made in Northampton. At first Lieut. Gen. Douglas said they were the best and cheapest he ever met with, but now he does not like them, though all the English Colonels do.'³

Throughout the eighteenth century shoes for the army⁴ appear to have been made in Northampton, and the local paper, the *Northampton Mercury*, the first number of which appeared in 1720, contains many allusions (chiefly in early years in the form of advertisements) to the trade, which was evidently growing in magnitude.

The first advertisement relative to the trade appears in volume viii, 29 October, 1727.

'John Hockliffe, shoemaker, who lived in the Women's Market in the Drapery in Northampton, is removed to his own house in the Merold, near the Milstones at the Bearward St. End, where you may be kindly used for Boots and Shoes and Clogs⁵ at reasonable rates.'

¹ *Cal. of Com. for Compounding*, p. 432, 1806.

² *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1648-9, 227, 230.

³ *S.P. Dom.* William and Mary, 1689-90.

⁴ 'Last Saturday morning 1,000 pairs of shoes were sent from this town to the army in Staffordshire.' *Northampton Mercury*, Dec. 9, 1745.

⁵ The clog was an article to be worn, sometimes over a light boot in bad weather, a forerunner of the rubber overshoe, sometimes in place of a boot. It had generally a wooden sole with a leather forepart and heel piece. A survival may be seen to-day in use in

In 1761, William Marriot, patten and heel-maker of Kettering, advertises for a journeyman.

On 19 November, 1733, is the following, 'Arthur Lewis, Last Maker, St. Giles' Street, near the Square, where shoemakers or others may be furnished with lasts of all sorts, with shoe trees and boot trees.' The 'last' is a block of wood shaped to the form of a foot and is used as a 'core' upon which the boot is made. In early days the cordwainer would make his own lasts, and Arthur Lewis may have been a pioneer in making a separate business of supplying these necessary articles. Whether he prospered or no we cannot tell, but the British workman, and perhaps especially the shoemaker, is conservative in his methods, which fact a later advertisement of April, 1765, seems to illustrate: 'For sale, stock in trade of a Last Maker, William Catterns in the Drapery, Northampton (only last maker in Northampton).'

It is evident too, that besides army work, Northampton had been employed in making shoes for exportation abroad. An allusion will be found in the *Northampton Mercury* of 8 November, 1740, to the decline of that branch of the trade.

On 16 February, 1767, is the first allusion to shoemaking in Wellingborough, when S. Sharman, junior, required journeymen. E. Bradley of the same town also wanted men in 1775. There was a great increase in the demand for labour at this time, no doubt owing to the American War and the demand for boots for the army—Raunds, Long Buckby, Thornby, Kettering, Cold Ashby, and Daventry all wanting shoemakers, showed that the trade was spreading into the country.

In Kettering the army shoe trade was entered by Mr. Thomas Gotch in 1778. Mr. Gotch was a banker, currier, and leather-dresser, as well as shoe manufacturer, and is generally credited with originating the wholesale shoe trade in Kettering, which, however, did not begin to

stable yards by those engaged in carriage washing. In Lancashire the clog has long been used in place of a boot. The upper leathers are fastened to the wooden sole in the same manner as the leather is secured to the wood in a pair of bellows. The clog must not be confounded with the patten (the word is from the French *patin*, and not as Gay suggests, 'The Patten now supports each frugal dame, which from the blue-eyed Patty takes its name.') which was a commoner article consisting of a wooden sole to be fastened to the shoe with cords or a leather strap. It had no leather toe or heel-piece. Two specimens of fifteenth-century date may be seen in the mediaeval room at the British Museum, and in the Guildhall Museum, London, are a wooden clog sole with leather hinge, and a leather-soled clog with heel and heel-strap of same period, and a leather clog with long pointed toe of earlier date. In Bethnal Green and Northampton Museums are twenty diagrams by Miss F. N. Harley illustrating various kinds of boots and shoes and pattens of different periods.

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develop to any extent till nearly a century later (1864).

It is true that an advertisement for a journeyman heelmaker for Kettering (which presupposes bootmaking) appears in 1761, but the heels may have been sold elsewhere. Heel-making seems to have been one of the first subdivisions of the trade. W. Hilary, heelmaker, Northampton, often advertises for journeymen heelmakers about this time, and it would appear that heels were now purchased ready made for attaching to the boot. They were most probably made of wood.¹ Wooden heels on women's shoes are met with in the seventeenth century.

In 1792 Mr. Cary, of Wellingborough, required '500 shoemakers on military work at 11d. per pair and continual employ.'² From this time till the end of the Peninsular War there appears to have been considerable increase in the trade. It is stated that Mr. Spencer Percival interested himself in obtaining contracts for Northampton. He was deputy recorder and afterwards recorder of the town for some years, and its representative in Parliament from 1796 to 1812, when he was assassinated in the lobby of the House.

The growth of the trade is illustrated by the increased number of shoemakers with votes. In the election of 1768, out of 1,149 voters 169 were shoemakers; while at that of 1816, out of 1,287 voters they numbered 310.³

By 1779 it is worth the while of London tradesmen to advertise in a Northampton paper:

'Thos. Smith & Co., shoemakers in the Borough High Street, London, to any shoemakers that make shoes for the London trade mentioning every sort he makes and his lowest price and what quantities he can send may depend on orders directly.'

In 1783:—

'A person wants to have a few Men's wax flats made in Northampton where wages are reasonable. Apply Mr. Nicholls, Bishopsgate Without, London.'

Whether he obtained his wish does not appear, but if so he probably inaugurated the system called 'basket work,' in which leather ready cut, and later 'uppers' ready closed, together with leather for the bottoming, were sent from London or elsewhere to Northampton to be made up into boots. There is at least one firm doing this at the present time, and it was not uncommon in the latter half of the nineteenth century. For many years Northampton manufacturers have had a lower grade boot than could

be made in the town manufactured in the neighbouring villages by this means.

From the foregoing and other advertisements not otherwise of special interest, it is plain that shoemakers in Northampton were prepared to work for less wages than their fellow craftsmen in London. This appears always to have been the case, for as late as 1872 surprise is expressed by a London writer at the lowness of wages in Northampton.⁴

For making an army boot the price was 22d. in 1808, and this probably represented a substantial advance on the price paid a few years previously, as would be natural considering the increased demand for labour. In the making of a boot a considerable amount of skill was necessary, only to be acquired by years of training and instruction. Apprenticeship to the craft was for seven years,⁵ but it was supposed to require twelve to turn out a real craftsman. This being so, extra labour could not easily be obtained, and as a natural consequence wages would rise. As early as 1762 there was issued a 'Proclamation against exercising the craft of Cordwainer without having served an apprenticeship.'⁶ Even at 22d. per pair the shoemaker would not be able to earn a large wage. An exceptionally quick man might be able to make two pairs a day, working twelve to fourteen hours and with his wife's help, but the average craft would not do more than a pair and a half. The workman had also to supply his own grindery,⁷ tacks, thread, wax, etc., a not inconsiderable item, and of course his 'kit,'⁸ or working tools.

As the art of making shoes by hand is fast dying out and may soon be a thing of the past,

⁴ John Delvin, *The Shoemaker*, London, 1872.

⁵ Children were bound apprentice at a very early age. In the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, often as early as seven and never older than twelve. *Northampton Boro. Rec.* ii, 321.

⁶ Northampton, 9 May, 1761.

⁷ The materials with which the shoemaker works came to be called grindery in the following way: Formerly, before hemp, flax, wax, and bristles were sold as now in shops set apart for this particular business, the shoemaker not using the peculiar sort of rubbing stone and emery composition which he later used with which to sharpen his knife was in the habit of taking his blade to be ground at the grinder's. The knife-grinder having thus the shoemaker for a regular customer, began in time to add to his usual business the sale of hemp, etc., required by the craft; hence, his little shop being termed the grindery, everything he sold became known under that name. See James Delvin, *The Shoemaker*.

⁸ Anciently and in the old songs of the trade the 'kit' was called St. Hugh's bones. In Stow and in Randle Holmes's *Academie of Armorie*, 1688, we find this term, as also in the older romance of Crispin and Crispianus, and in the two plays *The Shoemaker is a Gentleman* and *the Shoemaker's Holiday* of the beginning of the seventeenth century. James Delvin, *The Shoemaker*.

¹ The fact that Wm. Hilary was also a lastmaker points to this.

² No army boot could be made at such a price. These 'militaries' were probably a cheap imitation, of inferior material and workmanship; Mr. Cary perhaps really required half a dozen hands.

³ Hall MS. *Northampton Boro. Rec.* ii, 505 *et seq.*

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it will be well to place on record in this history of Northamptonshire (essentially a shoemaking county) a short description of the methods employed.

We will take the boot as supplied to the army in the eighteenth century. It should be mentioned that a boot of that class (a fairly strong boot) was produced by practically the same process as had obtained at least a century earlier, and was continued with little development till 1860.

Fashion in shape and style varied often, but the way in which the boot was fastened together remained the same. The boot complete consists of 'upper' and 'bottom.' In the trade the term 'upper' comprises all that part of the boot to which the sole and heel are attached—the upper portion, in short. The expression 'bottom' covers not only the sole and heel, but the connecting portions between them and the 'upper,' which are styled 'insole' and 'welt.'

Now for its making: Firstly, the 'upper' must be produced. From a calf skin or a cordovan hide are cut pieces of leather in such shapes that when sewn together they should be capable of being moulded into a comfortable covering for the foot. These pieces of leather must be joined carefully, in some cases the thickness of the material rendering a sharp piercer of steel necessary with which to make a hole, through which the bristle, and in its wake the well-waxed thread, may pass. 'Closing' is the trade term applied to this process. Until the end of the eighteenth century the upper was closed by the journeyman shoemaker or members of his family; after that time 'closing' was made a special branch of the craft. This done, the 'upper' and a sufficient supply of leather for the bottom is placed in the hands of the cordwainer. Taking the wooden 'last,' he attaches with a few short nails to its underside enough leather to cover it cut from the side (belly) or top end (shoulder) of a well-tanned hide, where the leather is moderately thin and pliable. This is called the 'insole,' and it is pared with a sharp knife close to the edge of the 'last.'

Stretching the 'upper' on the 'last' till it lies over its underside and upon the 'insole' for about half an inch all round, he pins it temporarily to the said 'insole' with a few nails (lasting tacks). Next he takes a strip of leather about an inch wide (the welt), and running it around the outside edge of the 'last' so that it lies upon the portion of the 'upper' which is tacked to the 'insole,' sews by means of a sharp, pointed, curved steel awl and a hog's bristle attached to a waxed thread the 'insole,' 'upper,' and 'welt' together in the following manner: The curved awl is thrust downward first, then upward, half through the thickness of the insole, and right through the portion of upper lying thereon and the welt.

A sufficient hole being made the awl is withdrawn and the stitch made. A well-waxed thread a yard or more long has a stiff hog's bristle attached to each end. One end is passed into the hole from right to left, the other from left to right, and pulled up tight. The result is a seam not only of great strength, but practically waterproof, as special care is taken that the hole made by the awl shall only be of a size that will be completely filled by the waxed thread. The three substances are thus united.

All lasting tacks and nails are then withdrawn and soft leather put up the centre of the 'last' to make all level. Next the sole (the thick piece of leather which actually meets the ground) is stitched to the 'welt,' the heel attached, the whole smoothed and finished and the 'last' pulled out from the top of the now completed boot.

Lighter-substance boots, shoes, and slippers were made in a different way; that is to say, on the turnshoe, sewround, or pump principle. Taking the 'last,' the operator fastened to its underside the sole, *wrong side up*, with the grain or outer surface to the 'last.' The 'sole' was well wetted to render it pliable. Then taking the 'upper' he turned it inside-out, and in that condition shaped it over the 'last' and attached it to the sole by sewing. This done, the 'last' was withdrawn and the boot turned outside-in and again put on to the 'last,' when it was properly moulded into shape and allowed to dry. Of course, for this method neither a very stout 'upper' nor thick 'sole' could be employed, or the turning outside-in would have been an impossibility. All light 'pump' work, dancing shoes, slippers, and such-like are still made in this manner, and also the thin top-boots worn by jockeys.

The antiquity of these methods is so great that it is impossible to date it. Not only were all light boots made in this way from the sixteenth century onward, but before that time there does not appear to have been any other method employed at all. For such stronger boots as were required it appears that a second 'sole' was sometimes superimposed,¹ but all boots and shoes were made on the turnshoe or weltless principle, for it should be observed that in these boots was neither 'welt' nor 'insole.'²

¹ Two specimens in the Guildhall Museum, London.

² Some very interesting examples of shoes belonging to the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, made on this principle, may be seen at the Guildhall, London, and in the Northampton Museum. A shoemaker did his work seated on a low stool and held it across his knees, keeping it firm by means of a strap (called stirrup) passed over the shoe or boot on his lap and under his foot. As an anvil on which to hammer out the seams and level the bottoms he used a circular stone or pebble laid on his knees or lap. Whence the old saying: 'You may

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The appended price list of 1764 will be of interest to anyone connected with the shoe trade :—

FOOT-GEAR, THOMAS CLARK, MERCER'S ROW,
NORTHAMPTON

	<i>Men's</i>		<i>Bespoke</i>	
	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Best Calf-skin Boots	16	0	20	0
Double Channel Pumps . . .	6	0	7	0
Single Channel Pumps . . .	5	6	6	0
Neat-stitched Heels and Pumps	5	0	6	0
Neat flat Shoes and Pumps, waxed or black grain . . .	4	3	5	0
Best flat Shoes and turned Pumps	4	9	5	6
Strong plain Double or Single sole Shoes	4	0	4	9
<i>Women's</i>				
Everlasting and Calimanco . .	3	9	4	6
Superfine do. lined with Linen or Leather Socks	4	3	5	0
Neat and strong Leather Pumps	2	9	3	2
Neat and strong Leather Shoes .	2	6	2	10
Black Leather Clogs	—	—	2	6
Toed Clogs	—	—	3	10

By the end of the eighteenth century the closing of uppers was becoming a separate branch of the trade.

In 1799 appears :—

‘Wanted a number of real good hands on men's work—H. W. Brown, Sheaf Street, and Mr. Wilcox, World's End, Daventry. Present wages 18*d.* light work *ready for the last*, 17*d.* wax flats.’

Below we give a list of the names that have been met with connected with the trade during the eighteenth century :

- 1727 John Hockliffe, Shoemaker, ‘Merold,’ Northampton
- 1733 Arthur Lewis, Last Maker, St. Giles' Street, Northampton
- 1741 Francis Greenough, Shoemaker, Market Place, Northampton
- 1757 Mr. Evans, Wholesale Shoemaker, Northampton
- 1762 Richard Rands, Shoemaker, Gold Street, Northampton
- 1762 John Farren, Shoemaker, Northampton
- 1762 William Hilary, Heelmaker, Northampton
- 1765 John Warner, Shoemaker, Drapery, Northampton
- 1765 Wm. Catterns, Lastmaker, Drapery, Northampton
- 1767 S. Sharman, Jr., Shoemaker, Wellingborough
- 1769 Peach & Sons, Shoemakers, Horsemarket, Northampton
- 1771 Thos. Lord, Shoemaker, Mercers' Row, Northampton
- 1772 John Watlock, Shoemaker, Bearward Street, Northampton
- 1773 W. Hilary (as above), Lastmaker, Northampton

know when you are within a mile of Northampton by the smell of leather and the noise of the cobblers' lapstones.’ In the early nineteenth century the lapstones were superseded by a flat iron with the handle removed.

- 1774 John Luck, Shoemaker, Bridge Street, Northampton
- 1775 E. Bradley, Shoemaker, Wellingborough
- 1775 Jos. Mawby, Shoemaker, St. James' End, Northampton
- 1776 B. James, Shoemaker, Horsemarket, Northampton
- 1776 Benjn. Smith, Shoemaker, Thornby
- 1780 Thomas Gotch, Shoemaker, Kettering
- 1780 John Charter, Shoemaker, Cornhill, Kettering
- 1780 Samuel Judkins, Shoemaker, Daventry
- 1780 John Warner, Shoemaker, Drapery, Northampton
- 1780 John Brown, Shoemaker, Bridge Street, Northampton
- 1781 — Groom, Shoemaker, Wellingborough
- 1786 Timothy Roberts, Lastmaker, College Lane, Northampton
- 1786 William Cartwright, Shoemaker, Abington Street, Northampton
- 1786 Peter Dunkley, Shoemaker, Wellingborough
- 1788 John Fowkes, Shoemaker, Drapery, Northampton
- 1788 Thomas Borton, Shoemaker, Horsemarket, Northampton
- 1789 William Moss, Cold Ashby
- 1789 Jos. Pettifer, Shoemaker, Kettering
- 1790 Joseph Essam, Kettering (advertises that he has discovered the art of making shoes, pumps, and channels, without thread, wax, or any kind of stitch)
- 1791 William Smith, Shoemaker, Mayorhold, Northampton
- 1792 S. Judkins, Shoemaker, Daventry
- 1792 William Davis, Shoemaker, Wellingborough
- 1792 S. Coles, Shoemaker, Raunds
- 1792 C. King, Shoemaker, Bridge Street, Northampton
- 1792 J. Hall, Shoemaker, Gold Street, Northampton
- 1792 — Cary, Shoemaker, Sheep Street, Wellingborough
- 1794 Wm. Bodgener, Shoemaker, Oundle (his name is included, although it is practically certain that he was a bespoke bootmaker only)
- 1796 J. G. Hasell, Shoemaker, Wood Hill, Northampton
- 1796 — Fowks, Bootmaker, Drapery, Northampton
- 1798 Billingham, Bootmaker, Drapery, Northampton
- 1799 H. W. Brown, Shoemaker, Sheaf Street, Daventry
- 1799 Mr. Wilcox, Shoemaker, World's End, Daventry

Some of these (it is impossible to say which) may have been ‘bespoke’ bootmakers, employing two or three hands only, but that many were in a large way of business may be inferred from the number of men they require. In Kettering it is practically certain that Mr. Gotch was the only ‘manufacturer.’

From an exceedingly interesting MS. ‘Life of William Hickson,’ founder of the firm of William Hickson & Sons (kindly lent to the writer by Alderman Hickson of Northampton, the present head of the firm), and which has not before been printed, some valuable information as to the condition of the shoe trade in the first years of the nineteenth century is obtainable. The life

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was compiled by his eldest son William, who for many years was associated with his father in the boot manufacturing business, which he afterwards relinquished for literary work.

The subject of the 'memoir' was born in 1781 and apprenticed at the age of fourteen to bootmaking. In 1801 he commenced business in the bespoke trade on his own account in London, but desiring to enter the wholesale trade and the manufacture of boots for exportation, he journeyed in 1806 to Northampton, 'the principal seat of the manufacture,' the trade having been driven out of London 'by trade combination for high wages.' Of 1811 the history says:—

'The trade of Northampton at this time, from the demands of the war and the high wages maintained in London by the Trades Unions, was rapidly on the increase, but a great inconvenience had begun to be felt among shoe manufacturers for the want of a London Agency for the disposal of their goods. Every manufacturer as he accumulated surplus stock had to find his own market and collect his own book debts, objects which involved frequent journeys to town, and in those days, when there were no railroads and no penny post, great loss of time and expense. The custom was to send a few hampers of shoes by canal to some London firm, follow them by coach, and lodge at the inn till they were sold.

'My father called the manufacturers together and proposed to them an association for renting a warehouse in London as a general dépôt for their goods, to which naturally all buyers would be attracted, and placing the whole under the charge of a managing agent to be remunerated by a small commission on the sales. The scheme found favour; he was appointed manager; warehouses for a shoe dépôt were taken on the George Yard, Smithfield, in 1812. The George Yard dépôt was at first a success. It facilitated greatly the trade of those who supported it, but not equally. The goods of some manufacturers sold more readily than those of others, as either better or cheaper. Some lost customers instead of gaining them by the dépôt, buyers profiting by the variety of choice afforded them and going from one manufacturer to another. In fact, the principles of individual competition and mutual co-operation would not work well together, and hence arose jealousies and divisions which ultimately broke up the original establishment and substituted for it a number of private commission houses upon a less comprehensive model.'

Mr. Hickson continued in London as a general commission agent, and the journal speaks of the flourishing state of the wholesale shoe trade owing to great demand for shoes occasioned by the war, but a graphic description is given of the subsequent distress.

'The cessation of an extravagant war expenditure, and the bad harvest of 1816, when in November the price of bread rose to 1s. 3½d. the quartern loaf, began the period of severe commercial depression from which the shoe trade suffered with other interests and was slow to recover. The war had been successful, but its cost had been fearful, and the supplies for the

British Army in Portugal and Spain had been so ill-managed that the Government stores had been augmented to an extent ten times greater than the actual need, while our troops were constantly complaining of insufficiency. While the soldiers of Wellington were fighting barefoot, 30,000 pairs of army shoes per week were passing through my father's hands, which, by the instructions given him through the head contractors, were shipped to every port in Spain and Portugal but the right one, the army having generally marched to some other part of the country before the shoes arrived. The war ended, these were re-imported and thrown upon the market, and month after month for some years sales by auction were advertised by Government. Quantities of shoes and other articles of military clothing, which did not realise half their cost price, were sacrificed by Government either as useless or to prevent a collapse of revenue. Scabbards and pouches were sold in sufficient quantities to affect sensibly the ordinary demand for leather, and every trade that an extravagant Government expenditure had unduly stimulated was now in a proportionate degree paralysed.'

In 1813, in 15 May issue of the *Mercury*, a curious kind of fraud is brought to notice. '*Caution and Reward*: Shoemakers that have been in the habit of using clay in the bottoms of shoes will be prosecuted.'

The clay was presumably used as bottom filling, and would perhaps when dry produce a spurious firmness and solidity. One case was taken into court by way of warning, and the issue of 23 May reports the same:—

'George Neal, a journeyman shoemaker, was last week convicted before John Chambers and Charles Smith, Esq., two of His Majesty's justices of the peace for this town, in the penalty or damages of £5 for wilfully spoiling the materials for ten pairs of shoes by improperly making them up and putting a quantity of clay between the soles.'

In 1817 Stephen Haslock, Newland, Northampton, offers for sale jockey boots, £1 18s.; Wellingtons, £1 5s.; ditto long, £1 8s.; Hessians, £1; Regents, 18s.; Blucher, 14s.; short ditto, 12s.

¹ During the preparation of this article (1905) the writer has had the opportunity of discussing various questions with an old stitchman or cordwainer who was apprenticed at the age of eleven, sixty-nine years ago! This man immediately exclaimed, when hearing of the incident mentioned above, 'Why, we did very much the same thing in the thirties!' It appears that masters giving out work to be 'made' only supplied 'bottom filling' for the higher grades. The shoemakers therefore obtained leather-dust from the curriers, which could be had for the asking, and damping it, employed it for the same purpose as their predecessors had the clay. That these old customs, illicit though they may be, die hard is evidenced by a case in the Northampton Court of 22 Dec. 1857, when a man was sent to prison for one month for using curriers' shavings for fittings in making up army boots, and converting the pieces of leather served out to him by his employer, Mr. M. P. Manfield, to his own use.

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The above represented the class of boots generally worn at this date. Jockey boots were, of course, for riding, and possessed coloured 'tops' as at present. The Wellington was introduced into the army by the 'Iron Duke' to displace the old jack boot. The front of the 'leg' covered the knee, but the leather was cut away at the back. In a modified form it was worn in civil life under the trousers until the third quarter of the nineteenth century. It was shorter than the military boot and was sometimes made with japanned (patent) leather foot and coloured leg of softer leather. The Hessian reached well over the calf, had a stiffer leg than the Wellington, and was bound round the top with coloured silk cord, two tassels of which hung down in front. First worn by the Hessian troops, it was fashionable in the early nineteenth century. It was worn over tight pantaloons. The Blucher was a half-boot or high shoe which laced at the front. The Regent was a half-boot also, but did not lace.

The wages for making Wellingtons ranged from as much as four shillings a pair for best work to as little as half a crown. One pair would be a good day's work. The pay for making Bluchers was 1s. 4d. to 1s. 10d.

In 1821, London tradesmen are again found desiring Northampton-made boots, Wellingtons, jockey tops, and men's, women's, and children's; a regular supply is asked for, and trade is apparently in a flourishing condition.¹ There seems, however, to have been at times friction between the masters and the men; nor is this surprising when we remember the low rate of wages earned, a state of things which the operatives would naturally attempt to remedy. That they did so attempt, and that their efforts were resented by their employers, is intimated by the following notice of May, 1825:

To the Boot and Shoe Trades.

Wanted, a number of young men who, understanding the shoe business, will meet with suitable instructions in the art of Boot Making. Also persons desirous of improving themselves in the art of Shoemaking have the opportunity of receiving the most efficient instruction; and a considerable number of young men wishing to learn the art of Boot and Shoe Making will

¹ The following list, which is taken from the Poll Book of 1820, shows that the number of wholesale shoe manufacturers in Northampton had increased materially. They then numbered eighteen: Henry Auld, Drapery; Wm. B. Borton, Horsemarket; James Brown, St. Giles' Street; Wm. Dawes, Bearward Street; John Edens, Abington Street; John Groom, Abington Street; Wm. Haslock, Bridge Street; Wm. James, Marefair; Thos. Marshall, Bearward Street; James Marshall, Gold Street; Jas. Mason, Woolmonger Street; Chas. Morris, Marefair; Wm. Parker, Wood Street; Wm. Penn, Bridge Street; John D. Penny, Kingswell Street; John Spencer, Gold Street; Thos. G. Thompson, South Quarter; Abraham Yates, Bearward Street.

be provided with suitable instructions by applying to the Manufacturers of Northampton, who are determined their shops shall be free.

N.B.—Steady and industrious masters who are free journeymen and good workmen are ready to engage a considerable number of apprentices.²

A few years subsequently the pressure seems to have been relieved, and the difficulty of finding sufficient workmen is replaced by scarcity of work.

In 1829 we find a petition from the journeymen cordwainers of Northampton to the House of Commons, 'Sheweth that your petitioners are in great distress owing to the want of regular employment and the low price of wages.' They attribute their troubles to the prevalent price of corn and the heavy taxation of the country, etc., and state that they

'are well satisfied of the good intentions of Government in removing prohibitions and leaving this Country to combat with Foreign Trade upon the Superiority of their own Manufacture in cases where Foreign Countries will allow the same free Importation to theirs.'

At the beginning of the nineteenth century a shoe manufacturer's premises would be quite small, in some cases merely a private house, as most of the work was done in the people's homes. An advertisement in the *Mercury* of January, 1824, is of interest as mentioning an article of foot covering probably unheard of by most people, examples of which are rarely met with.

'Patent Gambadoes or Mud Boots manufactured by Goodman and Son, Drapery.'

Gambadoes were large leather cases in the shape of a boot, and were fixed to the saddle to protect the rider's legs and feet from the cold or mud. They reached the knee, and were of two kinds: the earlier had heavy soles and a wide stiff leg built large enough for the foot with its ordinary covering to be slipped in; it looked like a boot of exaggerated size. The later type was merely a case of stiff leather blocked into a shape so as to cover the whole of the foot and lower leg. It was made in two parts, a left and right, and fastened together with straps. There is an example of each kind in the Northampton Museum.³ We take the following from a report of the Northampton Town Council dated 1839:

'When a shoemaker is committed to hard labour in the County Gaol he is put upon the seat and made to

² *Northampton Mercury*, 28 May, 1825.

³ Gambadoes are mentioned as early as 1656 by Blount; and Fuller in his *Worthies* says that they were much worn in the west, 'whereby whilst one rides on horseback his legs are in a coach, clean and warm.' Elsworth, in his *West Somerset Word Book* (published 1886), says they were common within his own recollection. He describes them as a leather case or shield for the legs of horsemen.

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earn 8s. to 10s. per week. Mr. H. Marshall has himself paid six or seven pounds per week for shoes made in the gaol, but it was stated the other day by Mr. Thomas Marshall that he had paid as much as thirty pounds at a time to the governor for work of the same kind.*

The competition arising from these prison-made goods was much objected to, and was subsequently dealt with by legislation.

In 1843 three journeymen shoemakers were brought before the magistrates charged with intimidation to prevent others from receiving work from their employer, J. P. Lloyd of the Parade, Northampton. It appeared that Mr. Lloyd's shop was on strike, and for some time past the premises had been watched and workmen repeatedly insulted and threatened. The charge was dismissed on the men promising that the watch should be taken off. This is the earliest instance of 'picketing' met with in the local shoe trade.

About the year 1847 a new method of shoe-making was introduced from America by which the uppers and bottoms were fastened together by means of wooden pegs. The upper was lasted in the ordinary way and the sole tacked on, and the pegs driven right through sole, upper, and insole. These pegs were made at first by hand, and baked in an oven for shrinkage. When driven into place in the slightly dampened leather, the wood swelled and held everything fast; the ends which projected through the insole were removed by special tools. The pegs were soon imported ready-cut from America, which had quickly provided a machine for their manufacture.

The result was an excellent boot for hard wear, and soon partly replaced the cheap hand-sewn goods. The latter were far from satisfactory; the low wages paid for making them had resulted in producing a very shoddy article. Earls Barton was soon prominent in 'pegged work' and obtained large orders from Liverpool. For seamen's and firemen's boots the style is still popular, and for footgear that is constantly wet the wooden peg is more durable than any stitching.

To show the gradual development of the trade during the third quarter of the nineteenth century, we give the following summary compiled from old directories and other sources:

The numbers denote boot and shoe manufacturers only and not bespoke bootmakers.

	1847	1854	1864	1870	1877
Bozeat . . .	—	—	—	1	6
Cogenhoe . .	—	—	—	—	1
Daventry . .	12	9	8	6	7
Desborough .	—	—	—	2	3
Earls Barton .	7	4	3	5	8
Finedon . . .	—	1	2	0	6
Higham Ferrers .	4	5	6	7	6
Irchester . . .	—	—	—	—	1
Irthlingborough .	1	3	6	5	10

	1847	1854	1864	1870	1877
Kettering . .	1	1	4	21	24
Long Buckby .	2	1	2	3	5
Northampton .	60	74	96	94	125
Raunds . . .	1	1	0	1	4
Rothwell . . .	—	—	—	—	2
Wellingborough .	9	13	16	13	9
Wollaston . .	1	0	2	1	3

There were boot agents for the making up of 'basket work' in Bozeat, Ringstead, Slapton, Brackley, Burton Latimer, and Rushden; and shoe work also was made in Walgrave, Holcot, Harpole, Kissingbury, Piddington, Rothersthorpe, Wootton, Wollaston, Roade, Bugbrooke, Towcester, and Yardley Hastings.

On 25 February, 1850, a meeting of journeymen shoemakers to the number of over 1,000 was held at the New Hall. The speeches at the meeting do not appear from the report (*Northampton Herald* of 2 March, 1850) to have been either inflammatory or revolutionary in tone. Indeed, considering the grievances the workmen were suffering, one is surprised at their moderation.

Briefly the complaints are: Continual reduction of the men's wages through competition between master and master; the use of the truck system; the necessary employment of young children by their parents that a bare living might be earned. A provisional committee was formed to draw up a plan of organization of workers. In the year 1857 the continual rise of the price of leather caused the boot manufacturers serious trouble, and a meeting was held in London on 19 January to arrange for a general advance in the price of boots.

In the same year an article appeared in the *Herald*¹ of 10 October deploring the bad state of trade in Northampton. It appears there were few orders for the Indian market, Australian trade was not satisfactory, and owing to the unreasonable demands of the officials of the army boot-purchasing department, Northampton manufacturers were refusing to accept any government contracts. Just complaint was made as to the impossibility of satisfying the government officials, who, not having any practical knowledge of the trade, imposed conditions and restrictions of an almost prohibitive nature. It may be said that the groan of the army contractors of 1857 echoes even in 1906!

The same year was eventful for another reason—the attempted introduction of labour-saving machinery into the boot industry. A machine for the 'closing' of boot uppers had been patented by W. F. Thomas & Co., and the manufacturers of Northampton were prepared to give it a trial.

At a mass meeting of operatives held on the Market Square on 9 November, 1857, the object of which was to oppose the introduction

¹ *Northampton Herald*, 10 Oct. 1857.

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of machinery into the trade, statements were made to the effect that in Stafford and Stone the men had fought the masters on the question and won. The workmen of Kendal were execrated as having given way; and it was mentioned that the two or three machines in Northampton must be stopped.

On 13 February, 1858, Green & Co. applied to the magistrates for protection, their work-people having been threatened for using the machine; and a month later two men were committed to prison for twenty-one days for intimidation in connexion with the same firm.

The 'anti-machine' movement continued all through the year 1858, several prosecutions and convictions for intimidation being registered, the penalties gradually becoming more severe. In February, 1859, two men were sent to prison for six weeks for the same offence. The more timid manufacturers had bowed before the storm, but a few made of sterner stuff and with a clearer anticipation of the future of the trade refused to be coerced. They may have educated their fellows, for in February, 1859, practically the whole of the masters came into line and decided to generally introduce the machine. The decision may have been precipitated by an exhibition by Newton, Wilson & Co. at the George Hotel, Northampton, of the machine at work. At the same time a boot wholly made by machinery, that is, not only the uppers but the soles sewn to them by the same means, was shown.

The intelligent manufacturer quickly saw that unless he insisted on keeping abreast of the times, Northampton would lose its trade altogether.

This action gave a fresh impetus to the strike. Within a few weeks a further 400 operatives had left the town, tramping into other districts in search of work. In their own town they had refused to make up into boots any uppers that had been closed by the machine, but in other districts they found themselves forced to do the very thing they were striking against at home.

The general strike lasted but a short time. By March the men's leaders were beseeching them to stand to their guns, but after nine weeks the opposition collapsed and the men started work under the new conditions, it being twenty months since the first shop was struck.

One of the results of the long dislocation of trade was that the industry became more scattered. It is not too much to say that Kendal and Leicester owed to it their start as shoe-making centres at the expense of Northampton and Stafford. The difficulty was complicated by the operatives' fear that not only would the industry be ruined by machinery but that its introduction would lead to a factory system, the idea of which was abhorrent to them. For many years a number of the manufacturers did not possess machines, but gave out their work

to be closed at a settled price per dozen pairs, and the practice even to-day is not wholly discontinued.

About the year 1860 a new branch of the trade was started in Wellingborough. The retail bootman for years (as has been intimated) looked askance at ready-made footwear, but long before his prejudices were entirely broken down it was found that he was willing to purchase closed uppers and bottom them himself. Both Northampton and Wellingborough laid themselves out for this trade, and eventually the latter secured the larger part of it. For thirty years it has been a flourishing industry, though signs are not wanting that it is a decaying one. Wellingborough also produces large quantities of the better class leather gaiters or leggings, to which branch of the trade Northampton also has not failed to turn its attention. During the late war in South Africa large quantities were made in both towns.

EXPORT TRADE

Northampton's staple trade owed much of its prosperity in the middle of the nineteenth century to its foreign trade. With the army boot trade languishing or withdrawing to the smaller centres in the county, and with the difficulty of capturing the retail shop trade¹ still unsurmounted, the West Indian and Australian markets were a boon indeed.

Trade with the former began within a short time after the manumission of the slaves in 1838. By way of expressing their feeling of equality the coloured people began to dress as the whites, at any rate on Sundays; and as they could never be persuaded to attend church unless shod in orthodox foot-gear, the clergy of the islands were actually driven to import boots with which to supply their flocks, and a considerable business resulted.²

Large consignments of boots were also despatched to Canada and Newfoundland, but Australia was the most valuable market of all. The gold rush of 1851 was quickly followed by increased demand for English goods and especially boots. Price was no object. From miners' boots

¹ The late Sir Philip Manfield, who commenced business in Northampton in 1843, remembered seeing notices displayed in shops, 'No Northampton rubbish sold here,' and some of the older living manufacturers have informed the writer that their experience coincides with this.

² Some of the accounts were paid by the missionary societies. Alderman William Hickson, president of the Boot and Shoe Manufacturers' Federation, remembers that a condition with some of the orders was that the boots must *squeak*. It appears some of the coloured people desired that attention should thus be drawn, as they walked up the church, to the fact that they were properly booted!

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to carpet slippers¹ all were accepted and more demanded. In some cases the invoices were sold at a handsome premium before the goods arrived.² Boots were sent out unpriced and sold by auction on arrival, realizing enormous profits. Mr. Ebenezer Homan was one of the earliest in the field, sending out huge consignments of boots and receiving in exchange wool which he disposed of on this side, thus making a double profit.

Between 1852 and 1860 a very large and profitable trade was done, after which a less feverish but quite satisfactory business continued for many years. Unfortunately this gradually got almost entirely into the hands of middlemen—the Australian merchants—who had no practical knowledge of the trade. By continual agitation for cheaper stock and larger discounts they reduced the standard of the English boot offered for sale in Australia to such an extent, that an opinion came to be formed that high-class footwear must be sought elsewhere. An opening was thus made for those American manufacturers who were turning their attention to this market. They were far ahead of the Englishmen in methods of production, and quite willing to supply any article for which there was a demand. Thus our trade gradually shrank in volume, and the large import duties imposed by the Australian government have rendered it still smaller.

The export trade to South Africa, which has since attained to such importance, had its rise at a later date.

INTRODUCTION OF MACHINERY

In 1859 a new method of bootmaking was inaugurated by the introduction into this country of the Mackay or Blake sole-sewing machine. It did not make much headway until after the exhibition of 1861, at which it was shown at work, but soon after was taken up freely by the trade in Northampton and elsewhere. This was a chain-stitch machine, which in one operation sewed through the sole, middle-sole, upper, and in-sole, the thread passing on its way to the needle through heated wax. For more than twenty years the machine-sewn boot was held in high repute not only in this country but in the United States. The greatest objection brought against it was the fact that inside the boot where the sole of the foot rested was a ring of waxed thread, an insuperable trouble to people with warm feet. Nevertheless, immense numbers of

boots are yearly made after this method, which is the cheapest system, except riveting.

About 1860 a Mr. Crick of Leicester, probably inspired by the pegged boot, worked out a method for attaching the soles with French rivets. An iron plate was placed on the sole of the last, the upper tacked to the in-sole, a middle-sole fixed by the same means, and, with the out-sole placed in position, the whole was fastened together with iron rivets which were clenched on the iron plate.³ Several Northampton manufacturers sent workmen to Leicester for instruction, and the riveted boot at once sprung into popularity. The men could earn better wages in working on riveted boots than in making cheap hand-sewn, and the boot, though somewhat rough and heavy, would stand a good deal of hard wear.

In 1865 iron lasts were used in place of the iron-plated wooden variety, and instead of making the boot across their knees the men stood at a bench having iron uprights upon which the lasts fitted.

This new style (as also the pegged) brought about a further division of labour, the laster or riveter, after completing his process, handing the boot on to be trimmed up, blacked at the edges and burnished, to another person henceforth known as the finisher.

The Mills Turnshoe Machine was next introduced into this country to replace hand labour in sewing turnshoes or pumps. Messrs. Turner Bros., Hyde & Co., were the first in Northampton who used this machine, about the year 1868.

In 1872 came the first Goodyear Welt Machine and the Goodyear Chain-stitcher. It was claimed that these two machines could produce a boot similar to real hand-sewn. The principle was the same (welt sewn to upper and in-sole, and sole stitched to welt), and after some alterations and improvements the machine eventually entirely superseded cheap hand-sewn and hand-welted work. The chain-stitcher quickly made its way, but it was a long time before the welter was taken up largely. Messrs. Derham Bros. were the first firm to start the machine running in Northampton, which occurred in 1873. The Blake & Goodyear Company opened a place in Northampton in 1874 under the management of Mr. Bertrand and Mr. Satchwell, by whose efforts the machines were gradually introduced.

A further means of sole attachment introduced in 1876 must not be omitted in this sketch, brief as it must necessarily be. A Standard Screw Machine, brought into this country by the Blake & Goodyear Company, produced a boot of great solidity and durability. It was provided with a reel of screw-threaded wire, and by means of a complex operation united by this

¹ Messrs. Joseph Dawson and Sons (whose business was founded in 1780) had an order for 500 pairs of diggers' boots. Unable to complete the quantity in time for shipment, they filled the indent with carpet slippers and received no complaint!

² Messrs. William Hickson & Sons once received a premium of £100 on a single invoice!

³ In 1809 David Meade Randolph had obtained a patent for fastening the soles to the uppers and inner-soles by the same means. He also used an iron plate on the last.

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agency the in-soles, uppers, and soles. The upper, having been lasted, was placed on the machine and held in position, and a 'head' inside the lasted upper pressed against the in-sole directly opposite the point where the screw was being inserted, and the instant screw and 'head' touched, the wire was automatically cut level with the face of the sole. The screw making its own hole fits tightly in the leather, and the various substances of leather being compressed by the operation, a very solid boot results. Screwed boots are still made in quantities for winter wear. The objections made to the system are the stiffness and unliability of the boot and the difficulty in repairing it.

It will be readily understood that coincident with the growing use of machinery it became inevitable that factories should increase in size, and that more workmen would be required to work indoors. The operatives soon saw that the whole conditions of the industry were undergoing change, and with a view to safeguarding their own interests, such as were employed in connexion with the new methods decided to form a union for that purpose. In 1874 came into existence 'The National Amalgamated Union of Operative Boot and Shoe Riveters and Finishers.' This was actually an offshoot from the older Cordwainers' Society, which it was felt could not fittingly further the interests of the newer branches of the boot industry.

It is worthy of note that the earlier combinations of workers were for the object of the better enforcement of various protective laws, such as the statute of apprentices¹ and the like, which seemed in danger of falling into abeyance. But when the factory system had grown up and caused the laws to be repealed, the function of trade unionism changed. The workers combined no longer to enforce the law, but to maintain restrictions which the law had ceased to countenance. It was only in 1871 that the law gave such combinations legal status, although by an Act passed in 1824 combination of workmen ceased to be a statutory criminal offence as it had previously been.

The rules and regulations of the men's union state among their objects: the employer to find healthy workshops and supply all firing, heating, tools, grindery, and gas, free of charge; uniform state of wages; shorter hours; control of the apprentice system, etc. Assistance in the formation of sick and burial clubs for members is very properly included.

What is now called the 'Manufacturers' Association' was instituted in 1879 as 'The Northampton Boot, Shoe, Leather Trades and Creditors' Association of Wholesale Dealers.'

Its original purpose was financial, as it was framed for mutual protection against a certain class of trader that was victimizing the trade, for

trade reports, recovery of debts, and the like; but gradually by force of circumstances it resolved itself into an organization for safeguarding the manufacturers' interests in the case of aggressive action on the part of the men's union.

In its latter capacity it was called upon for action in the strike of 1887. The men had attempted to obtain an increase of wages at the factory of Messrs. Cove & West, who did not belong to the Manufacturers' Association. Their demands were resisted, the firm obtaining non-union workmen in place of such as had refused to work without an increased wage. Disturbances took place, and the Manufacturers' Association was called upon to intervene. They admitted Messrs. Cove & West to their body, and when it was found that no peaceful solution could be found without giving way entirely to the men, forty-six of the principal firms closed their works and instituted a 'lock out.' From September till the end of the year thousands of men were idle until an agreement was arrived at, and on 22 January, 1888, the factories again opened their doors.

Three immediate results followed: An increased accession to the men's union and to the Manufacturers' Association, and a further introduction of machinery. Devices for the lasting of boot uppers had been upon the market for some time, and their inventors found that the shoe manufacturers now turned to them a more attentive ear. In lasting machines the Copeland-Mackay, the Chase, the Cutlan, and the Triumph, each had its supporters; presumably the fittest has survived, and to-day no well-equipped factory is without some improved form of these labour-saving devices.

As a further outcome of the strike came the introduction of the principle of conciliation and arbitration in case of disagreements. The deed of settlement provided a board of arbitration, to consist of equal numbers of masters and men, with a court of appeal composed of a nominee of each party, and a third chosen by them. By this means it was hoped that a peaceful solution might be found in all cases of dispute.

In 1889 further machinery was brought into this country from America, always ahead of England in this department. The Goodyear Company introduced the Goodyear Welter, a great improvement on former types, and the Munyan Lock-stitch Machine, an improvement on their Chain-stitcher. Complete finishing machinery also came in the same year. The last-named had a long fight before it established itself generally in the Northampton factories, as its introduction necessitated complete alteration and reorganization of a very important department.

In 1894 the men's union took a step which brought about a revolution in the trade. It demanded that no more work should be done 'outside,' but that all labour, except closing (and hand-sewn work with which the riveters' and

¹ 5 Eliz. c. 4.

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finishers' union was not concerned) should be accommodated in the factories. It is suggested that the union hoped by this means to get a closer hold on its own members, and also to be better able to recruit among non-unionists. Although it was a serious matter from the manufacturers' point of view, requiring enlarged premises and more foremen, it was carried through without serious trouble. Many of the workmen disliked the new arrangement intensely, as they had to keep regular shop hours, instead of being able to work or not as they felt inclined.

The union having gained its point fairly easily, turned its attention to the wages question, and in 1895 brought out a fresh statement demanding advances. The war chest was well filled, and perhaps the men rather overestimated their power. There had been some friction on the arbitration board at Leicester in the previous autumn. The new demand, instead of being brought before the arbitration board, was put into three factories in Northampton at the beginning of March, 1895, with an intimation that it must be accepted or the men would be withdrawn. Simultaneously, in Leicester, a demand was made that no work should be partly made in the town and then completed in the villages. Faced by these serious conditions, the manufacturers closed their ranks, and on 9 March gave notice of a general lock-out. In 1887 Northampton alone had been affected, but now the federation embraced in addition Leicester, London, Bristol, Leeds, Birmingham, Kettering, Rushden, and Higham Ferrers.

In 1890 'The Incorporated Federated Associations of Boot and Shoe Manufacturers of Great Britain and Ireland' had been formed. The strike of 1887 had shown the manufacturers that, just as it was impossible for an isolated employer to stand against the men's union, so was it becoming increasingly hard for any one town to make effective resistance, as the men on strike were supported by their fellows in other districts. The original members of the federation are named above. Anstey, Glasgow, Kingswood, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Stafford, South Wigston and Scottish East Coast have since joined, while Birmingham has withdrawn.

When the lock-out took effect some 31,000 men belonging to the union were put out of employment, besides a number of non-unionists. Efforts at conciliation were made by the Board of Trade, by the members of Parliament for the towns affected, by Dr. Creighton, bishop of Peterborough, and others, but it was not until 29 April that a compromise was effected, chiefly owing to the good offices of Sir Courtenay Boyle, Permanent Secretary to the Board of

Trade. The lock-out had continued seven weeks.¹

By the deed of settlement it was provided that the arbitration principle should be carried a step further than in 1887 by the appointment of an umpire, whose decision should be final. The agreement was guaranteed by each side depositing a thousand pounds, to be forfeited in case of any breach of its provisions.

About the year 1900 a determined attempt was made by American boot manufacturers to capture the English market, and some of our newspapers indulged in the most gloomy forebodings. Without doubt the American prices were very low, and it appeared at first glance as if Northampton trade would suffer severely.

Although we practically had in use the same labour-saving appliances as our competitors, in organization and manipulation of labour we were still far behind. The difficulty, however, was faced in the right spirit, and within a very short time, by bringing our methods thoroughly up-to-date, goods were produced quite equal in value to anything sent us from across the Atlantic.

Between 1890 and 1900 numbers of new machines were introduced, which it is impossible even to mention here, until at last there seemed to be a separate machine for each operation in the making of a boot.

In 1901 Messrs. John Cave & Sons, of Rushden, brought out a complete welting and stitching plant of English manufacture. This was introduced to the trade by the Standard Rotary Machine Company in the following year.

No operation is too insignificant to exercise the inventive faculty of the boot trades engineer. A typical modern Northampton factory is divided into twelve departments, and in the production of a boot no less than *sixty-one* distinct types of machine bear their part.

In its staple trade the county can boast of few firms possessing any great length of continuous existence. The business of Sharman & Ekins of Wellingborough is by far the oldest, having been founded by Mr. Samuel Sharman about 1749. In Northampton that of Mr. T. B. Evans (founded 1825) takes precedence, followed by F. Bostock (1835), Manfield & Sons (1843), Henry Marshall (1848), John Marlow & Sons, Ltd. (1866), and Henry Wooding & Sons (1867).²

¹ The dispute had reduced the funds of the union from sixty-two thousand pounds to two thousand.

² The old-established firms of J. Dawson & Sons (1780) and Wm. Hickson & Sons, Ltd. (1812) manufactured in London till 1886 and 1867 respectively, at which dates they removed to Northampton.

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GLOVES

The name of 'Ganterie' is met with in several deeds as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century.¹ It was the name given to the east side of what is now called the Drapery in Northampton; this was the locality for the sellers of gloves. In 1556 a regulation was made that 'no Glover wash no skins in the high river nor without the West Bridge, nor dry any Wool upon the Grass in the Foot-Meadow, but shall wash their skins in the pit under the Bridge near to Dallington.' A fine of forty pence was the penalty, and the like sum for hanging skins on the bridge.

The members of the Glovers' Guild seem to have lost their privileges for a time about the end of the sixteenth century. Their trading rights were taken from them, and leave was granted to 'foreigners' to buy and sell in the town; but in 1594 their privileges were restored to them by an order of the assembly.

Thirty-five years later another order of the assembly was made that no glover should hang or place any skins or leather upon St. Thomas's Well, hedge, or any part of the town commons.

In 1619 great complaint was made that the glovers, as well as whittawers, parchment-makers, and others, washed their skins in the river and made paths across the cow-meadow. A fine of 6s. 8d. was imposed upon 'any one making any way or any passage into or through the said Meadow, or washing any manner of Skins or Wools in the high river, or in any brooks about the Meadow.'

The trade of glover lingered on, not only at Northampton but in the smaller towns of Towcester, Daventry, and Kettering, till within the last fifty years; and parchment-makers were living in the villages of Wilby, Irthlingborough, Weldon, Brigstock, and Gretton, as late as 1850.

WHIPS

In the eighteenth century Daventry was the centre of the whip-making industry in Northamptonshire, which can be easily understood when we remember that the little town formed the junction of four important main roads over which was a constant flow of traffic, for it is stated that no less than eighty mail and stage coaches passed through Daventry daily. In 1809 there was still, according to the report furnished to the Board of Agriculture, a considerable whip manufactory at Daventry, 'in which, I am informed, some good properties have been acquired. Two master-manufacturers each employ an outrider and a number of workmen.'² That its importance as a whip-making centre continued as far as the second decade of the nineteenth century seems to be shown by a curious action at law undertaken by the corporation of the town against one John Dickens. Dickens, not being a freeman of the borough of Daventry, commenced business in the town as a whip manufacturer. The corporation, relying on a charter, 1575, demanded that he should either relinquish his business or become a freeman of the borough. Dickens refused to do

either, and the corporation proceeded against him, claiming £500 damages. The case was brought to trial in March, 1825, and resulted in a verdict for the plaintiffs, damages one farthing.

With the introduction of railways and the gradual removal of coaches from the road Daventry's whip industry declined, boot manufacturing gradually taking its place. By the year 1847 there were only two whip-makers in the town.

In 1874 Messrs. H. Sharp & Sons were the sole representatives, and a few years later they removed their business to the village of Floore, where they still continue.

About 1840 Mr. Henry Major commenced business as a whip manufacturer in Northampton. He had been working for a few years for a Mr. Crawley of Wollaston, a whip-maker of then many years' standing, whose business, continued by his son, was relinquished in 1856. Mr. Major had learnt his trade at Salisbury, and had a thoroughly practical knowledge of all its branches, as also has his son, Mr. George Major (born 1841), who still (1906) continues the business inherited from his father.

In the year 1861 Mr. Thomas J. Crawley started whip-making in Peterborough. He was the son of Mr. William Crawley, who was born at Bedford in 1836, who served his apprenticeship under a Mr. George Crawley in that town (to whom, though of the same name, he was not related).

He afterwards went as improver to Messrs. Dickens Bros. of Daventry, a very noted firm in those days. Returning to Bedford he commenced

¹ In a rental of the abbey of St. James of the reign of Edward I we find among the kitchener's rents, 'De Alano le Boursier in Gaunteria, xiiijd.' Add. R. 6,117 (B.M.). In a deed of the same reign is mentioned Roger de Wolaston, Glover of Northampton (Add. Ch. 22,349), while in another deed of 1316 a tenement is situated 'in Rengo Cirotecariorum' (Add. Ch. 22,361).

² Pitt, *Gen. Survey Agric. Northants*, 243.

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business on his own account, but shortly removed to Eaton Socon (Bedfordshire). In 1857 he purchased the business of Mr. W. Crawley of Wollaston, and combined the two businesses at Eaton.

In 1860, his son Thomas J. Crawley relinquishing the business of whip-making in favour of the saddlery trade, Mr. W. Crawley moved to Peterborough, and with his son Charles Edward founded the business of Crawley & Son.

Mr. W. Crawley died in 1869, leaving the business to his son Charles Edward, by whom it is still continued with the help of his sons John W. and Charles Edward, junior, under the title of Crawley & Sons.

Of late years the business has been considerably extended, whips being sent not only to all parts of the United Kingdom, but shipped in large quantities abroad. The name of Crawley appears in the whip trade from the year 1806.

TEXTILES AND ALLIED TRADES

From the middle of the twelfth century Northampton began to acquire some importance as a trade centre for wool, and in respect to its manufacture the 'Drapery,' as a special quarter of the town, was in existence at least as early as the time of Abbot Thomas of St. James's Abbey in the reign of King John,¹ while the town possessed a Wool Hall as early as the time of Edward I. This importance is further shown by the fact of the town possessing a seal or stamp for the royal subsidy. In the thirteenth century Italy as well as Flanders took a good deal of English wool. There were several companies of Florentine merchants who bought wool at Stamford and shipped it at either Boston or King's Lynn, and merchants from Florence are mentioned as being at Northampton.² In the *Practica della Mercatura*³ of Francesco Balducci Pegolotti is given a list, probably derived from a Flemish source, of English monasteries which had agreed to sell their wool to these Italian merchants, and the Northamptonshire monasteries mentioned were Pipewell, Sulby, Kettering, Peterborough, Luffield, and the Priory of St. Andrew at Northampton.

In the year⁴ 1431 we have the first recorded ordinance for the weaver's craft in the town of Northampton. This ordinance, after setting forth how that 'of late there had been misrule and ungoodly governance between the masters and journeymen of the said craft,' ordained that all the masters and journeymen shall every year on the Monday after Easter Day go honestly with their tapers of wax as of ancient time to the house of St. Mary de la Pre, beside Northampton, to offer up their said tapers before the image of the Trinity and of our Lady, and afterwards to hold their customary drinking and communication together, and to choose the same day two masters of the English householders as masters of the said craft and masters of the journeymen for the year by the advice and agreement of the mayor for the time being,

before whom they shall be presented and sworn for the good governance of the said craft, also to choose two auditors of the accounts of the masters for the year. Every member of the said craft was to pay yearly 4*d.* for lights and torches, and every journeyman 2*d.* These amounts were to be taken and gathered by the said masters, and to be put in a box, the keys of which were to be given to the mayor; and if any meeting together was desired such meeting was not to be called without the consent of the mayor. Every master was to give a fortnight's notice to any servant he wished to discharge, and no master was to set on any servant who had not given his master a fortnight's warning, under penalty of twenty pence to the town purse and twenty pence to the lights of the said craft for each offence. There were the usual regulations concerning foreign workmen. Every master who was admitted into the livery of the said craft was to pay eight pence to the sustenance of the torches, and every journeyman admitted had to pay four pence. Other ordinances for the weaver's craft were made in 1462 and 1511; this last provided that no weaver should deliver any cloth before the searchers had proved that it was sufficiently woven and of good workmanship; if he did not send for the searcher to do his duty, the weaver was to lose and pay as oft as he offended the sum of forty pence, half to be paid to the mayor for the time being as common treasurer of the town, and the other half to be paid to the fraternity of the Trinity within the church of All Hallows.

We are able to gather some information regarding Northampton from a book⁵ written in 1633 by Dr. James Hart, a physician, who was not only born at Northampton, but also resided there for from twenty to thirty years. According to this authority the cloth trade had decayed in Northampton, but Dr. Hart saw no reason why it should not be revived, and he remarks that—

'To encourage others in the prosecution of so laudable a worke one Alderman (John Denbigh) of this same corporation hath now, of late broken the yce and againe, like a good patriot, minding the publyke good

¹ B.M. Cott. MS. Tib. E. 5, fol. 181*b*.

² *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 4, 15.

³ Printed by Cunningham, *Growth of Engl. Industry and Commerce* (1905), 629 et seq.

⁴ *Northampton Boro. Rec.* i, 268 et seq.

⁵ *Diet of the Diseased*, 149 et seq.

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(whereof now most are unmindful), hath at his owne cost and charges begunne to set on foot this laudable trade of clothing, the which, if well followed and recorded by others and neighbours in the country, would further to set forward so laudable an enterprise, it would in a short time prove no small benefit both to the towne and countrie, and by this meanes many poore might well be set a worke who now are forced either to begge their bread or else labour hard at knitting stockings, which will not furnish them with browne bread to fill their hungry bellies, especially in these hard pinching times.'

This project of reviving the cloth trade of Northampton met with little success. About thirty years after another native of the county declared that 'though fine their wool, their cloath ran so coarse that it could not be sold without loss.'¹

Morton, whose *Natural History of Northamptonshire*² appeared in 1710, says that in many of the pastures they have excellent wool—fine, white, and long. The greater quantity of it used to be bought up by factors and taken to Stourbridge Fair—

'And thence to Norwich and to Braintree, Bocking and Colchester, where 'tis wrought into stuffs and bays. A part of it is used within the county, being comb'd and weav'd into Serges, Tammies, and Shalloons, at Kettering and other towns.'

The fallow or shorter wool was usually sent into Yorkshire and to the west to Cirencester and Taunton for the making of cloths. 'And as there is in no other county in England a better race of sheep than here, if you take the whole county throughout, so the wooll is generally good.' He also tells us that the poorer sort of people are usually employed in the carding, spinning, or knitting of wool, and many others in the combing and weaving of it, and that during his time the manufacture of wool had largely increased in the city of Peterborough.

In the latter part of the seventeenth, the whole of the eighteenth, and the first two decades of the nineteenth centuries, weaving was extensively carried on in the district embraced by the parishes of Kettering, Rothwell, Desborough, Braybrooke, Little Bowden, and the neighbouring villages. The principal articles woven were tammies and shalloons. The former was a thin woollen material of open texture used for straining purposes; it was also made into flags, often in bright colours. The latter was a coarse woollen stuff. In the *Natural History of England*³ by Benjamin Martin, we read under the description of Kettering—

'It has a good woollen manufacture of Serges, Shalloons, and Tammies, in which it is said 2,000

hands are constantly employed. This trade was first introduced by Mr. John Jordan in the last century, which the inhabitants have industriously improved.'

At Oundle the woollen industry was introduced by Sir Matthew Dudley, for which Morton⁴ gives him due honour for his public spirit. A hundred years later it is stated that the woollen manufacture of the county was principally confined to Kettering and its neighbourhood, and that at the beginning of the Napoleonic war it was in the highest perfection it had ever attained. William Pitt, who wrote on the agriculture of the county, though he admitted the difficulty in estimating the number of people employed in the cloth industry, calculated that from 5,000 to 6,000 hands had been engaged, but when his work⁵ was printed in 1809, not more than half that number were employed.

The wool was bought of the farmers in the neighbourhood by the manufacturers, then after undergoing a very minute assortment the different kinds of wool found in every fleece were apportioned to supply the proper markets in the different parts of England where they were respectively manufactured; thus Yorkshire would take the finest for clothing, some would go to Leicester for the hosiery trade, while some of the longest was worked at home into moreens, tammies, calamancoes, and everlastings; these last were stout close-woven worsted stuffs, dyed black and other colours, and were very much used for ladies' shoes. After the wool was sorted and the different kinds assigned to their respective purposes, that intended to be manufactured at home was combed and then delivered out in small quantities to homeworkers in the neighbourhood to be spun and reeled, for which they were paid so much per pound, according to the fineness of thread into which it was converted. The thread was then taken to the manufacturer, who had it woven into such stuff as its quality was best adapted for. The spinning and reeling were chiefly done by women and by boys from ten to fourteen years of age. The price allowed was from 10d. to 1s. 6d. a pound, and a tolerable spinner who was industrious would earn on an average 6d. per day, sorters were paid at the rate of 6d. per tod of 28 lb., combers received 2s. for every pound of wool, and a good hand would make 9s. or 10s. a week. A weaver was paid from 5s. 6d. to 6s. 6d. a piece for tammies—a piece consisted of 32 yards long by 22 inches broad—and for everlastings the pay was from 5s. to 7s. a piece of the same size according to the fineness. A good weaver would earn 18d. a day. At the time William Pitt wrote his book the woollen manufacture was in a bad state, and there was a good

¹ Fuller, *Worthies* (1662), 279.

² p. 16 et seq.

³ (1763), ii, 126.

⁴ Op. cit. p. 17.

⁵ *Gen. View Agric. Northants* (1809), 241.

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deal of distress in many places, the rates being quite 10s. in the pound.

There may have been some silk-weaving in Northampton even in the eighteenth century, for we hear in 1783 the complaint¹ that—

‘Such was the spirit of party, such the ingratitude of the town of Northampton, such their dislike to encourage their only friend, and such their hatred to Lord Spencer, that they nominated one Trotman, a *ribband weaver*, who had lately had some money left him, to oppose Lord Lucan his father-in-law.’

The contemptible weaver was, however, successful, and the august relative at the bottom of the poll. It is also certain that twenty years before this election there was a considerable silk manufacture at Towcester.²

About³ the year 1820 silk-weaving was introduced from Coventry to Desborough. At first the workmen walked to Desborough and back again to Coventry, but small manufactories were soon started, and afterwards larger ones were built at Kettering, Rothwell, and Desborough, most of which are now used as shoe factories. The weaving was done on the old handloom, and despite the creation of the factories many of the workmen had looms in their own houses, whilst some of them used the jacquard loom for ornamented silks and velvets. The various kinds of articles woven in silk were coloured silk plushes, black plushes for silk hats, plain and coloured silks, black and coloured velvets, figured velvets, terries, plain and figured satins. This industry employed a large number of hands in the three towns mentioned above, forming practically their staple trade; but owing to the keen competition of the French, silk-weaving gradually declined until it ceased about the year 1868, causing serious distress among the operatives.

Carpet-weaving was carried on at Burton Latimer in the mills now used as flour-mills by Messrs. T. & J. Wallis. About 1830 the embroidery of nets for ladies’ dresses was introduced from Nottingham at Rothwell, Desborough and Clipston. This trade supplanted the working of pillow lace, which had been extensively carried on in this part of the county. The material embroidered was cotton net for dresses, and later a silk net figured with very elaborate designs for ladies’ veils.

This net embroidery flourished until about the year 1866. The very elaborate cloth waistcoats or vests that were in vogue during the first half of the nineteenth century were likewise embroidered at Desborough, but the industry died out with the fashion about 1850. There was also a

considerable amount of linen spun and woven in this district.

In Northampton weaving and wool-combing was, during the latter half of the eighteenth century, gradually replaced by the shoe industry. In what is known as the Spendthrift election in 1768 the number of Northampton weavers who polled was 133. After this the number of weavers in Northampton gradually diminished, until we find in *Kelly’s Directory* for the year 1864 the name of a solitary weaver, one John Adams, who worked at Kingsthorpe. This industry seemed to have had a little more tenacity at Kettering, and it lingered on sporadically in the south-western portion of the county, for there were silk weavers at Maidford, and a family of plush weavers at Chalcombe near Banbury.

Another trade which may be mentioned as allied in some sense to weaving was the knitting of hosiery. As early as January, 1277, we have Adam le Hosiere witnessing a Northampton deed.⁴ Fuller,⁵ in the seventeenth century, mentions that the town produced ‘if not the best, the most and cheapest boots and stockings in England.’ As late as 1763 the stocking manufacture at the county town was ‘not inconsiderable,’ while at Peterborough it formed with cloth-making the constant employment of the poor.⁶ At Daventry in 1809 there was a considerable manufacture of silk stockings.⁷

In dealing with the history of the textile manufactures of the county it is necessary to mention that in Northampton a cotton-mill was started about the year 1743 by a Mr. Wyatt of Birmingham and Mr. Edward Cave, the editor of the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, to manufacture cotton by an invention of spinning by rollers. This machine was invented by Wyatt thirty years before Arkwright took out his patent for a similar machine in 1769. The mill at Northampton was under the management of a Mr. Yeoman, Mr. Cave being the moneyed partner, while the inventor, Mr. Wyatt, resided most of the time in London endeavouring to dispose of the yarn. Disorder, negligence, and mismanagement were the natural result of the absence of the principal, who, however, fortunately for us, left behind him a manuscript book which contains many interesting particulars of the cotton-mill at Northampton. From it we learn that the work at Northampton was moved by a water-wheel; that the engines consisted of several frames bearing 250 spindles and bobbins; that the bobbin revolved upon the spindle, and that each was moved by a separate wheel and pinion containing, the one sixty-four teeth, the other

¹ *Northampton. Boro. Rec.* ii, 507.

² B. Martin, *Nat. Hist. of Eng.* ii, 130.

³ We are indebted to the courtesy of Mr. J. R. Moore of Desborough for valuable notes on silk-weaving.

⁴ Add. Ch. 22358 (B. M.).

⁵ *Worthies* (1662), 279.

⁶ B. Martin, *Nat. Hist. of England* (1763), ii, 124, 128.

⁷ Pitt, *Gen. Survey Agric. Northants*, 243.

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sixty-five. It is thought that Wyatt gained his idea of the arrangement of a number of spindles, with bobbins revolving upon them, in a frame, and of turning the spindles and bobbins by distant wheels, from certain machines for throwing silk that were introduced by a Sir Thomas Lombe from Italy and set up in a large mill at Derby. In Mr. Wyatt's manuscript there are given 23 items headed 'Remarks on Mr. Cave's Work at Northampton, 8 October, 1743.' These are so interesting that they are given here in full :

1. They have spun in all about 50,000 skeins since they first began.
2. They spin 90 skeins per day at each frame for a day's work ; at least, they call that their day's work.
3. They have worn out but two pinions since they began and not one wheel.
4. They have 5 frames up, but seldom hands to keep 4 at work.
5. They suppose one of the frames has done half the work that has been done.
6. I don't apprehend that the wheels and pinions of that frame are half worn out ; from whence I infer that a set of wheels and pinions would spin at least 35,000 skeins ; that is, 100 wheels and 100 pinions.
7. The rest of the work belonging to that frame, taken in general, is not (in my opinion) one-tenth part worn out.
8. Joseph Newton (a man that has always been employed in the work since it first began at Birmingham) would undertake to keep the 250 spindles in repair with his own hands, i.e., metal work, estimating at the rate they have worked.
9. The metal itself, and the wood work cannot in my opinion exceed £20 per annum.
10. I call the insensible decay of the mill building and water-wheel about £20 per annum more.
11. The repairs of cards, they tell me, amounts to 18*d.* per week, which is about equal to the wages of the carders themselves, but much more than I think they cost at Birmingham ; that is, per week.
12. The cards and carding both extremely ill managed.
13. The work never cleared till necessity forces a particular spindle.
14. The dirt and cotton spread about the spinning rooms and the pathways near the mill is surprising.
15. The agent there has a wife, and two other women, to assist him, whose salaries taken together (I am told) amounts to about £88 per annum.
16. The water-wheel is capable of making about 15 revolutions in a minute, but they generally flood it, in fact, till it makes about 6 or 8 revolutions in a minute.
17. Their picking cotton and reeling yarn amounts to about 1*d.* per lb.
18. They have fifty carders, spinners, and supernumerary girls in the work whose wages last week amounted to £2 19*s.* 7*d.* (which I call £3).

19. I apprehend they waste about one-tenth part of the cotton.
20. The sort of yarn they spin is about 15 skeins for 1 lb. Their cards much too fine for the sort they spin. February, 1743-4.
22. Since the taking of the remarks above, I have been informed by an author that I can depend upon, that they have spun half as much more in a week as they did when I was there ; and that in particular the day before my letter's date, one pair of girls spun 36 skeins.
23. That the repairs of cards do still cost them about as much as the carders that card them.'

This cotton-mill at Northampton did not prosper, and passed into other hands about 1764, though it was stated by Charles Wyatt, a son of the inventor,

'that there is the highest probability that the machinery got into the hands of a person who, with the assistance of others, knowing how to apply it with skill and judgment, and to supply what might be deficient, raised upon it a gradual accession of profit, an immense establishment, and a princely fortune.'

This mill, still often called Cotton Mill, is used now as a corn-mill, and, as so many of the corn-mills in Northamptonshire are, it is worked by steam.

As fulling and dyeing were industries closely attendant on that of weaving the few facts we know relating to them locally may here be mentioned. In the time of Henry III Sulby Abbey granted a lease¹ to Roger Clerk, fuller of Northampton, the mayor being one of the witnesses ; while in a rental² of the abbey of St. James a 'vicus fullonum' is mentioned in the following reign. Another reference³ to a tenement in this street 'in magno vico fullonum' may be even earlier than the two allusions already cited.

In the second volume of the borough of Northampton records we have some references to the fullers of Northampton. In 1554 one John Sutton, a fuller, obtained from the corporation a lease of his taintor grounds, one in Cow Meadow 42 yds. in length, and the other in St. George's Leys 31 yds. long ; he paid for them a fine of 3*s.* 4*d.* and a yearly rent of the same amount. During the reign of James I a complaint was made to the town assembly that the taintors, which were fixed stretchers of wood, erected in the Cow Meadow were a subject of great annoyance and hurt—

'Though it was agreed in 1621 that John Robinson, a fuller, should be allowed to set up a pair of taintors in the Cow Meadow in the same place where formerly he and John Fox his predecessor had them. He was allowed to use them at any time during the year so long as he paid a yearly rent to the chamberlain of 20*s.*'

¹ Add. Chart. 22351.

² Add. R. 6117.

³ Anct. D. (P.R.O.), A 9876.

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The fullers and sheremen were granted in 1585 a new constitution by the assembly—

‘For the better ordering of the Master and householders of that occupation, and for the due diligent and lawful using of their fellow townsmen and neighbours who had woollen cloth to be wrought.’

Some of the principal provisions of this new constitution were as follows :

‘No fuller was to carry out of the town or bring in any kind of work on the Sabbath day.

‘If any of the company work any of the cloth to proof and do not send for the searcher to search and view the same before it be delivered to the owner, he be fined 6s. 8d.

‘That no stranger take any work to do within the town under pain of 6s. 8d.

‘That if any of the company hire any man’s journeyman without the consent of his master, to be fined 6s. 8d.

‘That if any man of the county desire to be received into the town and to be free of the company he shall at his entrance make to the whole company of fullers and sheremen a dinner at his own cost and pay the company 13s. 4d.

‘That if any one of the company of fullers and sheremen do misbehave contrary to law by picking, stealing, or fetching men’s goods wrongfully, or do rob any ‘teyntors’ or fulling mills, the same being attainted by law, he shall be expelled out of the town from working any more therein.

‘That no fuller nor shereman shall work with no other manner of stuffs than is appointed by the statute under pain of 6s. 8d.

‘That all fines be divided between the mayor and the company.’

There were ordinances made for the fullers’ craft in 1452, 1464, 1511, and 1516. According to the earliest they were to meet every year on St. Thomas’s Day at the house of the Black Friars, which was situated in the Horsemarket. At this meeting they were to choose searchers for the following year. The duties of these searchers were to search three days or two at the least every week through the said craft. The oath of the searchers of textiles ran as follows :

‘Ye shall duly and truly search every week as often as it needeth every householder of your occupation within the franchise of this town. That they weave no manner of cloth within this town or franchise that shall be put to sale, but such as is sufficient and true

drapery, and that the warp and the woof be like to one colour, and sufficient stuff for the weight and breadth shall be laid for. And if ye find any cloth, clothes, or blankets that shall be put to sale that is not sufficient colour, stuff, and workmanship in any point that belongeth to the occupation, then ye shall forthwith give relation to the Mayor the names of the owner, and of the workmen of such cloth, clothes, or blankets, without any longer concealing the same upon the pain that is ordained thereof by act of Assembly be admitted by assent of all the town. Ye shall not let this to do for lose or promise that ye owe to do. So help you God and all Saints.’²

Scarlet Well situated on the north-west side of the old borough lies between the site of the castle and St. Andrew’s Priory; it was of some reputation in the beginning of the reign of Henry III, the street which leads down to it from the mayorhold is called Scarlet Well Street, and is mentioned in a charter of 1239.³ There is an old tradition that this well obtained its name from the excellent quality of the water for scarlet dyeing. In Morton’s time cloth was sent to Northampton from London to be dyed scarlet. In the fifteenth century some bales of cloth which had been sent to Nottingham to be dyed scarlet came out of the vat a muddy-red colour and were then sent on to Northampton to gain a better hue. There was in Northampton a dyer’s gild as early as 1274. In chapter 51 of the *Liber Custumarum* it was ordained and provided that ‘if any dyster dyes the cloth of any man wikkedliche and thereof be overtaken he was to lose his work and be in the mercy of the Town Bailiffs twelve pence for his trespass.’ An early chancery bill⁴ addressed to the bishop of Bath and Wells voices the lamentable complaint of Thomas Wiseman of Northampton, ‘deister,’ that whereas one ‘William Belyys of the seid town mercer was boundeyn by his iij Severall obligacions where of two were either of them of the somme of c li for cloth boght by the same William of the seid Thomas and the thurde of xxxij li which was for diyng and colyryng of woll,’ he had nevertheless proved a defaulter from which sundry variances had arisen. The name of the mayor, William May, himself a mercer, which was mentioned during the suit, helps us to assign, with some probability, the bill to the end of the sixth decade of the fifteenth century.

LACE

It is possible that a certain amount of coarse lace was made in Northamptonshire as elsewhere in England even before the seventeenth century, but the earliest work of any artistic value which has been preserved is not only comparatively modern in date but plainly copied from Flemish patterns, the designs of Brussels, Lille, and Valenciennes.¹ Indeed, the development of the industry

¹ Jackson, *Hist. of Hand-made Lace*, 184; Palliser (ed. Jourdain and Dryden), *Hist. of Lace*, 384.

in our county was certainly less extensive than its progress at an early period in Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire. The improvement in design⁶

² *Northampton Boro. Rec.* i, 369 et seq.

³ *Ibid.* ii, 256.

⁴ Early Chan. Proc. $\frac{48}{125}$ (P.R.O.). May was mayor in 1468 and the bishop of Bath and Wells chancellor in this and the years closely following.

⁶ An early example of the Brussels pattern made in Northants is figured in Palliser, *op. cit.* 385.

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which marked the lace of the early eighteenth century may with some assurance be ascribed to the skilled craftsmen of north-eastern France who, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, sought and found refuge in England. As to this improvement in Bedfordshire, Defoe bears emphatic testimony, and we may well believe that it extended to the neighbouring counties.¹ A little later fine Brussels ground was worked in Northamptonshire, and specimens of lace still exist in which the design is run or sewn with the needle on to the bobbin-made ground.

In 1763 George III, anxious to promote the prosperity of his own people, ordered that all lace worn at his sister's wedding should be of English make.

The lace-trade seems to have always been peculiarly subject to fluctuations—the same worker earning at one time £1 per week and at another 3s. or 4s. In 1780 there seems to have been a special depression, for the poet Cowper presented a petition to Lord Dartmouth in favour of the lace-makers of Olney, who were at starvation point, and this depression was no doubt felt also in the sister county of Northamptonshire.

Almost every village in the county had its lace-makers during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early part of the nineteenth centuries. It has been remarked that the hands of Northamptonshire women are very small and well-shaped compared with those of other counties. This is doubtless owing to the fact that so many of the women of the previous generation worked at their pillows from childhood, and their hands were not roughened by coarse work or field labour. Many a wife earned the greater part of the income which kept the home together. When we remember that the labourers' wages were 8s. or 9s. a week, and when, as sometimes happened, there

was a succession of bad harvests, we can see how welcome would be the addition earned by the women and girls of the village at their pillows.

Though this industry was almost universal in the county, certain villages were especially famous for their lace-workers and lace-schools. Anderson mentions that Kettering has a 'considerable trade in lace,' and we learn also that fine lace was made at Middleton Cheney.* Besides these, Spratton, Paulerspury, and Towcester were important centres of the lace trade.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century lace-making was chiefly carried on in Wellingborough and the neighbourhood, and in the villages on the south-west side of the county; it was computed that from 9,000 to 10,000 persons, mostly young women and boys, were engaged in this industry, who earned from 2d. to 1s. 6d. per day.

One of the chief branches of the Northamptonshire trade was the making of baby lace—very narrow edgings chiefly used for trimming babies' caps. In these edgings the point ground² was employed, the patterns were often taken from those of Lille and Mechlin, hence the Midland lace has often been called 'English Lille.' Other kinds of grounds which were made were the wire, double, and trolly grounds.

The closing of English ports to French lace during the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars gave a great impetus to the industry in Northamptonshire, and a sort of 'Fausse Valenciennes,' resembling what is now known as 'Point de Paris,' was introduced under the local name of 'French ground.'³ A natural slackening of trade occurred on the conclusion of peace after Waterloo.

After the exhibition of 1851, where some of the best workers of the Midlands illustrated the practice of their craft, Maltese guipure and plaited laces were introduced, and prices just at this time were so high that not only women but men were engaged in making lace—the latter finding it far more lucrative than field labour. The newly-introduced varieties required less time and skill than the older pillow-lace.

The women made the lace in their own homes, but the children were sent to a school to be taught the work. These schools played an important part in the industry. Nearly every village had its lace school, and in many cases it was the only school of any kind of which the village could boast. Lace-making was the chief subject taught, and a very little elementary instruction was sometimes added in reading and ciphering. The school was generally kept by a

¹ We are indebted to the courtesy of Miss Alice Dryden for a notice of a parliamentary petition of 1698, preserved at the Victoria and Albert Museum, which furnishes a list of Northamptonshire parishes where lace-making was then carried on, with an estimate of the number of workers:

Centun (? Quinton) <i>alias</i> Donten . . .	257
Little Houghton	60
Wellingborough	1146
Wilby	69
Earls Barton	127
Ecton	44
Towcester	591
Castle Ashby	64
Braxsey (? Blakesley)	154
Whittlebury	206
Yardley Hastings	442
Ashton	101
Gredon (? Grendon)	259

It may, however, be wise to exercise some caution in accepting these interesting figures as rigidly exact, as petitioners desiring protection for their special handicraft might regard a little exaggeration as quite justifiable.

² Point ground is said to have been introduced in 1778. This local name is misleading, as the ground is not made with the needle-point. The reference is to its superior effect. Jackson, *op. cit.* 184.

³ Ibid. Cf. Channer and Roberts, *Lace Making in the Midlands*, 27.

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woman in her own house; the children began sometimes at the tender age of four. The mistress insisted on a certain amount of work being done, and if moral suasion was not sufficient a cane was ready for use. The other duties of the mistress were to prick the parchment (on which the pattern had been previously designed), also to buy the materials for the work, to wind the bobbins by means of a small wheel and strap, and, finally, to sell the lace to the lace-buyer, deducting a small sum for house-room, firing, candles, etc. Boys were sometimes sent to these schools until they were able to find other employment. In the *History of Lace* by Mrs. Palliser, a very full description is given of the once-famous lace school of Spratton. She says:—

‘The girls left the day school at the age of eight years and joined the laceschool, and here the hours were from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. in the summer, and from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. in the winter. Half an hour was allowed for breakfast and for tea, and one hour for dinner, so that there were ten hours for actual work. The girls had to stick ten pins a minute, or six hundred an hour; and if at the end of the day they were five pins behind they had to work for another hour. On Saturdays, however, they had a half-holiday.

They paid twopence a week (or threepence in winter) for lights, and in return they received the money realized from the sale of the lace they made, and they could earn about sixpence a day. Pay-day was a great event; it came once a month.

In the evenings eighteen girls worked by the one tallow candle, value one penny; the “candle-stool” stood about as high as an ordinary table with four legs. In the middle of this was what was known as the “pole-board,” with six holes in a circle and one in the centre. In the centre hole was a long stick, with a socket for the candle at one end and peg-holes through the sides, so that it could be raised or lowered at will. In the other six holes were placed pieces of wood hollowed out like a cup, and into each of these was placed a bottle made of very thin glass and filled with water. These bottles acted as strong condensers or lenses, and the eighteen girls sat round the table, three to each bottle, their stools being upon different levels, the highest nearest the bottle, which threw the light down upon the work like a burning-glass. In the day-time as many as thirty girls, and sometimes boys, would work in a room about twelve feet square, with two windows, and in the winter they could have no fire for lack of room.

A “down” in Northamptonshire is the parchment pattern, generally about twelve inches long. . . . The pillow is a hard, round cushion stuffed with straw, and well hammered to make it hard for the bobbins to rattle on. It is then covered with the butcher-blue pillow-cloth “all over”; a “lace-cloth” of the same for the lace to lie on goes over the top; then follows the lace-paper to pin it in as made, covered with the “lacing,” which is a strip of bright blue print. The “hinder” of blue linen covers up all behind, the “worker” keeping the parchment clean in front where the hands rest. A bobbin-bag and scissors are then tied on one side and a pin-cushion on the top; a cloth “heller” is thrown over the whole when not used.’

The villagers usually sold their lace to dealers or lace-buyers, from whom they were often obliged to purchase their thread at exorbitant prices. These dealers would travel from village to village buying up the completed lengths, and in many cases making large profits on their transactions. They would also buy all the output of the lace schools.

In common with all industries the lace-makers had their yearly festival, which they shared with the weavers, St. Catherine’s Day, locally known as ‘Cattern.’ It is thought by some to have been chosen in honour of Catherine of Aragon, as she is credited by tradition with having done her utmost to encourage lace-making in Bedfordshire and the adjoining counties, but possibly it has a much earlier origin.

The children in the lace schools also claimed holidays on the days dedicated to St. Thomas and St. Andrew.

The Franco-German war of 1870–1 caused sudden demand in the English lace-market, and prices went up for a time, but during the last twenty or thirty years the lace industry has been threatened with total extinction. The causes were several, the chief being the introduction of machine-made cheap laces, foreign competition, a gradual rise in the scale of wages on all sides, the many new employments opening to women which took them from the villages to the towns, while the rapid changes of fashion called for a less expensive article than real lace. Finally the operation of the Education Act interfered with the long apprenticeship to the trade, and as the old workers died off none took their places.

Within the last few years a vigorous attempt has been made to revive this and other village industries in the county. The Home Arts and Industries Association for Northamptonshire, and the Midland Lace Association have both been started with this aim in view. The Lace Association endeavours to stimulate and improve the local manufacture of pillow-lace, to provide lace-workers with greater facilities for the sale of their work at more remunerative prices, to provide instruction in lace-making, to save the old designs of the point-lace and discourage the coarser Maltese, to get new designs copied from old laces, to insist on the use of the best thread, and, finally, to bring the lace before the public.¹

In connexion with the Northamptonshire lace industry it is of interest to note that pin-making was also carried on in the county. We know that the pins used in lace-making were of a special kind made for the purpose, of fine brass

¹ For further information the reader must be referred to the valuable *History of Lace* by Mrs. Bury Palliser (1901 edition), revised and enlarged by M. Jourdain and Alice Dryden, and the excellent account of *Lace Making in the Midlands* by C. C. Channer and M. E. Roberts.

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wire, and in all probability they were made within the county at one of the pin factories which were established here. We are indebted to Mr. J. H. Fletcher, Northampton, for the following information on the subject. He says—

About half a century ago, I remember a family of the name of Lever, living at Milton, next door to the chapel. My father, who was living in 1904, recollected well the Levers carrying on the manufacture of brass pins at Hardingstone, Milton, and Stony Stratford. At Hardingstone the manufacturers were Edward Lever and his nephew William. The factory was a part of the house and outbuildings still standing in the main street next to the churchyard towards the west. From my father's recollection the manufacture was carried on in the regular and orthodox manner. The brass for the pins arrived at Hardingstone in two forms. The bulk of the brass wire was purchased in coils, fifteen or eighteen inches in diameter, while the brass for the heads was obtained in lengths of spiral wire, the spiral just the diameter of the pin's head. The coil of wire was dealt with first by a strong, muscular workman, who, seizing it in two hands, banged it several times in succession on a kind of anvil, either a block of hard wood or stone. After several bangs the workman dipped the coil in a kind of liquid, possibly simply to cool it, then banged it again on the anvil; another dipping followed, and so on. It is evident that this process was for the purpose of softening the wire to render it more ductile, and thus more suitable for the next process. This was 'drawing' the wire to the requisite gauge. A steel plate with a hole of the requisite size was fixed in a vice. The end of the wire was filed down to permit its insertion. It was then drawn through with pliers and fixed on a reel, which, on being turned, 'drew' the wire of uniform size. This wire was then cut in lengths of about thirty inches each. A workman sharpened each end on a small grindstone, and immediately cut each end off to the exact length of the pin. The ends of the length of wire were again sharpened, again cut, and so on until it was reduced to the length of two pins.

The ends being sharpened, it was then cut in two. These pieces of wire, sharpened at one end, were then ready for the head. The heads were made by cutting the spiral wire with scissors, two turns of the wire for

each head. This cutting was done usually by a man, and with remarkable rapidity. The fixing of the heads was done by boys. The boy sat at a kind of bench to which was fixed a mechanical hammer, a leaden weight covered with tin. This suspended weight was moved by a pulley worked by the foot.

Under the weight was a little metal anvil or mould, running through which was a hole large enough for the shank or stem of the pin to fall through, but not the head. The boy had before him a box of stems and heads. Deftly inserting a stem through one of the heads, he placed the pin in the anvil; by means of his foot rapped the head three quick, sharp blows with the hammer, and the head was fixed. Three blows was the regulation number, given as quickly as one counts. They hammered out the head and fastened it to the shank. The boy had a leathern 'cot' on his forefinger by which he raised the pin through the anvil, and immediately placed a new stem and head in its place. It is believed the whole operation of heading a pin took very little over a second. . . . After this operation the pins were boiled in some acid solution to clean them and make them lustrous. All that remained after they had dried was to affix the pins to the strips of paper, the form of which we all know so well. The 'papering' was usually done by Mr. Lever himself. The paper, folded with two ridges, was fixed in a vice, the top of the ridges just appearing above the top of the vice. In the vice were twenty little notches: a pin was placed in each notch, and then, with leather-covered thumbs, the operator pressed home the whole twenty pins with one movement—ten with one thumb and ten with the other; another and another row were thus affixed, and then the paper was pulled out to its full length with its 120 or 200 pins, all bright and shining, 'papered' with mathematical accuracy.

William Lever continued the manufacture of pins at Hardingstone after his uncle Edward's death. Another uncle, John Lever, manufactured pins at Milton, and other members of the family at Stony Stratford. First the Stony Stratford factory was given up, then the Milton factory, and finally the works at Hardingstone. William Lever, the last survivor, left Hardingstone to reside at Milton in the same house in which his uncle had lived. He has been dead a considerable number of years, and it is doubtful whether there are any members of the family still living.

PAPER

As early as the first quarter of the eighteenth century, if not before, paper was manufactured in Northamptonshire, for a paper mill at Perio was burnt down,¹ 23 September, 1721. During the nineteenth century there were three paper mills in the county.

The most important of these was at Rush Mills, situated one mile from Northampton on the River Nene in the parish of Hardingstone. Paper-making was commenced here in 1833 by Mr. Stacey Wise, who came from Maidstone, and

who obtained a lease of the mills with option of purchase, which he exercised in the following year. Both water and steam were used for driving the machinery. Mr. Wise produced an excellent paper of high quality, and in the year 1840 obtained the government contract for banknote paper and government stamp paper; while at a later date the paper for postage stamps was also made at these mills. Mr. Stacey Wise died in 1842 and the business was continued by his widow. In 1847 a disastrous fire burnt the greater part of the mills to the ground, but the adjoining warehouse in which a large stock of

¹ Bridges, *Northants*, ii, 474.

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paper was stored and also the dwelling-house of the manager were saved. Several thousand pounds' worth of paper had fortunately just been removed to the government offices in London. The premises were insured in the Norwich Union Insurance Company, which shortly rebuilt them at a cost of about £4,000.

Mrs. Wise died in August, 1861, and the business was continued by her second husband, Dr. Faircloth of Northampton, who died in 1879, within a week of the contract for government paper ceasing. The mills had produced both hand-made and machine-made paper, the best quality having the water-mark 'Stacey Wise Handmade,' and the rest 'Wise & Co.' The manufacture was continued in 1881 by Messrs. Spalding and Hodge, who also had a mill at South Darenth (Kent). Although they made a small amount of banknote paper for private firms their productions were hardly of the same grade as formerly. They ceased business in 1888, and the mills stood idle for some time.

In 1889 work was again commenced by the Sparre Patents Company, Limited, under a patent taken out in 1880 by a Count Sparre, for producing by machinery a paper similar to that made by hand.¹ The experiment did not prove a success, and in a short time the mills were again closed and are now used for other purposes.

At Wansford a mill was started early in the nineteenth century by Mr. Hammerton for the manufacture of white and brown papers of the cheaper kind, and in 1847 John Clipsham was making paper there. This mill was operated both by water and steam, and was closed in May, 1859.

At Helpston near Peterborough Mr. Alfred Towgood in 1862 started a steam mill for the manufacture of air-dried rope brown paper, for which commodity his successors Messrs. Alfred Towgood & Co. still maintain a high reputation. They also make hand-made paper of high quality, including foolscap and ledger papers.

¹ Patent No. 3982, 1 Oct. 1880.

FORESTRY

THE woodlands of Northamptonshire are full of interest, though the three ancient forests of Rockingham,¹ Salcey, and Whittlewood² can claim neither the unique historic position of the New Forest, nor the legendary associations of Sherwood and Windsor. And from the economic point of view, Northampton and the adjoining county of Leicester have long been famed for the finest ash-timber in England.³

Northamptonshire can hardly, however, at the present time be regarded as a richly wooded county. Of the total acreage, the woods and plantations furnish about 14·4 per cent. The land is too rich and valuable for tillage and meadow, to be left under wood to any great extent. And a concomitant feature may be noted—the scarcity of mountain and heath-land suitable for rough grazing. There are only 148 acres of this character in the whole county.

It is possible that the Romans cleared some of the denser fastnesses which sheltered the British tribes; but the progress of tillage and the requirements of iron-smelting would naturally account for a considerable decrease in the woodland area. However, through the Saxon era, and at the date of the Conquest, dense forests remained between the Welland and the Nene in the northern portion of the county.

We have very few notices which particularly concern the woodlands of Northamptonshire during the period from the Conquest to the year 1217, the date of the granting of the Charter of the Forest. Many of the Saxon and Danish

kings had loved the chase, but with William the Conqueror and his immediate successors it was a veritable passion, and we find a consequent development of the royal forests and an increased rigour in the forest law. Some estimate of the amount of woodland in the county in the eleventh century may be derived from the entries in Domesday, which will be found in the first volume of this history. The afforestation of at least three large tracts in Northamptonshire seems to have been one outcome of the Norman Forest Law, but precise details are lacking. The largest and most important forest was Rockingham, in the north of the county, chiefly in the Corby and Willowbrook hundreds, with its castle far away from the ancient lines of road, a favourite hunting-seat of the English kings.⁴ Whittlewood or Whittlebury Forest lay in the south-east, in the Norton, Towcester, and Cleley hundreds, whilst towards the centre of the county the forest of Salcey belonged partly to Cleley and partly to Wimersley hundred; and portions both of Whittlewood and Salcey extended into the county of Buckingham. Of the original extent and boundaries of each of these we have no exact account. In the reign of the Conqueror, or a little later, a fourth large tract was formed into the forest of Nassaburgh, but this was disafforested in the reign of King John.⁵ It may be legitimately regarded as an extension of Rockingham.

A very early notice of Whittlebury is furnished by the chartulary of Luffield Priory. Osulf the forester is one of the witnesses to the earl of Leicester's foundation charter in the reign of Henry I., and the king commanded all his foresters of Whittlewood to permit the prior and monks of Luffield to have all convenient easements in his forest without waste.⁶ Also an early record⁷ of Pleas of the Forest is still extant, relating to the Northampton Eyre of 1209. Amongst many interesting cases we hear that the foresters found in Nassington Wood a doe with its throat cut, and lurking under a bush hard by was one Henry, the son of Benselin.

¹ *V.C.H. Northants*, i. pp. 295 and 307b; *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xix. p. 428.

² Morton, *Nat. Hist. of Northants*, p. 12.

³ Dugdale, *Monasticon*, iv. 348.

⁴ Forest Proc. Treas. of Receipt, No. 62, printed by Mr. G. J. Turner in *Select Pleas of the Forest* (Selden Soc.), p. 1. Our exact knowledge of the working of the Forest Laws has been greatly increased by Mr. Turner's researches, and we are indebted to him for many references.

¹ As early as the reign of Henry III. Rockingham was divided into the three bailiwicks of Rockingham, Brigstock, and Kingscliff or Clyve.

² Or Whittlebury.

³ John Morton in his *Natural History of Northamptonshire* (1712) refers to the high repute of the ash-timber of the county, and after describing the ancient forests, thus proceeds (p. 12): 'By this Account of the Woods it appears that *Northamptonshire* is not so destitute as 'tis commonly imagined. The *Northern* Part of the County, betwixt the *Welland* and *Nyne* is sufficiently stored, and several parts of the *South* are well Wooded. If one part of the County is thin of Wood, another Part is copiously furnished therewith. The County in the *Western* Part and upon both sides of the *Nyne* from *Northampton* down to *Higham* appears the barest. And notwithstanding the Scarcity of Wood in the *Western* part of the County, the Smiths of *Brumicham* do usually once in the year make a Journey thither for Ash-Timber for the Doors of Bellows.'

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He was arrested and imprisoned. On his appearance before the justices he disclaimed all knowledge of the doe. He was in the wood on lawful business searching for his horse. The foresters and verderers seem to have given evidence in favour of the accused, and deposed that in their opinion he was not the guilty party, but rather one Richard Gelee, the reaper of Newton, who had incontinently fled on hearing of Henry's arrest. And the record proceeds: 'Because Henry himself has taken the cross, and is not suspected, and has lain for a long time in prison, it is granted to him that he may make his pilgrimage; and let him start before Whitsunday; and if he return and can find pledges of his fealty, let him remain in the forest.' This entry further illustrates in the sphere of forest law the working of the principle of collective responsibility, for the whole township of Newton were in mercy on account of their fugitive reaper.

During the period 1217-1301 from the Charter of the Forest to the disafforestation of large tracts by Edward I., we have many notices of the forests of Northamptonshire, of which few can be mentioned here. As regards the supply of wood, orders for grants seem to have been more rare under Henry III. than in the case of other royal forests, and were very seldom indeed bestowed on outsiders. Possibly this points to the deficiency of well-grown timber.¹

The Forest Law had for its particular object the preservation of the beasts of the forest, and these were generally four only—the red deer, the fallow deer, the roe,² and the wild-boar, and in one exceptional district, the warren of Somerton, the hare.

An important landmark in the forest administration was the year 1238, when two provinces were formed north of Trent and south of Trent, and a justice of the forest was appointed for each province. Previously there had been, as a rule, though exceptions are to be found, only one chief forester or forest justice (the 'Capitalis Forestarius' of the Charter). His usual duties were quite as much administrative as judicial, and were occasionally in the thirteenth and often in the fourteenth century performed by deputy. Next in the official hierarchy came the wardens or stewards, some hereditary, others appointed during the king's pleasure. Usually each steward received the custody of a single forest, but the forests of Northampton, Huntingdon, Oxford, and Buckingham were for a time grouped together, and their custodian was styled the Steward of the Forests between the bridges of Stamford

and Oxford. The deputy-wardens, later known as lieutenants, were also on occasion loosely called stewards, and more correctly sub-stewards.³ A third class of officers comprised the verderers, elected, as were the coroners in the county court, and generally chosen from the landed gentry of the neighbourhood. The actual police duties of the forest were mainly performed by officers known as foresters and their pages. Woodward, agisters,⁴ palesters, and rangers may also be mentioned.

Among the lesser courts of the forest we may class the Attachment Court, which was largely concerned with small trespasses to the vert, and inquisitions, special and general. Probably the vague term 'swanimote' or 'swainmote,' was on occasion applied to all of these. During the reign of Henry III. special inquisitions were frequent, and the extant rolls⁵ of those for the forest of Rockingham (30-39 Hen. III.) were probably transcribed for use in the eyre of 1255. In later reigns general inquisitions largely took the place of special inquiries. We may cite as an example a roll of courts held in the forest of Rockingham in the years 19-24 Edward I.⁶ It is quite clear that any trespass, whether against vert or venison, might be dealt with. The times and places of the courts seem to have followed no settled order. One was held at Brigstock on 6 September, 1292, before the deputy-justice of the forest south of the Trent, by the deputy-warden or steward of the forest between the bridges of Oxford and Stamford, two riding foresters, three verderers, and twelve as well knights as free and loyal men of the neighbouring parts of the forest. Another was held at Geddingdon on the 2 January, 1292-3. It may be remarked that a number of the Whittlewood general inquisitions for the years 22-31 Edward I.⁷ are said to have been held 'in pleno Swanimotto'; and statutory sanction was given to the designation 'swanimote' in the year 1306. As far as Northamptonshire is concerned, special inquisitions were not completely superseded. At Salcey both special and general inquisitions were held from time to time from 15 to 33 Edward I.⁸

The Forest Eyre was the supreme court of the forest, and the justices were appointed by letters

³ In an inquisition held in Rockingham Forest on 9 March, 1294, Adam of Nailford is described in one place as 'sub-senescallus' and in another as 'locumtenens Elye de Hauvile,' *Forest Procs. Tr. of Rec.* 82, m. 5, quoted by Turner, *op. cit.* p. xviii.

⁴ The forest 'agistment' has left traces in the local dialect; when a farm is understocked and the occupier takes in the cattle of another man to feed at so much per head, such cattle are said to be 'jisted' (the 'i' being pronounced long). Wise, *Rockingham Castle and the Watsons*, p. 151.

⁵ *Forest Proc. Tr. of Rec.* No. 63; Turner, *Pleas of the Forest*, p. 79.

⁶ *Forest Proc. Tr. of Rec.* No. 82.

⁷ *Ibid.* No. 83.

⁸ *Ibid.* No. 78.

¹ Rev. J. C. Cox, LL.D. *Royal Forests of England*, chap. xix, an important contribution to the history of Rockingham Forest, the advance sheets of which we have, by the kindness of the author, been allowed to see.

² Until the decision of the King's Bench (1338), *Coram Rege*, 315, m. 106, which reduced it to a beast of the warren.

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patent. For example, in 1235 William le Breton, Nicholas de Romsey, Geoffrey de Lawknor, and Simon de Thorp were appointed justices itinerant in the counties of Huntingdon, Northampton, Buckingham, and Oxford.¹ After a session at Huntingdon they arrived at Northampton, and on 20 June were hearing pleas² in respect to the forests of Rockingham and Cliffe. On 30 September they were still at Northampton (possibly there had been a vacation during some part of the intervening period), and there they dealt with the Northampton side of Whittlewood and all the pleas of Salcey.³

In 1272 another forest eyre was held in the county of Northampton and during the reign of Edward I., the intervals between the eyres became longer and more uncertain. It is impossible to deal at length with the procedure of the justices, but we may quote an interesting case. During the eyre of 1255 it was proved⁴ that a certain 'beast' was taken beneath the hedge of the castle of Rockingham by the men of the parson of Easton. One of the verderers, John Lovet, probably to screen a friend, declared the beast was a sheep, and on conviction of falsehood by his fellow-verderers and the court was imprisoned, and only obtained his freedom by a heavy fine of 12 marks. The case was evidently regarded as a bad one.

As in the King's Court, so in the Court of the Forest, there was normally a special procedure in the case of criminal clerks. Occasionally, however, clerical poachers made fine⁵ to the king without any statement appearing on the record that they were delivered to the bishop. This appears clearly from a Northampton case, in which Robert, parson of Polebrook, and William, parson of Barnack, were concerned.⁶

A case occurs in the Northamptonshire eyre of 1253 in which it is declared that a man was not attached because he was a clerk.⁷ When caught 'flagrante delicto' clerks were sometimes arrested in spite of their refusal to admit liability.⁸ For example, in January, 1250-1, a clerical trespasser was met by night in the forest of Rockingham. In spite of his protests,⁹ the foresters insisted on arresting him, but he contrived to escape from their custody.

Once every three years a visitation or regard was held, or ought to have been held, of wood-

lands within the forest boundaries by twelve knights specially chosen. Special attention was directed to assarts, purprestures, and waste. The original record¹⁰ of three regards made in the forests of Cliffe and Rockingham in the years 34, 37, and 39 Henry III., respectively, still remains to us, and presents many points of interest.

If full accounts of the various perambulations of the forests made in the reigns of Henry the Third and his successors had survived to our own day, we should possess trustworthy information as to the extent of the various forests. Pursuant to the Forest Charter of 1217 frequent perambulations were made, and a few still exist.¹¹ Again, at the close of the thirteenth century, after the Statute 'De Finibus Levatis,' which incorporated the whole of the Charter of the Forest except the first five articles, perambulations were made in Northampton¹² and other counties. On the 14 February, 1301, at the Parliament of Lincoln, Edward I. by letters patent disafforested all tracts outside the boundaries proved in the recent perambulations. This concession, however, had been wrung from him under political pressure, and with the sanction of Pope Clement V. he soon disavowed it. But both his successors found themselves compelled to consent to the observance of these very disafforestments. Thus the year 1301 may be taken as a convenient landmark, separating the period of the full vigour of the forest administration from the time of its gradual dissolution and decay.

Besides the forests proper we meet in Northamptonshire and elsewhere with tracts of woodland and heath under the designation of chases, parks, and warrens.

Districts in which beasts of the forest were preserved, but where only a portion of the forest law was enforced, were often known as chases.¹³ Such were forests or parcels of forests granted to subjects by their sovereign. But occasionally the word was used to denote a parcel of a royal

¹⁰ Forest Proc. Tr. of Rec. No. 67. Extracts are printed by Turner, p. lxxxv.

¹¹ The forest of Rockingham is described in the earliest perambulation extant (14 Edw. I. 1286) as extending from Northampton to Stamford, with a total length of about 33 miles, and from the river Nene on the south to the Welland and Maidwell on the north-west, with an average breadth of about 8 miles. In 1299 these limits had been much contracted. Details as to the perambulations of Whittlebury are collected in Baker's *History of Northants*, ii. 75. The part of Whittlebury in Northants enclosed about 32 square miles. Salcey was much smaller than either of the other two.

¹² Forest Proc. Anc. Chanc. No. 102., Turner, op. cit. p. cv.

¹³ As early as the reign of Edward I. this terminology is employed in official documents. Pat. 23 Edw. I. m. 10d. 'Liberam chaciarn Willelmi de Brewosa que vocatur foresta sancti Leonardi.'

¹ Pat. 65, m. 7, cited by Turner, p. 2, *Select Pleas of the Forest*.

² Forest Proc. Tr. of Rec. No. 68.

³ Ibid. No. 70.

⁴ Turner, op. cit. p. 35.

⁵ In the case of clerks the fine was usually styled a 'tax.'

⁶ Forest Proc. Tr. of Rec. No. 68. Roll 2.

⁷ Ibid. No. 70, Roll 3.

⁸ Ibid. No. 65, printed by Turner. *Select Pleas of the Forest*, pp. 33 and 94.

⁹ This is probably the force of the technical phrase here used, 'non potuit eis plegios invenire.'

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forest proper, where no customary rights of common existed.¹ In Northamptonshire, Geddington² and Yardley were sometimes spoken of as chases.

The word 'park' simply implies an enclosure fenced with paling, and though a chase was more often not enclosed at all, the real distinction between a private park and a chase is found in the law applicable to them. The park of a subject³ was not within the purview of the forest law;⁴ in the chase of a great noble the forest laws were applicable, though not in their entirety.⁵ There would seem to have been no special legal classification of beasts of the chase.⁶

The warren was used in two senses, either to signify the right of hunting, or the land affected by such right. The fox, hare,⁷ and wild cat were the usual beasts of the warren, and the coney was properly included in the same category. There were also fowls of warren, pheasants, partridges, and the like.

The county of Northampton now boasts a goodly number of private parks,⁸ but there were not many before the Elizabethan age. The royal park at Moulton, an appanage of Northampton Castle, is constantly mentioned, and existed as early as the reign of Henry II. It was not disparked until after the year 1531,⁹ as in that year

¹ Cf. *Royal Letters of Hen. III.* (Rolls Ser.), i, p. 348. 'Simili modo videndæ sunt dominicæ hayæ et chaciæ domini regis, ubi nemo communicat.'

² By letters patent 18 Jan. 28 Chas. II. Geddington woods with certain lawns and plains within the precinct were granted to Edward Lord Montagu and his heirs, to be deemed a chase distinct from the forest of Rockingham, and out of the jurisdiction and boundaries of the said forest.

³ The word 'park' was frequently applied during this period to portions of a royal forest fenced off for special purposes; the remarks in the text as to the law applicable to a private park have no reference to any such parcel of a forest in the strict sense.

⁴ The park was protected by the law of trespass and especially by the Statute of Westminster, 1275.

⁵ The subject is carefully discussed by G. J. Turner. *Select Pleas of the Forest*, p. clx.

⁶ Manwood's classification is derived from the sporting distinctions drawn in the tract of Twici (more correctly William Twiti), who wrote in the reign of Edward II.

⁷ The exceptional status of the hare at Somerton has already been noticed. After 1338 the roe was also a beast of warren.

⁸ For a list of parks, see *V.C.H. Northants*, i, p. 133.

⁹ Probably not till much later, as the following references, which we owe to the courtesy of the Rev. R. M. Serjeantson, seem to indicate. 'That the townships of Walgrave, Crannesley, Moulton, Orlingbere, Hannington, and dyverse other townshippes do paye a rent towards the reparations of the wall of the said parke.' (Dep. taken at Kettering 11 Aug., 2 Edw. VI., now in Kingthorpe Church Chest.) 1587, 'It. For goinge to Molton parck to tacke order for the repere of it, xxij^d.' 1588, 'Paid to Molton park wall of the grene 5s.' (Burton Latimer, Church-

Sir John Mordaunt, Surveyor-General of the Woods and Forests, was charged by royal mandate to write to 'the officers of our forest of Sawcey and of our park of Moulton,' commanding them to deliver to John Hartwell, Esq., and Richard Wale, Gent, 'such and as many oaks, convenient for posts and Rayles with the Lops, Tops and Bark of the same,' as shall be sufficient for enlarging the park at Hartwell, and making a new lodge there.¹⁰ The warrens of Wittering, Helpston, and Sywell are mentioned by Morton.¹¹

The year 1301 has already been mentioned as a convenient landmark in the history of the forests. Thenceforward, in spite of many new laws and the amendments to those already existing, the forest administration gradually but surely decayed. But the exigencies of space will not allow us to trace the legal changes under Edward III. and his successor, or to analyse the extant records of the fourteenth-century Forest Courts. There are the usual complaints of the conduct of the forest officers, and in the year 1331 we hear of the Commission of Oyer and Terminer to inquire as to the conduct of Robert de Veer, steward of Rockingham Forest, and constable of the castle, who seems to have been at feud with the Abbot of Pipewell.¹²

During the period when the throne was held by kings of the House of Lancaster no new legislation was effected. But when once the country began to recover from the wasteful effects of the Wars of the Roses, a very important step was taken in 1482, by the passing of *An Act for Inclosing of Woods in the Forests, Chases, and purlieus* (22 Edw. IV., Cap. 7). This may, perhaps, be worth quoting 'in extenso,' as particular mention is made in it regarding a Northants forest:—

'Also our said Lord the King, considering that divers Subjects having Woods growing in their own ground within the Forest of *Rockingham*, and other Forests and Chases within the realm of *England*, or purlieus of the same, which have cut their said Wood, because the same Subjects might not before Time cut nor inclose their said ground, to save the young Spring (i.e., coppice, or seedling growth) of their Wood so cut, any longer Time than for Three Years, the same young Spring hath been in Times past and daily is destroyed with Beasts and Cattle of the same Forest, Chases, and Purlieus, to the great Hindrance, as well of his said Subjects, as of his Deer, Vert, and Venison in their covert, and otherwise, to the likely destruction of the same

wardens' Accounts). According to Baker, *Hist. of Northants*, i. 53, the freehold rights of Moulton Park and Warren remained vested in the Crown till 10 Charles I.

¹⁰ Halsted's *Geneal.* p. 551, cited by Baker, *Hist. of Northants*, i. 52.

¹¹ *Nat. Hist. of Northants* (1782), p. 10.

¹² Pat. 5 Edw. III. mm. 15 d. and 16 d.

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Forests, Chases, and Purlieus; by the Assent of the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in the said Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, doth ordain, enact, and establish, That if any of his Subjects having Wood of his own growing in his own ground, within any Forest, Chase, or Purlieu of the same, within this realm of *England*, from the first day of this Parliament, shall cut, or cause to be cut the same wood, or Part thereof, by licence of the King, or of his heirs, in his Forests, Chases, or Purlieus, or without Licence in the Forest, Chase, or Purlieu of any other person, to make any sale of the same wood; it shall be lawful to the same Subjects, Owners of the same ground whereupon the wood so cut did grow, and to such other persons to whom such wood shall happen to be sold, immediately after the Wood so cut, to cope and inclose the same ground with sufficient Hedges, able to keep out all Manner of Beasts and Cattle forth of the same ground, for the preserving of their young Spring; and the same Hedges so made the said Subjects may keep them continually by the Space of Seven Years after the same inclosing, and repair and sustain the same as often as shall need within the same Seven Years, without suing of any other Licence of Him, or of his Heirs, or other Persons, or any of their Officers of the same Forests, Chases, and Purlieus.'

The intention of this Act was, of course, to preserve the woodlands, but the results afterwards proved that it ultimately led to 'waste' on a large scale, since many of the tracts thus denuded of old trees were subsequently converted into arable and pasture land.

Much of interest as to the forest officers may be gleaned amongst the fifteenth-century Ministers' Accounts, preserved at the Public Record Office, whilst the proceedings at the later eyres furnished numerous details as to the protection both of vert and venison. An excellent resumé of the more striking features of the Rockingham Forest Pleas of 1490 will be found in Dr. C. J. Cox's *Royal Forests of England*.¹ One point may be cited here; amongst the perquisites of the foresters, besides special fence-timber, we meet with 'fox stubbes' and 'fox and varmint trees,' timber granted as a reward for the zealous persecution of foxes and vermin generally. For example, John Holcot, forester of Morehay in 1485, removed a tree called a 'fox-tre' for his own use, and in the following year he had a 'fox-stubbe,'² each of which was valued at two shillings.

There is a Statute of Henry VIII's which has a most special interest as regards the forests in Northants, *An Act concerning the Honour of Grafton* (33 Hen. VIII, cap. 36), passed in 1542,

to the following effect:—'The King's Hundreds of *Wimbersley* and *Aldords How*, and his Forests of *Whittlewood* and *Sawcey*, and his Chases of *Yardley* and *Whaddon*, and all his Manors, Parks, Sites of Monasteries, Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, lying within the Towns Hamlets and Parishes of *Grafton*, *Hartwell*, *Ashton*, *Rood*, *Cortnall*, *Alderton*, *Stoke-Brewern*, *Shittel-anger*, *Shoresley*, *Bliseworth*, *Milton*, *Mallesworth*, *Tiffeld*, *Pallispery*, *Tossetur*, *Eiston*, *Hulcot*, *Abthorp*, *Foscot*, *Greinsnorton*, *Blackesley*, *Wooden*, *Colchigham*, *Grimscot*, *Parsot*, *Escot*, *Ascot*, *Dalescot*, *Bugbroke*, *Ruddistrip*, *Collingthbrigh*, *Hardingston*, *Wotton*, *Quinton*, *Slopton*, *Densanger*, *Yardley*, *Potterspery*, *Furthoo*, *Cosgrave*, *Castle Ashley*, *Wiken*, and *Delaprey*, in the County of *Northampton*, and in the Hamlet Towns and Parishes of *Luffield*, *Hansap*, *Castle-Thorp*, *Harsham*, *Shenley*, *Little Harwood*, *Snelsoo*, and *Little Lidforth*, in the county of *Buckingham*, and elsewhere within the Realm of *England*, belonging or appertaining to any Manors or Hundreds, lying or being in any of the Towns or Parishes above mentioned, shall be annexed to the Manor of *Grafton*; and the said Manors and other the Premises shall be called perpetually the Honour of *Grafton*, and shall be in the Order and Survey of the Court of Augmentations; saving so much thereof as is within the Duchy of Lancaster, or County Palatine of Lancaster.' And, by chapter 39 of the same Statute, 'The Master of the Woods was made *ex-officio* a member of the Court of Record now formed as "the Court of the General Surveyors of the King's Lands."'

A report furnished by John Wake to the earl of Leicester, on 8 Nov. 1571, after he had 'perused the forest and walkes of Whittlewoode, and parkes thereto adjoining,' is preserved at the British Museum.³ He 'noted breefly the whole summe and effect' of what should be done, and declared that the 'Queens Majestys woddes in the said Forrest were never in better order by reason of the newe Commysion of Survey⁴ and newe officers in that behalf. The game in the said forrest seemeth to be in reasonable good estate, all things considered, and as the keepers do affirme was never in more quiett and rest from anye hunters of the purleys withowt or trespassers within. The Parkes of Grafton and Stoke seem to be indifferent faire, Perry Parke not so faire, and Hartwell the meanest of all, and good cause whie I have geven the keepers as well of the Forrest as of the Parkes, so many as were at home a great chardge in your Lordshipes name not only to look substantially to there several chardgis, but also nether to kill nor serve any deare until your funder pleashure therein be knowne.' When this was written Wake was apparently engaged on the survey of Salcey.⁵ If

¹ Chap. xix.

² The term 'stubb' was generally applied to a pollard-oak.

³ Add. MS. 32,091, fol. 254.

⁴ See also Roger Taverner's *Book of Survey*, 1565.

⁵ His letter is dated 'Salcey Forrest.'

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the deer of Whittlewood were 'in quiett and rest' as the keepers affirmed, this was not the case at Rockingham, where, in Elizabeth's reign, poaching was persistent and outrageous.¹

Henry VIII, who may be regarded as the father of the English navy, had encouraged the planting and preservation of timber for ship-building,² and the struggle with Spain under Elizabeth impressed her statesmen with the vital necessity for preserving the national forests. Yet, as the forest lands were leased from time to time, there must have been a great deal of wastage in spite of the provisions of the leases for the maintenance of woods. James I, who was evidently alive to the importance of the matter, published on 5 July, 1608, 'A Proclamation for the Preservation of Woods.'

In the survey of the Northampton royal forests and parks, completed by 1608, the number of 'timber oaks' was returned as 93,942, valued at £46,355 in the forests and 14,198, valued at £4,609, in the parks, while the unleased coppices amounted respectively to 6,342 acres and 348 acres. King James I also made a rough-and-ready but quite a definite working-plan or scheme of management for all the royal woods throughout England.³ Under the head of Planting, Increasing, and Preserving of Woods, the then existing 30,000 acres of coppice (copse-woods) were to be raised to 81,000 by adding 51,000 acres in 15 years. The 3,400 acres of new wood annually were estimated to cost £2,102 18s. or £31,543 10s. for the whole 51,000 acres, and the net income derivable after 15 years was estimated to be £21,600 per annum.

The unfortunate Charles I, always in want of money, and careless as to the manner in which his servants could raise it, caused grave discontent by attempts to revive certain abuses of the ancient forest laws. He alienated large portions of the forest lands by grant and sale, while he endeavoured to claim and possess himself of tracts leased by Elizabeth and James I. Overstepping the bounds of the law, he made the earl of Holland, the Chief Justice in Eyre, hold an eyre or justice seat almost every year, in place of only once every third year, in order to try and recover his alleged rights. Juries were suborned to find the king's title by inquisition, and no prescriptions could be pleaded against it when thus found by a partial tribunal. In 1638 he had Rockingham perambulated in order to re-afforest all lands within the perambulation held in Edward I's time, about 340 years before; and in 1639 he

caused similar perambulations to be made in order to extend the boundaries of Salcey and Whittlewood. Then enormous fines were imposed upon those who were accused of encroachments in these and other forests. Lord Salisbury is thus said to have been amerced in £20,000, Lord Westmorland in £19,000, and Sir Christopher Hatton in £12,000, though it is probable that many of these fines were remitted.⁴

Before these perambulations the king had been driven by his financial straits to extensive and reckless sales of timber. On 21 July, 1628, we find a grant to Nicholas Pay and others, on the nomination of the earls of Westmorland and Peterborough, of all timber-trees within the walks of Morehay, Westhay, and Farmingwoods, within the forest of Rockingham, in consideration of £2,000.⁵ About three weeks after, on 13 August, Edward Lord Montagu received a grant of all the wood within the walk called Geddington Woods in the forest of Rockingham in consideration of a payment of £1,000.⁶ Lord Montagu had previously been given the reversion of Rockingham bailiwick in the same forest.⁷ The ultimate alienation of Geddington Chase under Charles II has already been mentioned. Similar sales were also made in the other forests. For example, on 31 July, 1628, Lord President Marlborough gave warrant for granting certain coppices within the forest of Whittlewood to the earl of Northampton in consideration of £5,000 in money and £10 rent. The earl was to enjoy those coppices free from all manner of liberty of forest, and with power to cut down woods and convert the land into arable.⁸

The untimely revival of oppressive forest jurisdiction by Charles I brought about its natural result. On 8 June, 1640, Selden brought in a Bill for the limitation of forests, and two months later it received the royal assent. It was the death-blow to the old system. Early in the Commonwealth proposals were considered for managing the forests, chases, and parks of the late king less offensively to the people for the good of the commonwealth, and measures were taken for a proper survey.⁹ Again, on 5 January, 1654, we find an order by the trustees for sale of forest lands that Jasper Waterhouse, of Staple Inn, Holborn, gentleman, deliver to Wm. Ryley their agent all records relating to the justice seats¹⁰ of the forest of Waltham, Whittlewood, Clyve, Rockingham, and Salcey, or any forests where John Keeling or his father attended, 'which re-

¹ See cases cited by G. Wise, *Rockingham Castle and the Watsons*, p. 145 sqq.

² We may note particularly the *Act for the Preservation of Woods*, best known as the Statute of Woods, 1543. See *V.C.H. Hants*, ii. 444.

³ Cott. MS. Titus B. iv; temp. James I, docketed as *Treasury Office; Increase of Revenue*.

⁴ Vide Hallam's *Constitutional History of England*, i. 8.

⁵ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1628-9, p. 222.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 254.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 199.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 239.

⁹ *Ibid.* 1653-4, p. 131 sqq.

¹⁰ Eyres.

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cords are now in Keeling's custody.¹ There is evidence of increased lawless slaughter of the deer during the troubles of the Civil War, and Parliament did not now disdain to protect the 'deer belonging to the state' as well as the woodland.² We obtain a hint as to the forest outlaws in an order of 22 February, 1656-7, when Robert Worrall, keeper of Grettam Lodge, Rockingham Forest, is recommended for a reward of £50. He had apprehended at great personal hazard four notorious coiners and also taken six notable highwaymen.³ And finally, we may note that under the Commonwealth the forest administration compares favourably with that of Charles I, who had sacrificed the interests of the woodlands to his imperious financial necessities. After the Restoration the higher forest offices were practically sinecures, and no serious attempt was made to revive oppressive jurisdiction. But considerable attention was paid to the provision of ship-building timber. One note only as to Whittlewood in 1670 can be quoted here: 'There are 7,000 oaks in Whittlewood Forest also fit for plank, 1,000 of which are dying at the top; if the lieutenant and keepers are permitted to head and lop such great quantities every year as they have hitherto done there will be few oaks left; they have already made 4,000 fit for nothing but logs or to bear browse for deer. There are also 80 trees in this forest yet to fell, for which directions should be given. In every twelve loads of timber and plank carried into the stores from Whittlewood there is 50 feet over measure, so that the land and water carriage is saved.'⁴

But during this reign outlying portions of the forests were often absorbed into the estates of neighbouring landowners. It is quite clear from the remarks of Morton, in his *Natural History of Northamptonshire*, that the growing scarcity of timber in the county had been noticed by outsiders, however the fact might be gainsaid by local patriots.⁵ Careless forestry, combined with disafforestation and leasing on a considerable scale, was bound to tell on the extent of the forests and their value as the chief sources for the timber-supply of the Royal Navy. And in the eighteenth century Parliament gave the whole subject serious consideration, and several Acts were passed.

In 1769 part of a statute (9 Geo. III, cap. 41) was *For the better Preservation of Hollies, Thorns, and Quicksets, in Forests, Chases, and private grounds, and of Trees and Underwoods on Forests*

and Chases, and a slight error in this was rectified in 1770 (10 Geo. III, cap. 30). So serious, indeed, was the outlook for timber in Britain about one hundred and thirty years ago that, in 1772, *An Act for the effectually securing a Quantity of Oak Timber for the Use of the Royal Navy* (12 Geo. III, cap. 54) prohibited, under a fine of £5,000 for each offence, the building of any ship for the East India Company so long as their fleet had a tonnage exceeding 45,000 tons.

On account of the grave position and the prospects in respect to oak timber, there was passed in 1786 *An Act for appointing Commissioners to enquire into the state and Condition of the Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues belonging to the Crown; and to sell or alienate Fee Farm and other unimprovable Rents* (26 Geo. III, cap. 87). The three commissioners appointed to make these inquiries (Sir Charles Middleton, Bart. and Messrs. John Vall and Arthur Holdsworth) submitted to Parliament no fewer than seventeen reports during the years 1787 to 1793, which contain a mass of interesting information exceedingly valuable to the student of the history of forestry in England. Three of these reports have special reference to the royal forests in Northamptonshire, namely, VII. Salcey Forest (1790), VIII. Whittlewood Forest (1792), and IX. Rockingham Forest (1792).

At the time of the report, the part of Salcey Forest in which the crown had timber was about 2½ miles long and 1½ broad, and extended to about 1,847 acres. It consisted of copses covered with timber and underwood (1,122 acres), open, unclosed plains and ridings (471 acres), enclosed meadows and pastures around the warden's and keepers' lodges (74 acres), and enclosed lawns for the deer (180 acres); and it was divided into four walks (Hanslope, Piddington, Hartwell, and the deputy ranger's). The copses were cut over every twenty-one years, then enclosed for seven years against deer, and for nine years against cattle. The commonable cattle were allowed to feed with the deer in the unenclosed plains and ridings, so that the rights of common extended over 1,592 acres in all, but not during every year. From the time this forest was made part of the honour of Grafton (in 1542) the copses were cut by the woodward of the county, under warrant from the Lord Treasurer or Chancellor of the Exchequer. On 30 June, 1665, the forests of Salcey and Whittlewood were settled by Charles II on Queen Catherine for her life as part of her jointure, though the timber trees and saplings were reserved for the use of the crown. On 21 June, 1673, the life-rent of the woodlands in both of these forests was granted by the king to Henry, earl of Arlington, after the death of the queen (she lived till 1705), and thereafter to Henry, earl of Euston, afterwards duke of Grafton, Charles, earl of Southampton, and George, Lord Fitzroy, the sons of Charles II.,

¹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1653-4, p. 349.

² See notes of letters to Col. Thomas Waite of Salcey Forest and the warden of the east part of Rockingham and others. *Ibid.* 1658-9, p. 361.

³ *Ibid.* 1656-7, p. 279.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1670, p. 207. Opinion of John Moorhouse, purveyor.

⁵ See note quoted at commencement of this article.

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and their respective heirs for ever,—except as regarded all timber-trees and all good saplings ‘to be reserved for stadles or samplers,’ as ordered by the statute for the preservation of timber. Thus the duke of Grafton became entitled to the profits arising from the underwoods only. The local forest officers consisted in 1790 of a warden or master forester (Mr. Frederick Montagu), a lieutenant or deputy warden, two verderers, a woodward, and four keepers, while the timber was under the control of the surveyor-general of woods and forests. During¹ the reign of Elizabeth and in the first half of the seventeenth century the wardenship had been successively held, upon patents for life, by the earls of Cumberland and Essex, Sir Christopher Hatton, the marquis of Northampton, the Lord Williams, the dukes of Lennox and Buckingham, and the earl of Dorset,¹ before it was granted in 1661 to Mr. George Montagu of Horton and his male heirs. The head of deer maintained was about 1,000, and the usual number killed off each year was twenty-eight brace of bucks and twenty-four does, four of each being supplied for the use of the royal household, while by ancient custom the various forest officers had all ‘fee buck and does’ in fixed numbers. Although the forest soil was well adapted to the growth of oak, no² timber appears to have been taken from Salcey for the use of the navy until 1781, when shipwrights from Deptford Yard converted the wood on the spot in order to lessen the excessive cost of transport.

Whittlewood Forest, in 1792, consisted of 5,424 acres, ‘almost entirely encompassed with a ring mound, which has been its boundary beyond the memory of the oldest man.’ The rest of the lands within the ancient perambulation had either been granted away and altogether exempted from the forest laws, or were private estates merely burdened with certain privileges for the royal deer and other forestal rights. It now consisted of copses (3,895 acres), unenclosed plains and ridings (887 acres), unenclosed meadows and pastures of the lord warden, lieutenant, and keepers (313 acres), and enclosed lawns for the deer and cattle of the warden and lieutenant (329 acres). It was divided into five walks (Hasleborough, Sholbrook, Wakefield, Hanger, and Shrob), and the copses were worked in the same manner as those in Salcey. Seven copses (418 acres) in the parish of Silverstone (Hasleborough Walk) were found

to belong, as to both timber and underwood, to Earl Bathurst, the right of the crown extending only to herbage and cover for deer; while the remaining copses (3,476 acres) were included in the royal grant to the family of Grafton, above referred to. Fifteen parishes enjoyed, under certain limitations, the privilege of common pasture over 4,486 acres (all but Shrob Walk, 295 acres), in Whittlewood Forest. Only horned cattle and horses were allowed to graze, not sheep or swine; and the forest was driven once a year to find and impound cattle not marked as belonging to commoners. The local forest officers were the warden (duke of Grafton), his deputy, two verderers, a woodward, a purliu ranger, and six keepers, besides the surveyor-general of woods. At the Restoration the lord-wardenship was held by the earl of Northampton, who had received it for life by grant from Charles I; but on 12 January, 1680, Charles II issued letters patent granting this office, on its reversion after the death of the earl of Northampton, to Henry, earl of Arlington, for life, and then to Henry, duke of Grafton, and his male heirs for ever. As both of these pre-deceased the queen dowager, a new patent was issued on 19 July, 1712, by Queen Anne ‘granting and confirming the office of master forester to the duke of Grafton, and his heirs male, subject, however, to the correction of certain abuses that were pointed out by the surveyor-general of woods. The number of deer was about 1,800, the number annually killed being about 138 bucks and 100 does. This forest seems at this time³ to have supplied no great quantity of timber for the navy, although conversion on the spot was tried, as in Salcey, in order to reduce the cost of carriage. But the forest was found in a very bad state, owing to wasteful fellings caused by the perquisites attached to the office of surveyor-general. Against those the warden protested strongly in 1771, while the commissioners reported in 1792 that ‘it is not by profusion in felling the timber, or in the execution of works done in the forests, that the property of the crown has alone been injured; the total want of any uniform plan of management and care of the trees while growing has perhaps been still more destructive in its effects.’

The retrogression in the condition of the two forests may be seen by comparing the results of

¹ Report on Salcey Forest (1790), p. 6.

² It is clear from the Report of the Commissioners that no timber for naval purposes was felled in Salcey between the death of the Queen Dowager Catherine of Braganza in 1705 and the date mentioned in the text. In the seventeenth century note seems to have been made of wood suitable for shipbuilding, but if any was taken from this forest for the purpose it was to a very small amount.

³ In the reign of Charles II, however, Whittlewood seems to have furnished a fair amount of timber for shipbuilding. For example, on 22 March, 1668, a warrant was issued for felling 1,000 trees in this forest for the use of the navy, and the statement is made that the earl of Oxford, Chief Justice in Eyre, had certified that, though considerable quantities of timber had been felled there by the late Lord Treasurer’s order, yet the forest was so well stored that 1,000 trees might be spared without defacing the same. (See Report VIII, on Whittlewood, p. 11.)

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the surveys of oak timber made in 1608 and 1783 :

Forest.	1608		1783	
	Timber fit for the Navy	Decayed Trees	Timber fit for the Navy	Decayed Trees
	Loads	Loads	Loads	Loads
Salcey .	23,902	1,673	2,497	5,653
Whittle-wood .	45,568	1,472	4,820	7,200
Total .	69,470	3,145	7,317	12,853

Rockingham Forest, in 1792, consisted of three separate districts called the bailiwicks of Rockingham, Brigstock, and Clive or Cliff, distant about 2 to 4 miles from each other ; and each balliwick was divided into two or more walks. Those in Rockingham were the lawn of Benefield, West Walk, Grettton and Little Weldon Woods, Weedhaw and Thornhaw, and Corley Woods ; those of Brigstock were Eddington and Farming Woods ; those of Clive were Westhay, Moorhay, and Sulchay Firms and Shortwood. All three bailiwicks were formerly under the superintendence of a warden or master forester, which office was granted by James I, on 31 August, 1603, to Thomas, Lord Burleigh, for three lives ; but Charles I abolished the office and gave (10 July, 1629) the master forestership of Rockingham, with Geddington Woods, to Edward Lord Montagu, for three lives, and that of Clive (25 July, 1630) to the trustees for Mildmay, earl of Westmorland, for three lives, while that of Farming Woods was granted (1 May, 1674) to Sir Robert Robinson for three lives. In 1792, Mr. George Finch Hatton was warden of Rockingham ; the earl of Upper Ossory was warden of Farming Woods ; the earl of Exeter was warden of West Hay ; and the earl of Westmorland was warden of Moorhay, Sullhay, and Shortwood ; while Geddington Woods had been disafforested on 17 January, 1676, and granted to Lord Montagu and his heirs and assigns for ever. The actual woodlands included in the forest, in 1792, were about 9,482 acres, distributed over three bailiwicks (Rockingham 3,500, Brigstock 1,400, Clive 4,582). But they were most of them private woods merely burdened with forestal rights. The number of deer then maintained in the forest is not known, though it must have been large, as over 100 bucks and a greater number of does were killed annually.¹

¹ *V. C. H. Northants*, i, p. 133, for further details.

In addition to the warden or master forester, the local forest officers, previous to the Act of Limitations (1640), were a lieutenant, four verderers, a ranger of the forest, and for each walk an under-ranger, a bow ranger, a bow bearer, a master keeper, under keepers, and twelve regarders, besides woodwards and under woodwards. Two swainmote courts were held, one for Rockingham and Brigstock, and the other for Clive ; but after the discontinuance of the forest courts, the forest was mainly under the care of the hereditary master foresters. In 1702 the surveyor-general found that the crown could claim a title to oak timber in Sullhay Woods, and 2,094 trees were sold between 1704 and 1736, giving a net revenue of £3,623. The conclusion the commissioners came to in 1792 regarding this forest was that :—

‘A forest in a situation so distant from any residence of the royal family, with an establishment of offices, either granted in perpetuity or esteemed of little value by those who possess them, and in which so little of the right to timber has been reserved, can neither contribute much to the amusement of the king, the dignity or profit of the crown, or the advantage of the public.

‘And though the ancient forest laws, and the courts, when regularly held, have been found by experience to conduce very much to the increase and preservation of timber in forests thinly inhabited, . . . yet in Rockingham Forest, where the crown has little property left, where a considerable part of the land is already in tillage or pasture, and the country pretty fully inhabited, it cannot be desirable that those laws should be continued.’

Hence disafforestation was recommended, and the sale to the owners of the wood of the crown rights over the timber. Acts were accordingly passed in 1795 and 1796 for accomplishing this. By the first of these (35 Geo. III, cap. 40) the earl of Upper Ossory obtained power to purchase the fee simple of the haye or walk of Farming Woods in extension of the tenure under grant from George III for three lives. By the other Acts (36 Geo. III, cap. 62, 63, and 64) the earl of Westmorland acquired the complete proprietary title to ‘the Hayes or Walks of *Sullhay Firms and Shortwood*, and *Moorhay* in the Forest of *Rockingham*, in the County of *Northampton*, upon a full and adequate consideration to be paid for the same’ ; the earl of Exeter similarly acquired Westhay ; and Mr. George Finch Hatton obtained the Lawn of Benefield. The sum thus paid by the earl of Westmorland was £11,881 12s. 8d. (as is subsequently mentioned in 52 Geo. III, cap. 161, sect. 25).

In 1812 an Act was passed (52 Geo. III, cap. 161) authorizing the sale of crown lands lying intermixed with private lands within the royal forest, laying down the procedure and

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penalties regarding unlawful enclosures and encroachments on the forests, and 'for annexing certain lands within the Forest of *Rockingham* to His Majesty's Manor of King's Cliffe.' This latter enactment was necessary on account of the earl of Exeter having died without completing the purchase of Westhay, and in order to enable the trustees under his will to acquire this and also the royal manor of King's Cliffe. But of more special interest was the *Act to Abolish the Offices of the Warden, Chief Justices and Justices in Eyre, North and South of Trent* (57 Geo. III, cap. 61), in 1817, when these ancient duties (extending back to 1184 at least, and probably longer) were vested in the First Commissioner of Woods and Forests.

In 1825, *An Act for Dividing, Allotting, and Inclosing the Forest of Salcey, in the Counties of Northampton and Buckingham* was passed (6 Geo. IV, cap. 132), determining and separating entirely the rights of the crown and of the landowners, as had been done in the previous year regarding 'that portion of the Forest of Whittlewood called Hasleborough Walk' (5 Geo. IV, cap. 99; 1824). In 1829, *An Act to Consolidate and Amend the Laws relating to the Management and Improvement of His Majesty's Woods, Forests, Parks, and Chases, &c.* was passed (10 Geo. IV, cap. 50), in which many of the old statutes were repealed, and the administration was re-cast and regulated for the future under the Commissioners of Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues of the Crown. This long and important Act was amended in 1845 (8 and 9 Vic. cap. 99), and again in 1851 (14 and 15 Vic. cap. 42) and 1852 (15 and 16 Vic. cap. 62). On 4 August, 1853, *An Act for disafforesting the Forest of Whittlewood otherwise Whittlebury*, was passed, the royal deer being removed or destroyed, and the forest officers discharged within the two years thereafter, fields being provided for common of pasture, and the title of the duke of Grafton secured with regard to the changes enacted.

Under the Act of 1829 (10 Geo. IV, cap. 50, sect. 5) it had been laid down 'That the powers of leasing hereinbefore given shall not extend to the demising or leasing of any of the Royal Forests, Parks, or Chases in *England*, or any part or parcel thereof.' This proving inconvenient with regard to the practical administration of the crown lands, the powers of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests as to leasing were in 1851 extended to parts of the New Forest (14 and 15 Vic. cap. 76, best known as *The Deer Removal Act*); and in 1855 these provisions were also applied to those portions of the remaining crown lands in Northamptonshire which had been determined and settled by the Acts 'for dividing, allotting, and inclosing' Hasleborough Walk in Whittle-

wood (5 Geo. IV, cap. 99) and Salcey Forest (6 Geo. IV, cap. 132).

These were the last enactments which concern the crown lands and the ancient forests of Northamptonshire. The only legislation enacted since then, and having general application in woodlands, are the provisions contained in the Acts of 1861 (24 and 25 Vic.) to consolidate and amend the statute law relating to larceny (cap. 96) and to malicious injuries to property (cap. 97). Under the former (sects. 32 and 33) it was made felony to steal, or destroy with intent to steal 'the whole or any part of any tree, shrub, or underwood' of the value of £1, if growing in parks, avenues, or pleasure grounds, or of the value of £5 if growing elsewhere; while if the value was merely over one shilling the third offence became a felony. And for malicious injury to trees, etc., it was felony if they stood in parks and pleasure grounds and their value exceeded £1, or if this exceeded £5 in the case of trees standing elsewhere (sects. 20 and 21), while even if the damage only amounted to over one shilling, a third offence became punishable with two years' imprisonment with hard labour (sect. 22).

The crown property now consists of about 516 acres of farm and cottage lands, while the sole woods remaining under the charge of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests are Salcey Woods (1,247 acres) and Hasleborough Woods (489 acres). The sale of the timber from these realized £1,441 and £715 respectively in 1899, which is somewhat below the average returns for a few years previous. The income from timber, thinnings, and underwood in 1888-89 was £2,508.¹

The existing woodlands of this county, aggregating about 28,017 acres, chiefly form parts of the estates of the great landowners, of whom the largest are Mr. G. C. W. Fitzwilliam, the duke of Buccleuch, Earl Spencer, K.G., Lady Wantage, the marquis of Exeter, the duke of Grafton, and the marquis of Northampton. Deducting the 1,736 acres of woods on the crown lands, there are 26,281 acres of woodland belonging to private land-owners. But as to the precise extent of the woods on the different estates, or as to the nature, age and treatment of the different kinds of high-woods, copses, and coppices, the statistics at our disposal are scanty and incomplete.

For the purpose of making this article as complete as is practicable, endeavours have been made to obtain information from all the principal landowners regarding (1) the acreage of woodland and the ages of different portions; (2) the nature of the woodcrops, and the kind of trees; (3) the system of management adopted for

¹ Appendix to *Report from Select Committee on Woods and Forests, etc.* 26 July, 1889, p. 234.

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their treatment ; (4) the extent and nature of recent plantations ; and (5) the method of planting usually followed on the estate. The details kindly supplied by the courtesy of some proprietors are unfortunately, however, insufficient to furnish anything like a conspectus of the present position and extent of arboriculture in the county.

The Althorp and Harleston estates in the mid-division of Northants, the property of Earl Spencer, are among the most interesting from an arboricultural point of view. The soil within Althorp Park (550 acres) is generally favourable to the growth of fine trees ; it varies from a stiff loam to a rich red loamy earth, resting on sandstone strongly impregnated with iron, and all belonging geologically to the Oolite formation. The park is situated between 320 and 450 feet above the sea-level. There is an annual rainfall of about 25 inches. Arboriculture has been practised in Althorp Park for at least 300 years, and many of the woods and groves have commemorative stones, giving the date of planting and the name of the lord in possession at the time, e.g., 'This wood was planted by Robert, Lord Spencer, in the year of our Lord 1602-1603.' But the oldest of them is dated 1567-1568, and Evelyn speaks of this practice being 'the only instance I know of the like in our country.' Within a radius of a mile and a half of Althorp House the following twenty remarkably large trees are to be found which had attained the given measurements in 1893 :—¹

Two of the most notable trees in the county are, however, the 'Queen's Oak' at Grafton, and the 'Yardley Oak' (also known as 'Cowper's Oak' and 'Judith') at Yardley. Tradition says that under the former, Elizabeth, widow of Sir John Grey of Groby, who fell at the battle of St. Albans, and whose estates were forfeited, first met her second husband, Edward IV, and pleaded for the restitution of the family estates. The hollow trunk girths 22 feet at 5 feet from the ground. The Yardley Oak is said to have been planted by a niece of William the Conqueror, Judith, countess of Northumberland, who held many manors in Northants. The tree is a mere hollow shell, girthing 30 feet at 3 feet above the ground. Its other name commemorates Cowper the poet's association with it ; and an inscription attached to the tree says, 'Out of respect to the memory of the poet Cowper, the Marquis of Northampton is particularly desirous of preserving this oak.'²

As in most of the other English counties, the majority of the woods in Northamptonshire principally serve the purposes of ornament and of coverts for the protection of game. They are consequently not worked upon sylvicultural methods having as chief aim the growth of wood upon commercial principles, but are rather treated arboriculturally. The arboricultural method obtaining is the direct and natural outcome of the British system of growing oak-trees in copses, i.e., standards over coppice, which has prevailed for centuries. This system was peculiarly

No.	Name of Tree	Girth at 3 ft. from ground		Girth at 5 ft. from ground		Height of bole		Diameter of crown	Total height of tree	Contents
		ft.	in.	ft.	in.	ft.	in.			
1	Elm, English . . .	21	2	20	0	13	6	94	117	924
2	Horse Chestnut . . .	13	8	14	10	10	0	85	83	533
3	Beech	14	8	12	6	36	6	98	76	375
4	Oak	26	0	22	4	33	0	85	81	947
5	Elm, English . . .	23	6	19	8	12	0	95	105	841
6	Cedar	20	10	22	2	8	6	70	70	603
7	Elm, Wych	19	8	16	1	20	0	94	100	487
8	Oak (<i>Quercus ped</i>) . .	21	9½	19	4	46	0	87½	82	933
9	" "	19	10	18	0	30	0	94	81	655
10	" "	22	0	18	3	33	0	104	74	582
11	" "	19	0½	16	3	30	6	90	79	594
12	" "	21	3	19	7	23	6	91	88	1016
13	" "	12	10	12	4	64	0	69½	98	469
14	Cedar	16	11	15	1	32	0	74½	80	345
15	Lime	17	7	17	1	10	6	90½	79	575
16	Ash	17	6	16	1	36	0	92	80	809
17	Elm, English . . .	20	0	18	6	50	6	86½	110	715
18	Sweet Chestnut . . .	26	3	22	8	20	0	85	90	1220
19	"	23	4	20	8	27	0	86½	85	893
20	"	24	3½	22	9½	28	0	70½	68	924

¹ F. Mitchell, in *Trans. of Royal Scottish Arboricultural Society*, vol. xiii, 1893, p. 90.

² John Smith in *Trans. of Royal Scottish Arboricultural Soc.* vol. xiii, 1893, p. 42.

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favourable to the protection of strong knees or crooks of the greatest value in shipbuilding before the introduction of iron and steel for the framework, and teak-wood for the planking of vessels of all kinds. The outcome of this hereditary method of treating woodlands has been a national system of arboriculture in which the trees are allowed a much larger growing-space than is necessary for the production of long stems free from unnecessary branches, and from any excessive development of the crown of foliage; and this hereditary custom also makes itself apparent in a decided tendency to thin too freely, even in the case of the plantations of oak, ash, beech, larch, pine, etc., intended to be grown as highwoods for the production of valuable timber in different parts of the county.

The copsewoods are often fairly well stocked with trees, though the standards are usually very irregular in age, through not having been stored in proper proportion each time the underwood was coppiced. The latter is also often very sparse, owing chiefly to the protection now given to rabbits as a favourite form of sport. This is, however, quite a recent development, and the woods would be in a much worse condition than they now are if rabbits had been anything like as plentiful in the woodlands a hundred years ago as they are nowadays. New plantations cannot possibly now be made without expensive rabbit-proof wire-fencing, and this of itself costs more per acre than the whole cost of planting used to amount to from fifty to one hundred years ago.

But for the difficulty and expense thus caused by rabbits, arboriculture might be made to pay well in Northamptonshire. Along with Leicestershire, this county produces ash-timber of the finest quality, and there has been such a dearth of this for some years past that the Coach-builders' Association in 1899 memorialized the President of the Board of Agriculture to endeavour to promote the cultivation of this tree in the central counties of England.

We know from Arthur Standish's booklet¹ that planting of ash took place in Northamptonshire at any rate as early as about the end of the sixteenth century, because he tells us that 'I have seen many Groves of Ashe that have been set, that after many years have taken hold and grown so thick. It pleased *Sir Walter Montague* to shew me a Grove of his house, within five miles of *Northampton*, which hee had caused to bee set not much thinner, in which grove hee had caused some to be felled that liked not, fourth of which routes as were felled there were yong Ashes sprung up of a yard and three-quarters high, of one year's growth.' Standish's pamphlet, originally published in 1613, was reprinted in 1615, 'authorised by the king's most excellent Majesty,' and contained a proclamation 'By the King, To all Noblemen and other our loving Subjects, to whom it may appertaine.' In this the 'severall good projects for increasing of Woods' are recommended to 'be willingly received and put in practice,' in order to restore the decay of timber 'universally complained of' within the realm. This little book—a mere pamphlet in size—is of great interest as being the precursor of Evelyn's classic *Silva, or a Discourse of Forest Trees and the Preparation of Timber in his Majesty's Dominions* (1662) about fifty years later.

John Evelyn, writing of the ash in his *Silva*, said, 'I have been credibly informed that one person hath planted so much of this one sort of *Timber* in his lifetime as hath been valued worth fifty thousand pounds to be bought. These are pretty encouragements for a small and pleasant industry.' With the present dearth of ash in England, and the strong demand for it at high prices, the encouragement towards growing this easily cultivated and valuable timber is greater now than ever it has been previously; and Northants is one of the best counties for its growth. Rabbits and profitable ash cultivation are, however, quite incompatible, because no other tree is so liable to be peeled and badly damaged by these as the ash.

¹ *New Directions of Experience for the Increasing of Timber and Firewood*, 2nd edit. 1615, p. 25.

SPORT ANCIENT AND MODERN

THE county of Northampton has always been considered one of the chief centres of hunting in England. There existed in early times two immense tracts of land, in great part covered with wood, which after the Conquest were subject to the forest laws, and became the hunting grounds of the Plantagenets. One was the royal forest of Whittlewood or Whittlebury, lying to the south-west of Northampton and including Salcey Forest and Yardley Chase. The other was the royal forest of Rockingham, lying to the north-east of Northampton and including Brigstock Forest and Geddington Chase. These forests and chases were well stocked with game of all kinds, and as Northampton is midway between Winchester and York (the ancient capitals of England), the Norman kings frequently resided at Buckingham Castle and the hunting lodges at King's Cliffe, Geddington, and Whittlebury.

We learn from the *Chronicon Petroburgense*, that in 1286 (14-15 Edw. I) the abbot of Peterborough claimed the right of having his hounds un mutilated in all his demesnes and manors, in order that he might hunt the wolf, fox, and wild cat.¹ The lord abbot was also very particular in claiming his tithe of all venison killed within the royal forests in the county. This right was secured to him by the king's charters, and in 1279 the Abbot Richard established this right before the itinerant justices. With the inclosure of the common fields in the county, which commenced in 1733, fox-hunting began to assume the ascendancy it holds at the present time; and with this change both huntsmen and hounds entirely altered their character, and a new style of fast riding gradually came into fashion. The first authentic records of the Grafton and Pytchley foxhounds commence about this period, and continue unbroken to the present time.

THE ROYAL BUCKHOUNDS

Her late Majesty's staghounds were the descendants of the old Royal Buckhounds, which had their origin in the county of Northampton. A very full account of these buckhounds and their connexion with this county, is contained in *The Family of Brocas of Beaurepaire*, by Prof. Montagu Burrows, and by the courtesy of the author of this book we are able to give the following particulars of the hunt, and of the hunter's manor of Little Weldon. It appears that King Henry II granted certain lands and the lordship of the manor of Little Weldon in this county to one of the Lovels. In 1216 the lands were granted to Hamon Le Venour, and afterwards they came back to the Lovel family, perhaps by a Lovel having married a daughter of Hamon the hunter. This manor was always called the 'Hunter's Manor,' and for some centuries carried with it the mastership of the Royal Buckhounds in grand serjeanty. The village of Little Weldon lay in the heart of the immense forest of Rockingham, about midway between the royal hunting lodge at

Geddington, and the royal castle at Rockingham. It was, therefore very convenient for the head quarters of the Royal Buckhounds, which could, from the kennels, conveniently hunt the whole of the forest. In 1316 the escheator reported that John Lovel held a messuage and carucate of land in this manor of the king in chief, by service of keeping at his own cost fifteen of the king's 'canes

¹ At this period the beasts of the forest were the hart, the hind, the hare, and the boar. The beasts of the chase were the buck, the doe, the fox, the marten, the roebuck, and the roe. In addition to these animals, the otter, badger, and coney were also hunted. Foxes, though hunted, were considered as vermin, and any means of destroying them was considered justifiable. Early in the eighteenth century the whole system and character of the chase began to change. The diminution of forests and woodlands, the inclosure of the open fields, the draining and improved cultivation of the land, the increase of population, and various other causes, helped to put an end to the chase of the hart, boar, and marten.

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currentes,' or running hounds for the forty days of Lent each year. Soon after this time, Thomas de Borhunte, who married John Lovel's daughter, held of the king in chief certain land in Little Weldon by service of being 'Venour le Roy des deymers.' His duty was to take charge of twenty-four buckhounds and six greyhounds of the king's pack, receiving for the feed of each a halfpenny a day; the two under-huntsmen received three halfpence a day, with a robe of cloth, or a mark in money by the year, and boots. The 'ventrer' or huntsman received two pence a day, with a robe, or mark in money, and 4s. 8d. for boots by the year. Out of this pack the master was to keep at his own cost, for the forty days of Lent, fifteen buckhounds and one 'berner' or keeper of the hounds; the other berner, the rest of the hounds, and the ventrer were to be kept at the king's expense for the whole of the year. The master's salary was

7½d. a day when 'in court,' and when on the king's business away from the court 12d. a day for salary and expenses, and two robes a year in cloth, or 40s. in money. The 'seigne en malades' to receive daily 1d. worth of bread, a gallon of beer, and a mess of 'groos' or porridge from the kitchen, and a mess of roast; the other huntsmen (for their livery) at the king's will.

Thomas de Borhunte died in 1340, and his widow then married William Danvers, who, like her first husband, became master of the buckhounds in her right. Afterwards, Sir Bernard Brocas, by purchasing certain reversions of others in the mastership, and with the king's assistance, made good his title to the same. The mastership continued in the hands of the Brocas family until the reign of Henry VIII. The masters were after this appointed by the crown. Since 1691 the Royal Buckhounds do not appear to have been connected with this county.³

STAG HUNTING

As in other counties, deer in the royal forests of Northamptonshire were very strictly preserved for purposes of chase.

Queen Elizabeth in 1598 issued a commission to Henry Hastings, Eusabie Isham, Arthur Brooke, and Thomas Palmer, esquires, to take a general view of deer in the forest of Rockingham.¹

King James in 1610 gave warrant to Sir Edward Mountacute, Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Edward Watson, Sir Thomas Brooke, and Sir Thomas Tresham, 'from tyme to tyme to cause diligente search and watche to bee made, throughout all the Baylywyck of Rockingham in our said Forest and the borders thereof, for all such offenders and all such Greyhounds and other Doggs, Bows, Crossbows, Buckstalls, Deerhayes, and such like engines . . . You doe take into your Custodie.'² The king also commanded the same five knights to publish 'Certain aunicyente Lawes and ordinances of the Forest, commanded by His Majesty to be published in the Parishe Churches within the Baylywyck of Rockingham, and neare and adjoineing unto the Borders and confines of the same.

'1st. Noe man may chase or kill the King's Deer and Game lyinge and feedinge within the Purlieues adjoininge to the said Baylywyck, except he have Freehold Lands to the Yearly value of xl. shillings within the said Purlieues.

'2. Every Purlieu Man muste begin his chase in his own Purlieu.

'3. No Purlieu Man may hunt his Purlieues with any more company than his household Servants.

'4. Hee must not use anie manner of Forestallinge with Quick Haye or with Dead Haye, neither Gun, Crossbow, nor any other Engine, to take or kill the Deer withall, but only chasing with his Dogge.

'5. He must not hunt his Purlieues in the night tyme, nor on the Sundaye, nor in the Fence month, nor oftener than three days in the week.

'6. He must not hunt his Purlieu 40 days before the King's General Hunting, nor 40 days after.

'7. He must not hunt his purlieues when that the Forester is to serve any warrant near unto the borders of the Purlieues having notices given him thereof before.

³ Since the time of Henry VIII, with one short exception, the place of the hereditary masters has been practically taken by masters of the king's privy buckhounds appointed by the crown, so that the old office became merely nominal. During Queen Mary's reign, Sir Richard Pexsall, son of Edith Brocas, who married Ralph Pexsall, was reinstated in the full execution of his office, but the privy pack was once more established by Queen Elizabeth, and soon took the old title under masters appointed by the crown as at present. See *The Queen's Hounds*, by Lord Ribblesdale, Master of the Buckhounds: Introduction by E. H. Burrows, Esq.

¹ *Grants and Charters of Rockingham Forest*, privately printed by Sir R. E. de Capell Brooke, bart., 1830.

² Ibid.

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'8. He must repeal and call back his Dogges before they enter into the Forest, neither may he pursue them into the Forest excepte they do first fasten upon the Deer and that the Deer do draw his Dogges into the Forest.

'9. He may not hunt nor kill any unseasonable Deer.'¹

The disafforestation was effected gradually and at different times, and was not finally accomplished until the reign of William IV. Extirpation of the wild deer followed, and deer hunting practically ceased in the county. The sport is now limited to the pursuit of any deer which may escape from parks. This in its way is very good sport, and the writer has taken part in some capital runs after outlying

deer which have escaped from Cottesbrook Park.

In October, 1842, the late Sir Henry Dryden took the Whittlebury Forest hounds to Canons Ashby for the purpose of killing two does and a fawn which had been out of the park since the preceding August. They found the fawn and, after running her a little, killed; they afterwards found a doe, but failed to kill. On 8 November, 1842, the forest hounds were brought again to take two does; both were found; one was hunted and very soon killed; the other was then dislodged and killed after a rather fast run of about 17 miles in one hour and thirty-five minutes. The scent was very good.

EARLY FOXHOUNDS

The following notes refer to isolated facts concerning various packs of hounds which cannot be identified with any of the packs now in existence. The diary kept by Mr., afterwards Sir Justinian, Isham, of Lamport Hall, written in Latin, when he was fourteen years old, gives an interesting picture of the sports of an English gentleman's son in the seventeenth century: and from this book the late Sir Charles Isham was good enough to allow the following extracts to be made:—

The first entry relating to hunting is dated 13 March, 1672, and is very curious:—
'Mr. Green came, and told us a story of a murder near Northampton. Sir Robert Drayton, with other gentlemen, went into the field to amuse themselves with hunting. Whilst hunting, the hounds kept dwelling at a certain place. Observing this, Sir Robert went to them and found the body of a man who had been killed two or three days. His ears and nose were cut off, and his whole body so cruelly mangled that no one would know him. So they sent to the crier at Northampton to proclaim that such an one was found, but no one acknowledged him. It was ordered to be put in the newspaper.'²

¹ See note (i) on p. 354.

² More than 200 years after, a similar incident took place near Althorpe Station. On the 10 August, 1892, whilst the Pytchley Hounds were being exercised on the high road, they made for the ditch, and could hardly be rated away. This led to investigation, and the decapitated body of a murdered woman was found, and afterwards identified. The murderer, Andrew George McRae, was convicted of this crime, and executed at the Northampton Gaol the following January.

On 21 October, 1672, Mr. Isham mentions that 'Mr. Richardson heard that the eldest brother of Mr. Tyrrell, while fox-hunting, had broken a blood-vessel, and the doctor could not stop the bleeding, so that there was little hope of him.' Mr. Isham does not state who kept these hounds.

The son of the writer of this classic diary, also a Justinian, likewise kept a journal in English. In this he notes his daily occupations and his various experiences in hunting the fox and hare. The hounds with which he generally hunted belonged to Mr. Andrew of Harlestone. Mr. Andrew's huntsman was William Knight, the father of Richard Knight, of Pytchley renown. It is related of this huntsman that on one occasion, after finding a fox at the famous Tally-ho Covert, in his great anxiety to get to hounds he rode against the branch of a tree, receiving a blow which deprived him of an eye. He did not discover his loss until having run the fox to ground at Holdenby, the hounds in scratching threw up some sand into the other eye, when he found that he was quite blind.

On 24 October, 1710, these hounds had a record run, for Mr. Isham states that 'We had very good sport, a fox having carried us from Blewberries (Blueberry Covert) to Gumbley Woods (Gumley Wood) in Leicestershire.' This would be a ten-mile point; but, unfortunately, we are not told the line the hounds took, how long it was from find to finish, nor whether they ultimately killed their fox.

Evidently hunting bag foxes at this time was a favourite occupation and considered quite orthodox. On 29 March, 1711, 'Mr. Andrews turn'd up a bag fox in

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Brixworth field which showed but little sport.' Next year, in April, Mr. Isham 'dined at the Ale house at Siwell with several of the fox-hunters, who in the morning had hunted a bag fox.' Again, in 1756, Mr. Robert Andrew hunted a bag fox, which was turned out near Ravensthorpe and killed near Towcester after a long and excellent run.

Mr. Taylor and Mr. Smith, at the end of the eighteenth century kept a well-organized pack of foxhounds at Winwick; they hunted all the country round Crick, and went sometimes to Lutterworth for a fortnight at a time.

THE PYTCHLEY HOUNDS

The connexion of Pytchley with hunting is carried beyond the Conquest by a reference in Domesday.¹ In the time of Edward the Confessor, Ælfwine (Alwin) the hunter had held the manor, but even before the great Survey it was in the hands of William Engayne. In the centuries that followed his descendants² are found holding Pytchley by service as royal huntsmen. Later, in the tenth year of Elizabeth, Giles Isham³ is declared to have died possessed of Engaine's manor by tenure of grand serjeanty—finding hounds for the destruction of wolves, foxes, martens, and other 'vermin.'

Towards the close of the seventeenth century the hundred of Orlingbury paid a small tribute or quit-rent, called hound silver, to Lord Goring at his court at Isham, near Pytchley, Lord Goring's predecessor having received it by grant from the crown. This hound silver was no doubt originally a levy for the king's hounds.

It is not easy to say when the Pytchley Hounds, as we now know them, were first established. It is believed that about the year 1761 John, Earl Spencer, kept a pack of hounds at Althorp Park, and that about that time he used to move with the hounds for half the year to the little village of Pytchley, where he erected kennels, and where he established a hunting club at the picturesque old Elizabethan Hall. Lord Spencer divided the country into two parts, hunting the Althorpe portion during the autumn, and the woodland portion, as far as the Northampton and Market Harborough Road, during the spring. Sywell Wood was, however, included in the Althorpe country. As neither

of these divisions of the country was large enough for this manner of hunting, blank days were frequent. His hounds were very highly esteemed, and many of them found their way into Mr. Child's pack, and so into the Fitzwilliam and other kennels.

The Pytchley Club became very celebrated; most of the county gentlemen belonged to it, and they frequently resided at the hall during the winter months. The earl of Ossory mentions the hounds several times in his diary.

Lord Spencer kept records of the sport from October, 1773, to December, 1793. These are contained in three quarto volumes, called 'The Althorp Chase Books,' and are now in the library at Althorp, where Lord Spencer has allowed the writer to see them. The entries generally commence with the hunting of the Althorpe country in October or November, and end at the beginning of January in each year, when hounds went to Pytchley. These diaries are most interesting, and give very complete accounts of the runs, the names of those taking part in the sport, and the falls that occurred.

The first entry, for Saturday, 16 October, 1773, is as follows:—

Found a fox with the Old Hounds in *Nobottle Wood*, and run sharply from thence to *Harpole Hills* and back again to the *Wood*; from whence he went to *Nobottle Town*, and over the grounds towards *Brington Hills*, upon a cold scent; short of *Brington Hills* the fox made a turn into *Holdenby Grounds*, where the scent mended, and the hounds ran into him in a hedgerow a little beyond *Holdenby*. An old fox.

In the margin is written—'Out, Lord Spencer, Mr. Bouverie, Mr. Poyntz, Mr. Samwell.'

Early in December, while hunting at Preston Wood, they ran a fox so hard that he lay down in a ditch by Stow Wood, and was surrounded by hounds, but escaped.

He was then coursed by a greyhound and the whole pack and turned several times like a hare, escaping till he leap'd at the hedge into the wood, but was caught by one of the hounds,⁴ and held for some time by the brush. The fox and the hound different sides of the hedge, and the rest of the hounds endeavouring to get to him, yet he even then free'd himself away.

The huntsman at this time was Richard, usually called Mr. Knight, but little or nothing is known of him. His whipper-in was the renowned Dick Knight, to whom, however he was no relation. Dick Knight was

⁴ Lively, Lady Spencer's favourite hound.

¹ *V. G. H. Northants*, i, 294, 356.

² For example—Vitalis Engayne, and his son and heir, Henry. *Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. III.*, p. 42.

³ *Ch. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), cxlviii, No. 55.

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born at Courteenhall, near Northampton, and was to have been brought up as a shoemaker, but he spurned the lapstone and awl for the horn and spurs. When Lord Spencer's diaries commence, Dick Knight was first whip to Mr. Knight (Sam Dumbleton being the second whip); he shortly afterwards became huntsman, and is the earliest huntsman of the Pytchley of whom we have any knowledge.

The Rev. Loraine Smith in 1790 published eight engravings from drawings made by himself illustrating the life of Knight. The third of these pictures is entitled—

. . . . Now, Contract, says Dick, By Jove!
these
D . . . d Quornities shall now see the trick,

and shows Knight jumping his famous horse, Contract, over a great paled fence under the overhanging bough of a tree, with a brook from him, hounds in full cry. The well-known legend connected with this picture is that a stranger one day told Knight that he had heard of his riding, but that if he beat him that day he would give Knight his horse. Dick replied, 'We shall see.' And they did see, for he beat the stranger, as shown in the picture, most handsomely; and the stranger, as handsomely, next day sent him his horse.

When Knight retired he went to a small farm near Thrapston, where he lived respected until the commencement of the nineteenth century.

Lord Spencer, after a mastership of over thirty years, died in 1783. His son, John George, Earl Spencer, of whom he wrote on 15 December, 1773, 'The first time Lord Althorp was out hunting, he rode very gallantly,' took his place. This Lord Spencer was First Lord of the Admiralty, and took a great part in the politics of the period, but, nevertheless, he found time to hunt, and was a very fine horseman. Lord Spencer kept no diary.

The Pytchley Chase Book records that on Friday, 18 February, 1791, the hounds—

Met at Pytchley this morning. There was a ballot at Pytchley House (the *first* ever remembered) when Mr. Thomas Grosvenor and Mr. G. Wrighte were unanimously elected members of the 'Pytchley Hunt Club.'

In 1796 political duties obliged Lord Spencer to give up the hounds, and Mr. Buller, of Maidwell Hall, became master for one season.

At this time Stephen Goodall hunted the hounds, and his patience, quietness, and

thorough knowledge of hunting, together with a good scenting season, produced excellent sport.

In 1797 that eminent sportsman, Mr. John Warde, took the hounds. He removed them from Pytchley to Houghton Hall, near Northampton, where he erected kennels. The club at Pytchley was then closed, and in 1829 the old hall was pulled down.

During Mr. Warde's mastership, on 3 February, 1802, there was a remarkably fine run from Marston Wood to Tilton-on-the-Hill in Leicestershire, which lasted 4½ hours and ended in a kill; the distance was estimated at from 35 to 40 miles, and hounds ran through twenty-six parishes.

Jem Butler was for many years with Mr. Warde, and was considered about the best huntsman of the day.

From this time until about 1817 the history of the Pytchley has been told in great detail in the letters written by Lord Althorp to his father, which recently have been privately printed by Lord Spencer, and from which His Lordship has allowed the writer to quote. The first of these letters is dated 4 February, 1802; it records a week's sport, and it is interesting to note the fixtures:—Monday, Abington; Tuesday, Lamport; Wednesday, Spratton Bridge; and Saturday, Lamport again.

The day they met at Spratton Bridge a good run ensued; after trying Cank, Holdenby Spinneys, and the Wilderness, they found in Nobottle Wood, ran by Kingsthorpe Mill, pointing towards Abington, and to ground near Billing, after a run of 1 hour and 25 minutes.

The following rules and regulations of the Pytchley Club, which were adopted at the Thatched House in London, on 29 May, 1802, throw considerable light on the management of the hunt in Mr. Warde's time:—

1. That the number of Members to this Hunt be limited to Forty.
2. That the Members be chosen by Ballot.
3. That not less than Eight Members shall be present to ballot at the Annual Meeting in London, when two Black Balls shall be sufficient to exclude any Candidate; and that it be allowed to ballot for any Candidate at Pytchley House, Twelve Members being present, and one Black Ball to exclude, provided such Candidate be put up a Week before the Ballot.
4. That the Annual Subscription be *Ten Guineas*.
5. That every new Member do upon his Election pay *Ten Guineas* to the Treasurer in Addition to his Annual Subscription.

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6. That every Member absent from Pytchley to stand at a Shilling a Day during the Meeting.

7. That any Member being in England and not appearing at *Pytchley House* once in the season shall forfeit *Three Guineas*.

8. That every Member not appearing at the Annual Meeting in London shall forfeit *One Guinea*, and if in Town the day of the Anniversary *Two Guineas*.

9. That any Member be at Liberty to bring One Visitor to *Pytchley* and to place him in any vacant Room till it shall be wanted by a Member of the Hunt.

10. That no new Rule be made in this Club except by Ballot.

All the spring of 1804 the Pytchley had excellent sport, but it is only necessary to mention one run which took them from Abington, over the Northampton racecourse, by Dallington, Berry Wood, Harpole Hills, and Nobottle Wood, to ground in a drain in Mr. Andrew's park, near Harlestone. It would now be indeed a sight worth seeing, to view hounds streaming over the racecourse at Northampton.

As showing the pace at which hounds went a century ago, Lord Althorp states that on one occasion a run from Cank 'began with a burst of half an hour, so severe that to ride to hounds it was necessary never to open a gate.'

It appears that there was some dissatisfaction at the removal of the hounds from Pytchley, for on 28 May, 1804, Lord Althorp wrote from St. James's Place that at the Pytchley meeting on Saturday, 'We settled that the first meetings should begin the first Monday in November, and last four weeks, and that the second should begin the second Monday in February, and last six weeks; and Jack Warde said that the hounds should hunt from the Pytchley Kennel during both meetings.'

Shortly after this Lord Althorp wrote to Lord Spencer to tell him that Sir Charles Knightley and others were pressing him to take the hounds, but that he wished to have his father's full consent before doing so. The answer was satisfactory, and in the next letter, dated 24 January, 1808, Lord Althorp said that he had 'applied to Andrew, Payne, and Hanbury, and found that they would at all rates subscribe 400, and perhaps 450 among them. . . As I thought this a very satisfactory beginning, I told John Warde that you had given me leave to take the hounds provided I had a sufficient subscription, but that if he wished to keep them on I would not make use of your permission. He thanked me for my offer. . . The next day he sent Jem Butler over to me to know if I would take him for my huntsman.'

Mr. Warde asked such an enormous price

for his hounds that Lord Althorp would not then take them, but resolved to set to work at once to form a pack by other means. The arrangements were satisfactorily carried out. Later Lord Althorp agreed to pay Mr. John Warde £1,000 for the hounds.

Mr. John Warde stood pre-eminent as a breeder of hounds, and when he sold his pack to Lord Althorp he reserved three couple of bitches from which he raised another pack to hunt the New Forest.

After hunting many of the countries in England for the long period of 56 years, he died in London on 9 December, 1838, at the advanced age of 86.

Lord Althorp, in a letter to his father dated 2 March, 1808, describing the new master's first few days' hunting, may be given in full. 'John Warde has put the hounds entirely into my management, and never comes out himself, so that at present I am answerable for all the merit or badness of the pack which comes out. My luck as yet has been extreme. Monday was the first day I took them out in the open country. We had a bad scent, but I had the old pack out, who hunted quite perfectly, and we run from Sewell Wood to Drayton Park, but lost our fox. I took the young hounds out yesterday, who are as bad a pack as anybody ever saw, but fortunately we had a very good scent, and after a tolerable run we found a second fox in Harrington Dales, and went away with him at the best pace to Short Wood, then hunted at a forward hunting scent over Lamport Earths to Maidwell, where we again set to very hard running over Harrington Wharf, up to Harrington, over Harrington Field, Rothwell Field, through Thorpe Underwood, through the enclosure by Rothwell, over the brook and through Gaultney Wood, and run into view of him in a patch of furze near Dob Hall, and came back in view to Gaultney Wood, where we killed, in an hour and twenty minutes. From Maidwell to killing was a decided burst without a check, and every horse was tired except Poacher and Felton Hervey's horse. I do not often give you an account of a run, but I think you will be pleased to hear of my beginning so well, as it will make people sanguine about my system, though it has nothing to do with it, and keep up the subscription. I am very eager to stay in the country because the weather promises better than it has all the year, but if you have any desire for me to come up to town I hope you will have no scruple in sending for me. P.S.—I have gained some credit for not hunting on Ash Wednesday, when every pack in the neighbourhood did.'

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In 1808 'The Althorp Chase Books' commence again. They consist of five volumes, and carry the narrative down to 1817.

A list of Lord Althorp's¹ hounds, dated 20 October, 1815, contains the names of 64½ couples, the greater number of which were one or two years old, though two couple were seven, and one bitch eight years old. Amongst the sires of these hounds are the duke of Grafton's Prosper, Rummager, Castor, and Rampart and Lord Fitzwilliam's Presto, Galloper, and Patron.

In 1814 Lord Althorp married Miss Acklom, and went to reside at Dallington Hall; but the next year he removed to Spratton Hall, which he considered the best possible situation for hunting both the Pytchley and Althorp countries. He wrote from Spratton on 31 March, 1815:—'We have had the most extraordinary sport I ever saw in my life. On Tuesday, after a burst from Blueberries of forty minutes and to ground beyond Brixworth, we found at three o'clock at Purser's Hill, and after a ring by Maidwell and Scotland Wood, went away and killed our fox beyond Little Harrowden, in two hours. Yesterday we ran from Sywell Wood to Pipwell, and killed there in an hour and a half.'

In 1816 Lord Althorp had a fine run from Sywell Wood, the fox being killed at Ashley by Welland, some 17 miles as the crow flies. It is said that Sir Justinian Isham carried his knife in his hand for the last twenty minutes, saying that he would cut off the brush; which he did.

After the sad death of his wife in June, 1818, Lord Althorp resigned the mastership of the hounds and went to live quietly at Wiseton: but he always spoke with affection of the Pytchley, and he used to say he 'should never forget the beautiful music of Sywell Wood.' 'The Druid' (Mr. Henry Hall Dixon) speaks in the most glowing terms of the club at Pytchley during Lord Althorp's time: how 'the morning afforded unmixed pleasure, and nectar crowned the night,' and how the family party generally included Lord Althorp, Frank Forrester, Felton Hervey, Dick Gurney, Hugo Meynell, Charles Knightley, Peter and Charles Allix, John Cook, John Nethercoat, and Davy.

During the mastership of Lord Althorp, Charles King was huntsman. 'The Druid' says that King had the eye of a lynx, and an intelligent and animated face, that his seat and hands were perfect, and that he

was a bad one to beat. Jack Wood was whipper-in; he had a quiet and workmanlike way of entering young hounds. King and Wood made the hounds 'no less remarkable for their steadiness than they were for their stoutness and hunting qualities.'

Sir Charles Knightley succeeded Lord Althorp as master, but he only remained one season. He was a good judge of hounds and a remarkably fine rider, with a most dashing style of getting to hounds. His love of jumping was so great that he wished there was not a bridle-gate in Northamptonshire; he used to say that 'it is the duty of every man to take care of his health for the sake of riding to hounds.' 'Sir Charles's leap,' a large hedge and brook, on the left of the road leading from Brixworth Station to Creaton, is still pointed out, and is sufficiently formidable to satisfy the most extravagant fencer. It was during the mastership of Sir Charles Knightley that the kennels at Brixworth were erected; this village is very central, being midway between Oundle and Rockingham, Misterton and Charwelton.

Lewis Richard, Baron Sondes, was elected master in 1819, but held office for only one season. He is said to have been of very eccentric habits, though a keen sportsman. After Lord Sondes' retirement there was a great difficulty in prevailing on any one to take the hounds; so great indeed, that Lord Althorp wrote to his father in April, 1820, saying he thought the hounds would be given up altogether.

In 1820 Sir Bellingham Graham took over the hounds, but like his immediate predecessors only retained them for one season. 'Cecil' says that as a huntsman Sir Bellingham ranked among the first, whether amateur or professional.

Mr. John Chaworth Musters of Colwick Hall, Nottinghamshire, became master in 1821, bringing with him his own hounds. These, it was said by 'Nimrod,' were not of very good quality.

Mr. Musters for some years resided at Pitsford Hall, which is about two miles from the kennels, and has since been occupied by several masters of the Pytchley. It is probable that Mr. Musters resigned the hounds the next year, for it appears that Lord Sondes then again became master, and kept the hounds at the kennels at Rockingham. The late Mr. William Brooke, of Oakley Hall (who succeeded to the baronetcy in 1858), kept a diary² at that time, in which he describes

¹ For complete lists of hounds in 1808, 1809, 1814, 1817, 1827, see R. T. Vyner, *Notitia Venatica*.

² This diary was kindly lent to the writer by Sir Arthur de Capel Brooke.

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several days' hunting in the neighbourhood of Rockingham, the general verdict being that scent was bad and the pace slow. One day they chased what turned out to be a vixen; she was seen running with her cub in her mouth.

Mr. Chaworth Musters, who probably again became master in 1824, continued to show excellent sport until 1827. 'The Druid' mentions the following incident during this mastership. Both Mr. Osbaldeston and Mr. Musters were to finish hunting their respective countries on the same day. Mr. Musters therefore backed himself to kill his fox before the squire killed his. Mr. Musters' fox went out up Sulby Gorse at the first crack of the whip, past Bosworth and Theddingworth to Laughton Hills, where a man stood by the earths. Bending towards Sibbertoft, the fox ran back, and they viewed him in a field near Theddingworth. 'There he goes,' said Mr. Musters. 'They shan't say I killed him unhandsome.' So he would not lift his hounds, and the fox, running through a flock of sheep, escaped.

Another fox, locally known as 'the Hunsbury Hill devil,' gave Mr. Musters several good runs for three seasons. The last time they ran him Will Derry tried to head him at a gate, but he would not stop, and led them through Brafield Furze and Yardley Chase, nearly to Olney Bridge, where he was lost. They gave him such a dusting that day that he did not come back to Hunsbury Hill, and George Carter thought he was killed next day by the Grafton hounds, travelling towards Newport Pagnel.

In 1827 Mr. Chaworth Musters threatened to resign unless the members of the hunt subscribed £2,000 a year towards expenses. Apparently the money was not forthcoming, for Mr. Musters then gave up the hounds and returned to his own country.

In 1827 Mr. George Osbaldeston, usually called 'the squire,' made his entry into the Pytchley country, where he officiated with unparalleled success until the spring of 1834. Like Mr. Musters the squire took up his abode at Pitsford Hall. 'Cecil' says that when he first saw the hounds he found them more perfect than he had expected. The squire's favourite stud hound was Furrier, by Belvoir Saladin, entered in 1821. There were twenty four and a half couple by this dog in the kennels in 1829, and sometimes the squire would make his draft for the day's hunting entirely of hounds by Furrier.

Squire Osbaldeston, who (with the exception of Sir Bellingham Graham) was the only man who has hunted the Quorn and also the

Pytchley hounds, used to declare that the Pytchley country was the finest in the world. He showed excellent sport, and was an indefatigable master; he would stop hounds when wrong, or whip in to his own men if they were forward on the line of their fox. It was said, however, that at that time the hunting was 'all hurry, horn, and holloa, quick finds in gorses, short bursts, no perseverance . . . the hounds were all for a race.' In 1834 the squire also determined to give up the hounds unless he could obtain a subscription bearing some proportion to his expenditure. There was again a difficulty in raising the money, and consequently he resigned, and disposed of his celebrated sixty-three and a half couple of hounds to Mr. Harvey Coombe (who hunted the Old Berkeley) for £2,000. When Mr. Osbaldeston left the country he received from the members of the hunt a beautiful snuff box with the inscription: 'To the best sportsman of any age or country.'

Mr. Wilkins, of Radnorshire, who in 1834 was living at Pitsford Rectory, then took the country, forming a new pack by purchasing nearly all the Hon. Grantley Berkeley's entered hounds, and adding them to the hounds he brought from Wales. In Mr. Wilkins's time Jack Stevens was huntsman, Jack Goddard first, and Webb second whip.

Mr. Wilkins retained the county one season, and Mr. George Payne, of Sulby Hall, became master for the first time in 1835. He was a native of this county, the owner of a fine estate, and as good a sportsman as ever lived. He was a hard rider, and always rode with a loose rein; he frequently rode too forward. He was fond of lifting his hounds, which he would do with great quickness. The subscriptions were still inadequate, and Mr. Payne had a good deal to pay, although his brother-in-law, Sir Francis Holyoake Goodricke, contributed a large amount. The kennels at this time contained about fifty couple of working hounds. A list of them for 1835 is printed by Mr. R. T. Vyner in his *Notitia Venatica*. Mr. Payne retired at the end of his third season, universally regretted.

In 1838 Lord Chesterfield took the hounds, and hunted them for two seasons in magnificent style. The huntsman was Will Derry, and both horses and hounds were all that they should be. The fields during this mastership were probably the most brilliant that have ever followed the Pytchley. At this time the hounds only met three times a week, namely, on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays.

There were two famous runs at this period; first with a 'Long Ould' fox to Earls Barton,

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where hounds were stopped after running about twenty-five miles; and secondly, a run of about twenty miles to Kettering.

Lord Chesterfield gave up the hounds in 1840, and Mr. Tom Smith, better known as 'Gentleman Smith,' came to the rescue after the mastership had been vacant for some time. He engaged Goddard as huntsman.

The late Sir Henry Dryden, who occasionally hunted with the Pytchley, records his experience in the following characteristic style: 'On Wednesday, 25 November, 1840, the Pytchley met at Stow Heath. This was their first appearance there under Mr. Smith. They are under every disadvantage, having had no cub hunting—all the best hounds gone to Lord Ducie—nine horses ill of distemper and hounds in no condition. Goddard, first whip last season, is huntsman. Drew Stowe Wood and Everdon Stubbs badly and blank. Snorscomb Spinneys, Fawsley Spinneys blank. Then off to Badley Wood and found directly; there were soon about five foxes going and hounds in all parts. They ran one out to Fawsley and back. . . . The foxes wouldn't break well, and the hounds didn't mind their huntsman.'

In Sir Henry's opinion 'the Pytchley bitches were rather smaller than the duke's, but very handsome in general.' In speaking of the country round the Hemphoe he says that there was a good deal of plough, and that it was lighter fenced than his district, but he considered it a very fine country.

Sir Francis Holyoake Goodricke was elected master in 1842. He was a fine horseman, but had not the art of making himself popular. Then, as now, hounds hunted on the Monday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday in each week; and during the season from 31 October, 1842, to 1 April, 1843, the hounds were out 100 times. Sir Francis kept the hounds for two seasons, and in 1844 they were taken for the second time by Mr. George Payne.

On 31 March, 1846, a very complimentary offering was made to Mr. Payne at the George Hotel, Northampton. Between three and four hundred of the nobility, gentry, farmers and others, all more or less connected with the Pytchley Hunt, assembled at dinner, to request Mr. Payne's acceptance of a magnificent silver epergne, with a figure of himself standing under a tree holding his dead fox over his head, and inscribed with an address.

The late Lord Henley kept a hunting journal, from which Lady Henley has kindly allowed the writer to select the best runs. On 7 November, 1846, hounds met at Kelmarsh, and had a very fast 20 minutes' run from there. They found their second fox

at Waterloo Covert, and ran to Marston Wood at best pace in 40 minutes; and from there to Brampton Woods at a tremendous pace, but did not kill. 'None of the horses that were near the hounds from Waterloo to Marston saw the run from Marston to Brampton Wood.'

Mr. Payne had Charles Payne, 'the inimitable,' as his first whip and kennel huntsman during his second tenure of the mastership; he carried the horn himself.

Mr. Payne resigned in 1848, and Lord Alford took the hounds, promoting Charles Payne to be huntsman. Payne continued to carry the horn until 1866, serving also under the Hon. Frederick Villiers, Lord Hopetoun, Lord Spencer, and Colonel, then Captain, Anstruther Thomson.

Lord Alford hunted the country with great spirit, liberality, and success; he kept the hounds on a whole season after declining health prevented him from participating in the sport. He commenced with a large draft from the duke of Rutland's kennels. Pillager was one of the best stud hounds at this time; he ran for six seasons, and never had a whip on him, except to put him from the feeding trough. One of the best of his breed, Pliant, especially distinguished herself during a run of 35 minutes from Lord Spencer's covert to Sulby Reservoir. The fox after running by the side of the water plunged in midway; Pliant at once followed, while the other hounds were casting right and left, and she got half a mile past Sulby Hall before the body of the pack could get up to her.

When Lord Alford resigned the hounds in 1851, the Hon. Frederick Villiers, of Sulby, became master, but only for one season.

Lord Hopetoun followed Mr. Villiers in 1852, and in accordance with the usual custom of masters of the Pytchley he lived at Pitsford Hall. Affairs were conducted lavishly at the kennels, some seventy-five couples of hounds, and thirty-six horses being kept; and the hounds hunted five days a week—Tuesday being generally a forest meet. Lord Hopetoun, possessing an ample fortune, declined a subscription and kept the hounds entirely at his own cost. He showed some excellent sport.

'The Druid' mentions an extraordinary hunt which took place early in August, 1853, near Geddington Chase. Hounds found a fox at a quarter-past five o'clock in the morning and hunted him for 3 hours. They then changed on to 'a shabby little vixen who slipped like a witch through the briars and sedge; and when she had been headed three times fairly defied the dog pack to make her

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break. For four hours they expected to kill every moment, but in vain, and the master, Lord Hopetoun, and Captain Newland, rode home quite tired out, about three o'clock. The country people were drawn up in one corner, but the vixen slipped through their legs many times. Even after the second whip had brought four couple of the best bitches from Brigstock, and they had tried their utmost for another hour she was as lively and inexhaustible in her dodges as ever. Pillager and Hellicon ran with the bitches to the last, and not only went home with their sterns up, but were first off the benches next morning. Every hound was stripped bare in his breast and forelegs; Jasper and his sister Joyful dropped beaten on the road; and Payne was so anxious about them all that he went twice to see them after feeding.'

The run of 21 November, 1854, was said by the author of *The Pytchley Hunt* the late Mr. H. O. Nethercote, to have been the finest ever seen with the Pytchley. Charles Payne, the huntsman, describes it in the following words: 'On the 21st November, 1854, found in the spinney near Mr. Gough's, North Kilworth, and run through Caldecote Spinney, bore to the left, leaving Stanford Hall on the right, over the Brook, and leaving South Kilworth on the left and Hemploe just on the right, run up the Pond Close leaving Welford Close on the left, Naseby Wolleys on the right, then bore to the left as if for Sulby Gorse. Skirting it, and skirting Naseby, skirting Tallyho, through Kelmarsh osier bed and Church Spinney, over the Northampton and Harborough road to within one field of Johnson's Firs, back through Scotland Wood, the fox ran the ridings, and away through Maidwell Dales, skirting Berry Dale, leaving Cottesbrook close on the right. Creaton on the right over the brook, and Spatton on the right over the brook by Brampton Bridge, Chapel Brampton on the right, and crossed the river near to Brampton Toll Gate. Over Brook Patterson's Farm, close to Mr. Vyse's house, Boughton, turned back through Boughton osier bed to the Clumps to ground in the main earths. Two hours and 25 minutes. Out of a field of two hundred only six got to the end—Chas. Payne, J. Woodrock, Lord Hopetoun, Mr. Edmunds, and Mr. Hunt. John dropped in at the finish, and Wm. Owen, second whip, came up some time after, his horse very much beat. I never was carried through a run better in my life on Nobbler and Firefly. Lord Hopetoun tired both his horses and finished on a hack.'

On the resignation of Lord Hopetoun the Hon. Frederick Villiers, with the Hon. Charles

Henry Cust, of Arthingworth, had the hounds as joint masters from 1856 to 1861.

In 1861 John Poyntz, Earl Spencer, for the first time became master, Charles Payne being huntsman, George Fox first whip, and Richard Roake second whip. Earl Spencer kept careful diaries of his sport, which he has kindly allowed the writer to see; he has also revised the accounts of the three periods of his mastership. The first of Lord Spencer's diaries begins with the meet at Althorp Park on Monday, 4 November, 1861, when they had a fair day's sport—'country very blind, not over soft.' On Monday 16 December, 1861, hounds did not go out in consequence of the lamented death of the Prince Consort. On Saturday, 21 December, 1861, an extraordinary thing happened with the pack. The huntsman, who had been with the hounds for thirty years, had never seen or heard of a similar occurrence. Lord Spencer describes the incident: 'There had been a burning scent all day, the night was as dark as was possible, the latches of the gates could not be distinguished. As Charles, with a friend and the two whips, was coming along, and had got into the first field after Brockhall, the hounds burst away from them with a rush, and, evidently with a fox in view, ran desperately towards the Brockhall Spinneys; they then turned to the right towards Floore, crossed the Brington and Floore Road, and ran as far as they could make out to Harpole Hills. It was a perfectly still night, and they could hear them singing away all over the country, going best pace. Charles took up his position in the road near Wade Hills and blew his horn for about ten minutes. At last, one by one they all came back, looking as fresh and pleased as possible. He then thought he should get home, but as he was in the park, near the Northampton Lodge, they again left him with a rush, and ran down the Slip towards Chonlers. It had now got a little lighter and they succeeded in stopping them.'

On Saturday, 21 February, 1863, the meet was at Welton Place. His Majesty, then the Prince of Wales, Lady Cecilia Molyneux, the Marquis of Hamilton, Lord Bessborough, Lord Cowper, Lord Grosvenor, the Hon. Richard Grosvenor, Sir Fred Johnson, the Earl of Listowell, Sir Rainald Knightley, Mr. Craven, Mr. Morgan, the Hon. Mrs. J. Villiers, and an immense number of other people were out. 'Drew Braunston, the Cleves, Ashly Park, blank. Found at Crick, got well away over the Lilbourne Lane across the canal to Crack's Hill at best pace: the fox was then headed and turned along the canal

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to the left, crossed the road leading to Yelvertoft, pointed for Winwick, left that on his right and Honey Hill close to his right, and ran on to Herring Bank. There he lay down and we viewed him away with the hounds close at him, we raced across Topham's Farm, and thought he meant the open towards Kilworth, but bending back he went through the Hemploe Coverts and to ground in the gorse; 1 hour 5 minutes. The Prince rode most gallantly on a dark chestnut mare called Comet; he followed me most of the day. Drew Yelvertoft Field Side, Winwick, Guilsborough, and Ravensthorpe Spinneys blank.'

The gorse where the fox went to ground was afterwards extended, and has since been called 'The Prince of Wales's Gorse.'

On Monday, 23 February, the Pytchley held a lawn meet at Holdenby House. 'There was a dense crowd on the terraces of the old castle, horses in a line below, and foot people and carriages above, the hounds being at the end. The house was covered with people, Lord Cardigan, Lord Westmorland, etc., out. Lady Spencer rode to the meet with the Prince. Found at once at Cank, went off in direction of Sander's Farm, turned to the left over Merry Tom, and back to the cover. Could do nothing with him. Went on to Buckby Folly. Found, and ran a smart ring towards Ravensthorpe back to covert, then pointed towards Althorp, but turned back and went to ground on the East Haddon and Ravensthorpe Road. Tried to bolt him, but did not succeed. (Some years after the skeleton of this fox was dug out of the drain.) The Prince rode Pale Ale; he got a fall, for the horse slipped in taking off from the side of a hill, but was not hurt. I rode the grey Shooting Star and Freemason. Went to Vanderplank. Found at once, went away towards Percival's very fast, turned there, and made a swing to the right before crossing the turnpike. Went away between West Haddon and Ravensthorpe to Winwick, turned there to the right to Thornby Spinneys, over the road, and left the village on the left, over the bottom and turnpike to Cottesbrooke into Purser's Hills, and on to Maidwell Dale to ground. We had two foxes on foot at Thornby, and two or three at Cottesbrooke; our hunted fox was reported dead beat at Purser's Hills. The Prince rode Firefly in the last run. It was fast at times, all through a good hunting pace; 11 miles from point to point.'

When Lord Spencer, in 1864, resolved to give up the hounds, the honorary secretary, Mr. Whyte Melville, poet and novelist, seeking a successor, bethought him of Captain

Anstruther Thomson, then master of the Fife Foxhounds. Captain Thomson, in reply to Mr. Whyte Melville's letter, expressed his willingness to come forward, and wrote to the huntsman Payne proposing that he should hunt one pack and Payne the other. The latter replied that he could not entertain such an arrangement, saying: 'Mine has been a hard-fought battle for 18 years with the wildest field in England—heart-breaking to a good sportsman. Well does poor Lord Spencer know this, who I am very, very sorry to say is far away.' Afterwards Payne consented to become huntsman, and Mr. Villiers said that the hunt would pay the rent and repairs of the coverts and subscribe £3,000 a year, if Captain Thomson would agree to hunt the country four days a week, weather permitting, during the regular hunting season, and to leave the hounds in as efficient a state as he found them. The preliminaries being arranged, the new master on 9 May, 1864, issued the usual circular to covert owners requesting permission to draw their coverts. Among the favourable replies received, Lord Cardigan wrote 'By all means, by all means. The oftener the better; I need not send you any further reply—the oftener the better.' The Duke of Buccleuch asked that his coverts should be drawn regularly, and not only for a few times in the autumn and spring.

The new master took up his abode at Pitsford Hall, but he only remained there for two years, when he moved into the village of Brixworth.

The hounds belonging to the hunt in June, 1864, were 59½ couple, and the master's estimate of the pack was: 'The hounds were good-looking, with nice necks and shoulders, but very light of bone, especially the bitches. In chase they were excellent and not a bit afraid of the horses, but with a bad scent they were not diligent. In gorse cover when they found after running a few times round it they would stand at a smouse in the fence till hollo'd away, then rush out, race the horses, and in two fields would be altogether in front. They were capital in chase, but with a bad scent they did not half get on, and bumbled about like pointers.'

In July Captain Thomson made a further proposal, namely, that he should hunt five days a week instead of four as at first suggested, hunting the hounds on two days himself, and Payne hunting them the other three days; and that the master should receive one half of the subscription over and above the £3,000. This proposal was accepted, and the amount of subscription received was £3,140 for the year.

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The late Colonel Anstruther Thomson permitted the writer to take the following details from his notes¹ :—

Charles Payne remained as huntsman, Dick Roake was first whip, and Harry Jennings second whip. Roake was well educated and a good horseman. Jennings was also a fair horseman and a good servant, but Payne said, 'He was a worritting fellow' with his hounds. In 1865 Charles Payne heard that John Walker was leaving Sir Watkin Wynn; it occurred to him that the blood of Sir Watkin's kennel would cross well with the Pytchley. He accordingly took some bitches to Wynnstay, a visit which resulted in his leaving Brixworth for Wynnstay. He showed excellent sport, and was as popular as he had been in Northamptonshire. In 1883 a testimonial with a large sum of money was presented to him at Whitchurch, and Payne, in thanking the subscribers, said that he had compassed the death of some 5,000 foxes during his hunting career. He died in 1894, at the age of 79.

The sport during the five years of Captain Thomson's mastership was of a very high average, but the run of 2 February, 1866, known as 'The Great Waterloo Run,' completely eclipsed all others. The meet was at Arthingworth, the weather wet, and the wind southerly. The first fox was found in Lastland, and ran 1 hour and 10 minutes to ground near Arthingworth. A move was made for Waterloo Gorse; hounds (17½ couple) did not at first find as the fox lay very close, but when they had been all over the covert, the fox went away at the top end straight for Langborough, through that wood, then over the Market Harborough road through Shipley Spinney. Dick Roake here viewed what he thought to be the hunted fox, and some of the field were thrown out, but the hunt held on up the hill towards Clipston. The master fell at a bullfinch, and, stopping to pick up his spur, lost some ground. On past the spinney between Oxenden and Clipston; a slight check occurred by Mr. Kirkman's house, but, recovering the line, hounds ran on over the bottom at East Farndon, and down the hill towards Lubenham into the Harborough road, over River Welland and the railway. Hounds then ran hard towards Bowden Inn, where most of the horses were about done, the master's mount being reduced to a trot. Dick Roake, coming up on Usurper, gave his horse to the master, who soon caught the hounds. They crossed the Midland Railway at the bridge near Bowden Inn, through the yard at the inn on the right of the Langton road, and down to the brook,

heading for Langton Caudle. Some got over and some into the brook, Mr. Custance amongst the former, and Mr. Frank Langham amongst the latter. Mr. Mills and the master jumped into the brook and out again at a watering place. The fox was headed on the next hill, and, turning up the valley, crossed the road between Thorpe Langton and Great Bowden. At this point Mr. Hay lent the master his thoroughbred, which galloped well, but gave him two falls. On between Stanton Wyvill and Cranoe, past Glooston village and through Glooston Wood, where Mr. Hay's horse lost a shoe. However, another horse, Rainbow, turned up in the nick of time, and the master was once more able to be with his hounds. They then ran through Keythorp Wood and on towards Ram's Head, where a brace of foxes were before the hounds; however, they ran on to Fallow Closes, down to Slawston Covert, and pushed on through the meadows to the Welland, all the time close to their fox; they turned by the side of the river to the road leading to Medbourne station, and at half-past five, light failing, the master stopped them. Graceful, the first hound to open on the scent in Waterloo, was also the last to speak on it. The point was about 18 miles, and as the hounds ran it would be about 25; the time was 3 hours and 45 minutes. The master, who had been without a whipper-in for the last hour and forty minutes, took hounds back to the kennels assisted by Captain Clark of Spratton. He had his dinner about eleven o'clock at Lamport Hall, and then drove down to Market Harborough to attend the hunt ball.²

In 1866 it was proposed that a separate pack of hounds should hunt the woodlands. Mr. George L. Watson, of Rockingham Castle, was quite willing to become master, but Lord Cardigan was so absolutely opposed to the suggestion that nothing further was then done. The establishment of the Woodland pack, which was accomplished in 1876, will be noticed on a future page.

At this time Mr., now Sir Herbert, Langham was the honorary secretary of the hunt.

In April, 1869, a deputation of farmers, headed by that grand old sportsman, Mr. Mathew Oldacre, of Clipston, called on Captain Thomson at his house, The Rookery, Brixworth, with a very handsome address to which 200 signatures had been appended. It was then proposed to give the master a testimonial, and at a meeting of subscribers held at Rugby, it was decided that a portrait

¹ A minute description of this historic run is given in *Three Great Runs*, by Colonel Anstruther Thomson (1889).

² Afterwards (1904) published as *Eighty Years' Reminiscences*.

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should be painted by Sir Francis Grant. The portrait was presented at a dinner given to Captain Thomson at the George Hotel.

Mr. John Albert Craven, of Whilton Lodge, near Daventry, took the country when Captain Thomson retired, in 1869, and retained office for three years. Dick Roake, who had been second whip under Charles Payne, became first whip in 1863, when Lord Spencer was master, and when Mr. Craven took the hounds and Charles Payne left he was promoted to the post of huntsman.

Mr. Richard Christopher Naylor, of Kelmarsh Hall, succeeded Mr. Craven for two years only, from 1872 to 1874. When Mr. R. C. Naylor resigned his mastership, Lord Spencer, who had just returned from his first Irish viceroyalty, came forward a second time and took the hounds. He appointed the late William Goodall his huntsman, and presented him with a silver horn inscribed, 'Will Goodall, from Spencer, 1874.'

During the year 1875 Lord Spencer purchased a good many couple of old hounds from Lord Doneraile, among them the noted hound Archer, by Lord Doneraile's Tarquin—his Abigail.

In 1876 the empress of Austria, being resident at Eaton Park, asked Lord Spencer for a bye day. Accordingly a meet was appointed at Althorp on 9 March at 2 o'clock, Her Majesty lunching at the house, and being accompanied by Count Larisch and others. A fox was found at Brington Gorse, and he ran close to Buckby, and to ground near Whilton osier bed. The hounds went at a good driving pace. The empress rode a beautiful bay, Merry Andrew, and followed Captain Middleton, who was riding Masquerade; she jumped everything, and was in the very first flight all the way.

The 20 January, 1877, was a red-letter day. His present Majesty, then Prince of Wales, was staying at Kimbolton Castle to hunt with the Fitzwilliam, but a death in the family prevented these hounds going out. The duke of Manchester therefore telegraphed to Lord Spencer that the prince would hunt with the Pytchley, and His Royal Highness and party came to Oxendon, where the meet took place. The first fox was found at Waterloo Gorse, but he went to ground directly. The second fox was found in Loatland Wood; he ran nicely back through Waterloo, and swinging round by Arthingworth he ran through Loatland and on to Rothwell, where he beat them. Another fox was found at Mawsley Wood; he went away at a rattling pace by Orton and Harringworth, through Loatland Wood again, as if for Braybrook, but he turned to

the left, and leaving Waterloo Gorse to the right, 'the hounds raced him over the grass down the Oxendon station, where they ran from scent to view, and killed him just in front of his Royal Highness, after about 40 minutes.'

This season of 1876-7 was a very good one for sport, scent being excellent. Early in 1878 the empress of Austria took the Hall at Cottesbrooke, and hunted from there for about six weeks, keeping some thirty magnificent hunters in the stables. Whilst in this country her pilot was the late Captain, better known as 'Bay,' Middleton—a first flight man and a perfect horseman. The empress had fine hands, a strong seat, and exceedingly good nerve; and where her pilot led she followed without hesitation. On leaving the country she presented Goodall with a very handsome scarf pin.

Lord Spencer gave up the hounds in 1878, and Mr., now Sir, Herbert Hay Langham was appointed master. He had a consummate knowledge of hunting in all its phases, was a good judge of hounds, a fine horseman, and was withal as popular a master as ever hunted the Pytchley.

On 12 March, 1880, the hounds met at Brockhall, and after a little drawing they went back to Vanderplank. They found in this covert and went away through Watford, leaving Kilsby Tunnel on the left, and back to Crick Covert. Then on very fast by Yelvertoft, and leaving Claycoton to the left they crossed the Market Harborough railway, midway between Lilbourne and Yelvertoft stations. The fox went on by Swinford Covert, leaving Stanford Park to his left, on as if for South Kilworth, bearing to the left nearly to Walcot, then again to the left by Mr. Gilbert's house. Hounds raced him down to the railway as if back for Lilbourne; turning down the valley by Clifton mill they ran into him between there and Rugby. The distance as the crow flies was 10 miles, and as hounds ran 22 miles, and the time 2 hours and 20 minutes. Major Curtis, Mr. F., now Lord Henley, and Captain Soames were the only three gentlemen who rode it. Goodall picked up his fox, after running about a mile and crossing the river by a foot plank. The master said this was the best run during his term of office.

The season of 1881-2 was very open, and many good runs were enjoyed. The most remarkable feature was that seventy-one and a half brace of foxes were brought to hand, being twenty or thirty head more than the average. Hunting was only stopped on three days; the hounds having been out forty-eight

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times cub-hunting, and seventy-six times regular hunting.

From the middle of December, 1886, until almost the end of January, 1887, there was continuous frost and snow; but the Pytchley had several good gallops and killed their foxes on the snow. During this season fifty-one and a half brace were killed.

In October, 1887, H.R.H. Prince Albert Victor was staying at Althorp House, and a meet was arranged there on the 20th. There was only an average day's sport, but a fox was killed, and Goodall took the brush and one pad to Althorp in the evening and presented them to the Prince.

During Mr. Langham's tenure of office, many fine runs are recorded which want of space prevents us from describing. He resigned the mastership, after having hunted the country for twelve years—a longer mastership than any during the nineteenth century. A cordial vote of thanks was given him by the hunt, and, later, members and farmers presented him with a portrait of himself by Hubert Herkomer, which now hangs in the hall at Cottesbrooke.

In 1890 Lord Spencer for the third time took the hounds, with William Goodall as huntsman, John Isaac as first, and Alfred Wilson as second whip. On 9 February, 1891, there was a good run from Hardwick Wood to Althorp Park, which was duly chronicled by Mr. Justice Grantham (who was on circuit and hunted with Mr. R. B. Loder from Maidwell Hall) in a poetical letter to the noble master.

One day at the end of November, 1892, a good fox was found at Shawell Wood, and went away at the top end through the gorse, and then by Swinford and Catthorp to Swinford village and covert, where they lost him. The second fox was found at South Kilworth Covert; he ran towards North Kilworth and back through Stanford Park, over the Rugby railway towards Claycoton. Then on into the Hemploe, a ring as if for Welford, and back into Hemploe, and on leaving Elkington on the right, by Winwick and Firetail, nearly to Thornby. He ran back over the valley near Guilsborough Park almost to Coton Park, then back to Mr. Atterbury's house, where every one was beat. Goodall said that this was one of the hardest days hunting he ever had.

As Lord Spencer was at this time First Lord of the Admiralty, Viscount Downe generally acted as field master.

On 16 December, 1893, there was a record run from Hothorpe Gorse. The fox first ran a ring very fast by Bosworth and to ground under the Theddingworth road. He

was quickly bolted, and ran hard through Marston Wood, and on by Farndon for Market Harborough. Being headed he turned, and leaving Waterloo Gorse to the left went nearly to Arthingworth, on to Kelmarsh, short to the right, and away by Clipston, Alford Thorns, Lubbenham, and Marston Plantations into Laughton Hills. Here they worked up to him, and running from scent to view, raced into him in the open, after a splendid run of 2 hours and 40 minutes, supposed to have been over 25 miles of country.

At the end of this season Lord Spencer gave up the mastership. Mr. William Musgrave Wroughton, who resides at Creaton Lodge, and had hunted in the country since 1881, was in March, 1894, elected master of the Pytchley, in succession to Lord Spencer.

It was said by good judges that the hounds were never more brilliant in the field nor comelier in the kennel than at this time. In this year, at the Horse Show held at Althorp Park, the new master, Mr. W. M. Wroughton, presented Goodall, who had completed twenty years' service as huntsman, with a testimonial from 385 subscribers. This consisted of a large sum of money and a massive silver tray bearing a suitable inscription.

Goodall in returning thanks stated that he had not been kept in a single day by ill-health during the thirty-one years he had hunted. Will Goodall was one of the most popular huntsmen who ever carried the horn with the Pytchley. He never did a mean or unkind thing in his life. He loved his hounds and they loved him. He never deceived them; never called upon them more than was necessary; and never left covert without getting them together before he began to ride. He died in London after a long illness, and was buried in Brighton Churchyard on 21 August, 1895, in the presence of a large number of Pytchley men of all ranks. He was lowered into the grave by his whippers-in. After the death of Goodall, John Isaac was appointed huntsman, having served as second and first whip for twelve years. Alfred Wilson, who came as second whip in 1888, was appointed first, and Tom Dighton second whip.

Mr. Wroughton's diaries, kindly placed at the writer's disposal, contain particulars of the sport enjoyed during his mastership. The most remarkable run took place on 8 February, 1896, a great portion of it, however, being seen by no one. The hounds met at Arthingworth; the fox went away by Thorp Underwood to Faxton Corner, on towards Braybrooke and over the Midland Railway to the Hermitage, into Brampton Wood, and up to Dingley Warren, where hounds probably changed;

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then back towards Bowden Cemetery, by the River Welland to the sewage farm, and down to Ballast Hole crossing, and sharp to the right over the Welland to Sutton village. Owing to unjumpable fences hounds were far ahead when the field got up to Sutton Windmill, and saw them in the distance passing Stoke Albany village. Hounds went on to Wilbarston, but few followed them, as nothing more could be seen or heard. Hounds were heard in full cry near Dingley Hall, and afterwards near Ashley, where some who were thrown out earlier rejoined the hunt; they ran by Sutton Windmill, on to Weston, over the railway and river towards Medbourne. Leaving that village on the right the fox went close to Slawston covert, by Welham village, over the railway and river again up to Sutton Windmill, for the third and last time, and was killed in a hedgerow near the mill. Mr. Laycock and Mr. Mills broke up the fox, dividing the spoils between them. The only persons up were Messrs. Bentley, Douglas, Garner, Haddon, Langham Reid, Laycock, Mills, Pender, Roberts, and Simpson, who got hounds together, and took them to Mr. Stokes' riding school at Great Bowden. The huntsman and whips arrived and took the pack home by train. The distance the hounds ran was at least 25 miles, and they seemed to have raced the greater part of the distance, though no one was near them.

This season the hounds hunted on 107 days. They killed 40½ brace and ran to ground another 35½ brace of foxes. Isaac said that he only had one fall during the season.

On 8 March, 1899, when hounds met at Guilsborough Grange, John Isaac received from eighty ladies who hunt with the Pytchley, an illuminated address, a silver horn, and a quantity of silver plate, in recognition of his seventeen years' service.

Mr. Wroughton retired from the mastership in 1902 and was succeeded by Lord Annaly, who remains master.

Of late years the Pytchley have been very successful at the foxhound shows at Peterborough. In 1899 Marquis won the Champion Cup, and he was also first as the best unentered dog hound. Other prizes were taken the same year by Potentate, Marksman, Miner, Pageant, Secret, and Posy. Next year Potentate took the Champion Cup, and the first prize as a stallion hound, and with Marquis, Pageant, and Folkestone, he took the first prize for two couples of entered dog hounds. In 1901 the Pytchley took five first prizes and one second prize; and prizes were taken in each of the four following years.

THE WOODLAND PYTCHLEY

The Woodlands are still part of the Pytchley country, and until 1876 were hunted by the same hounds; from Brixworth in winter, and from Brigstock in the early autumn. In that year, however, a second pack was procured, and kennelled at Brigstock. The late Mr. George Lewis Watson, of Rockingham Castle, in 1876 became the first Woodland master, with Percival as huntsman.

Mr. Watson shortly resigned, and Lord Spencer took over the country. Will Goodall hunted the Woodland pack on the Monday and Thursday in each week, and Lord Spencer hunted the open country on the Mondays, during the season 1876-7. Next season Goodall generally hunted the Pytchley six days a week, being in the Brixworth country on the Monday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, and in the Brigstock country Tuesday and Thursday, Lord Spencer sometimes taking the hounds on the Monday and Friday.

On 15 March, 1877, the pack had what Goodall described as the best Woodland run he ever saw; during the whole time he only touched hounds twice. The meet was at Weekley Hall Wood, where hounds found at once, and went away through Boughton Wood, over the park, and through Geddington Chase by Stanion. Then through Brigstock Forest, away as if for Deene Thorpe Woods, but turned to the right through Spring Wood and Lyveden Woods, killing their fox ultimately near Lowick.

When Lord Spencer resigned the mastership of the Pytchley in 1878 he continued to hunt the Woodlands, William (Tom) Goddard acting as first, and George Dunkley as second whip. The hounds had four days' hunting round Althorpe in October, and then went to Brigstock. They commenced regular hunting on 4 November, 1878, at Finedon, and one of the best runs was on 8 April, 1879, when the meet was at Finedon. The first fox was found at the Poplars, but he soon ran to ground near Woodford. A second fox was found in Cranford Gorse; after a short circle he pointed for Snapes, but turned into Grafton Park, and then through Boughton Wood into Geddington Chase. Here, possibly, they changed foxes. Then out towards the Rushton Avenue, swung back to the Chase, and on into Brighttrees, across the top of it. Here there were two lines, but the leading hounds pressed on for the Snapes. Beyond Grafton Coppice Goddard viewed the fox walking across a field, and there was a good deal of dodging about. Lord Spencer

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then went back to Snapes and got a fox away, and they began to run hard through Drayton Park and on close to Islip, where they came to slow hunting, but ultimately killed the fox between Islip and Lowick at 6.40 p.m., having been hunting continuously since 2.15 p.m. Lord Spencer records that it was a desperately hard day; he rode three horses almost to a standstill, and did not get home till nearly midnight.

On Lord Spencer's resignation, in 1880, Captain E. Pennell Elmhirst acted for one season as deputy master and huntsman.

In the following year Lord Lonsdale became master, and also carried the horn and showed great sport. He kept a magnificent stud of chestnut horses, having, it is said, at one time, no less than seventy of that colour at Brigstock. In 1883 Lord Lonsdale purchased the Blankney pack, with which he hunted the woods until 1885, when he resigned.

Mr. Austin Mackenzie then took the country, bringing with him his beautiful pack of hounds from the Old Berkeley (West) country. For fourteen years, 1885-1899, he carried the horn and showed excellent sport, hunting the country practically at his own expense.

When Mr. Mackenzie retired from the mastership on 22 March, 1899, the supporters of the hunt presented him with an oil painting of himself on his grey horse, Diamond, George Whitmore, the kennel huntsman, and Tom Ashley, the first whip, surrounded by the bitch pack.

Mr. Mackenzie's dog hounds were purchased by the present duke of Beaufort for 2,000 guineas, and the bitch hounds by Mr. W. M. Wroughton for 3,000 guineas.

Lord Southampton was then chosen as master, and hunted the hounds until the spring of 1901.

On 8 March, 1900, hounds met at Glendon Hall. They found at once in the Spinneys, ran over the bottom to Rothwell Lodge, and almost to Thorpe Malsor. Leaving that village on the left they ran on to Lodington, and turned to the right towards Orton. They ran almost without a check to Faxton Corner, and on through Bullock Pen to Blue Covert. A fox was holloa'd away, but Lord Southampton would not lift his hounds, and they hunted through the covert and then ran hard through Kelmarsh Covert and Langborough, over the Market Harborough road, and on towards Clipston. They checked near Clipston Lodge, but hit off the line and ran on over the little brook, and leaving Tally-ho Covert to the left ran hard past Hazelbeach Hall and hill, to Blueberry

Covert. They skirted the covert and ran into their fox close to Maidwell Dales. The point was 10 miles, and as hounds ran 17 miles. The time was 2 hours and 10 minutes.

On Lord Southampton's retirement in 1901 Mr. Walter de P. Cazenove was appointed master. He appointed E. Judd, from the old Berkshire Hounds, as his huntsman, and held the mastership until 1903, when Mr. W. M. Wroughton, master of the Pytchley from 1894 to 1902, took office, with T. Dawson to carry the horn. Dawson was succeeded in 1905 by Thomas Carr.

THE PYTCHLEY COUNTRY

The Pytchley ranks as one of the finest countries in England, comprising, as it does, the great forest of Rockingham and Geddington Chase, where hounds can hunt both early and late; the deep pastures, separated by large ox fences, near Market Harborough; the large grass fields and double hedge-rows of Fawsley; and the smaller arable fields near Northampton. The fences, as a rule, are strong and clean cut. It is not uncommon to meet with a well-laid blackthorn fence, a ditch being on one side and a post and rail on the other, and this must be either jumped or let alone. 'Bullfinches' also frequently occur. There is not, however, much water to be negotiated. During the past few years a good deal of land, which was formerly arable, has been laid down as permanent pasture.

The Pytchley Hunt is bounded on the east by the Fitzwilliam, on the south-east by the Oakley, on the south by the Grafton, on the west by the Bicester, Warwickshire, and North Warwickshire, and on the north-west by the territories of the Atherstone, Mr. Fernie's, and the Cottesmore Hounds.

With the exception of Rockingham Forest, Geddington Chase, Harlestone Heath, Badby Wood, and Sywell Wood, the coverts are of moderate size; many of them are quite small. The oldest artificial gorse in the country is the covert in Yelvertoft Field, which was planted by Lord Spencer and is called after him. Crick Covert, one of the most celebrated in the country, owes its origin to the fact that a fox was found in a hedge-row near Crick, and killed in Oxfordshire after a severe run; the covert was planted at the same spot about 1817. Waterloo Covert was planted about the same time; it was named after the great battle-field, and it provided the famous Waterloo fox in Captain Anstruther Thomson's time. Blue Covert was planted by the

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Regiment of Blues, when they were stationed at Northampton. Cank Covert is over 100 years old ; it was completely cut down some few years ago, but has since grown up again. Sywell Wood is a very favourite fixture ; it has held many a stout fox, and can be drawn every fortnight (or three weeks) throughout the season. The covert near Church Brampton was established in 1854 by Lord Spencer, who wished to call it 'Balaclava,' but the name did not win popularity, and it has always been known as Sander's Gorse.

In 1892 an arrangement was made between Mr. A. Mackenzie, master of the Woodland Pytchley, and the Hon. T. Fitzwilliam and Mr. H. Wickham, ex-masters of the Fitzwilliam, that the line of demarcation between the Pytchley and the Fitzwilliam hunts should be the high road leading from Oundle by Southwick to Bulwick. Laxton Wood is neutral between the hunts, and Wakerley Wood and Wakerley Oaks are neutral with the Cottesmore.

About 1840 the Pytchley gave the Grafton permission to draw all Sir Rainald Knightley's coverts except Dodford Holt. Stowe Wood and Everdon Stubbs are neutral with the Grafton. Knightley Wood, Mantell's Heath, Badby Wood, and the coverts at Preston belong to the Pytchley. The coverts in the parish of Bosworth are neutral with Mr. Fernie's hounds.

In *The Pytchley Hunt*, by the late Mr. H. O. Nethercote, full particulars of the masters and members of this famous hunt will be found.

THE GRAFTON HOUNDS

The dukes of Grafton have kept fox-hounds for a great number of years, hunting in the counties of Buckingham, Northampton, Suffolk, and Surrey.

The Northamptonshire pack appears to have been formed about 1750 by Augustus Henry, third duke of Grafton, who was both master and owner of the hounds. His Grace was assisted in the management of the kennel by Mr. J. Smith, who lived at Steane House, which he rented from Lord Spencer. The hounds at this time hunted either from Steane or Sholebrooke, kennels having been built at both places. The Grafton pack enjoyed such high repute that in 1757 Lord Granby purchased some stallion hounds from the duke for use in the Belvoir kennel.

Mr. Smith died about 1790, and some time afterwards George Ferdinand, Lord

Southampton, nephew of the duke, took over the management of the hounds.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century 'Old Joe Smith' was the huntsman. He seems to have been a remarkable man, and a wonderfully able breeder of hounds. These were said to be round in the body and nothing tired them ; but they were a very wild skirting lot, running much by ear, and nicking in when they could. When hunting in the forest many of them would leave the body of the pack, and, going to a ride or opening, would wait until the fox was driven up to them by the other hounds, when they would join in the chase, perhaps close to the fox.

It is related that one day when Joe Smith was hunting at Steane, he heard a boy holloaing crows, and was so pleased with his voice that he took this boy—Tom Rose—into the stables. Tom was eventually appointed whipper-in, and in time he succeeded Joe Smith.

Tom's cheery voice was proverbial, and his rattling holloa, when coming out of one of the Grafton coverts, lived in the memory of everyone who heard it.

Lord Southampton's mastership continued until his death in June, 1810, from which time George Henry, Earl Euston (who became the fourth duke of Grafton, on his father's death in 1811), took the hounds. At this time, foxes being somewhat scarce, the hounds only hunted three days a week.

When Tom Rose resigned he was succeeded by his son Ned, who in 1827 obtained the services of the celebrated George Carter as whip. George left in 1831 and went to the Hon. Grantley Berkeley, then master of the Oakley. Ned Rose was not altogether successful as huntsman to the Grafton, so he left in 1833, George Carter coming from the Oakley to carry the horn, with Stevens and Dickens as whips. Carter found the hounds very wild, and much inclined to hunt and kill the deer in the forest, but he soon taught them better manners, and is said to have much improved the pack.

Mr. J. M. K. Elliott relates that one day he was hunting in Whittlebury Forest, where Carter found a fox ; but before the hounds had hunted him far, they broke away and pursued and killed several deer. Carter rode down the ride blowing his horn, and, aided by his whips, gradually got his unruly pack together. Clark, the royal keeper, came up much distressed, saying, 'You will kill half my deer !' Carter replied, 'My dear fellow, I can't help it ; I have hounds out to-day which will run anything from an earwig to an elephant !'

In February, 1840, the Grafton hounds consisted of 45 couple, 32½ couple being old,

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and 12½ couple young hounds. These hounds were very irregularly named, the first letter of the name being sometimes that of the sire, sometimes of the dam, and sometimes of neither.

On 10 February, 1842, the bitch pack met at Showsley Grounds. 'It was this day known that Mr. T. Assheton Smith had bought the pack, and engaged Carter and Dickens.' The great merit of the hounds at this time was entirely due to Carter, and Assheton Smith was only too glad, as he said, to buy 'the hounds and George Carter.' Carter was a very fine huntsman, with great perseverance, though not always fast. It is said of him that, even when there was no scent he would walk a fox to death.

When the duke, in the spring of 1842, sold the hounds to Mr. Assheton Smith, Charles, Lord Southampton, came forward, and purchased from Mr. Harvey Coombe the pack of hounds from the Old Berkeley, which he had bought from Mr. Osbaldeston, when the latter gentleman gave up hunting the Pytchley in 1834. At this time the country was divided between Lord Southampton and Mr. William Selby Lowndes, of Whaddon, and Lord Southampton for the time took the Fawsley portion of the Pytchley country. Lord Southampton engaged Harry Taylor as huntsman, Tom Flint as first whip, and George Wells as second whip. The sport was not good, and next year Will Derry became huntsman with two new whippers-in, but there was no great improvement. In 1844 Lord Southampton took back Ned Rose, the old huntsman, who had been keeping an hotel, but he only carried the horn for one season. He was succeeded first by Baxall, then by Jack Jones the first whip, and in 1845 by Butler, a Yorkshire huntsman.

In 1847 Lord Southampton purchased Lord Shannon's pack of hounds from Ireland, and Tom Smith and a whipper-in came with them. With new huntsman and hounds the sport improved, and Mr. Elliott mentions a very good run which occurred on the last Monday in March, 1848. In the afternoon hounds drew Badby Wood, and the fox went away over Newnham brook. Leaving Newnham on the left, they crossed the London road, and, leaving Watford gorse on the right, ran straight to Sulby without touching a covert on the way. This would be a long point, and if the hounds had killed the run would have been the best during Lord Southampton's mastership, but the fox managed to beat the hounds and save his brush. The run, however, was at the time considered an excellent one.

In 1848 George Beers became huntsman, and showed some very good sport for three

seasons, when he went back to the Oakley hounds. Beers was succeeded by Ben Morgan, one of Sir Richard Sutton's whips, who, though a fine horseman, was not an ideal huntsman. Mr. Elliott gives an account of the hounds hunting a bag fox from Braddon Pond one day. Though Druid, one of the best hounds, would not hunt, Morgan never found out that he had been pursuing a bagman. After Morgan came Dick Simpson, with Bob Ward as first, and Tom Carr as second whip. Simpson had been huntsman to the Puckeridge Hounds, and proved a great success in the Grafton country; he was one of the few men who could satisfactorily catch a woodland fox. During cub hunting in Simpson's first season, a Haversham Wood fox ran through Gayhurst Wood, Stoke Park, between Quinton and Preston Deanery, and through Houghton Field almost to Northampton, where he was killed. The distance was about 11 miles, without a check, hounds running perfectly. Simpson only stayed a couple of seasons, and was followed by George Beers, who came back from the Oakley and once more carried the horn with the Grafton. He had as whippers-in Ward and Carr.

For some reason Lord Southampton was always changing his huntsmen and whips, but the sport was not good until George Beers returned; he improved both hounds and foxes.

In 1850 Lord Southampton purchased a number of hounds from the Badminton pack, but Beers did not think much of them. A little later more hounds were purchased from Yorkshire, some of which proved good and useful. After a time Bob Ward left to hunt with Mr. J. Gerard Leigh, and Tom Carr became first whip. He was followed in 1860 by George Beers' son Frank, and the father was able to teach him lessons which proved most useful when a few years later he hunted the Grafton hounds. George Beers was a right good huntsman, and the trainer of some good huntsmen; he had wonderful health, and never missed a day's hunting through illness.

At this time Mr. Selby Lowndes took the southern, and Lord Southampton still continued to hunt the northern part of the country.

In the spring of 1862 Lord Southampton sold his hounds to Mr. Selby Lowndes, and the Grafton country was without master, huntsman, or hounds. William Henry Fitz-Roy, Earl of Euston, however, came forward and offered to hunt the country, and appointed Frank Beers as his huntsman. Lord Euston succeeded as the sixth duke of Grafton on 26 March, 1863, and thus once again a lord of Wakefield became master.

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In the same year the present pack of hounds was purchased by Colonel Douglas-Pennant (afterwards Lord Penrhyn) from Mr. John Hill, of Thornton Hall, near Pickering, Yorkshire, and presented to the country. The price was £50 a couple, old and young; Frank Beers went to Yorkshire to complete the purchase and bring back the hounds. A few couple of Lord Southampton's dog hounds found their way back to the Grafton, and thus kept the famous 'Furrier' blood in the kennel. Frank Beers had the highest opinion of the Belvoir blood, and bred much from the Belvoir Weatherage.

Frank Beers, when little more than a lad, took service with a Polish count to hunt wolves in Poland; he remained in that country until the insurrection broke out in 1863, when all foreigners were ordered to leave. Beers thus had considerable experience in hunting before he carried the horn with the Grafton, and though at first not very successful he rapidly improved. Charles (William) Wheatley at this time was first and Tom Smith second whipper-in.

During Beers' first season the Grafton had a fine run from Halse Copse to Canons Ashby, killing their fox handsomely in the open after running from scent to view in an hour and a half. On this run Sir Herewald Wake wrote a long poem which is printed in Mr. Elliott's book. From 1870 until he retired Beers kept careful diaries of all his runs. The greater part of these diaries has been printed in Mr. Elliott's *Fifty Years' Fox-Hunting*.

On 19 January, 1874, hounds, while running a fox from Easton Neston Gardens, had a narrow escape, more than half of them going down the railway cutting at Roade. Fortunately not one was hurt; the train pulled up in the cutting to allow them to escape.

On 2 November, 1874, the Grafton found a fox in Salcey Forest, and killed him in the rectory garden at Harpole, a 10-mile point, and 16 miles at least as hounds ran.

The 7 March, 1876, was a red-letter day with the Grafton. The Duke arranged a private meet in the afternoon at Wakefield for the Empress of Austria (who was staying at Easton Neston), the ex-King and Queen of Naples and suite. Fire Furze did not hold a fox, but they found in Colonel FitzRoy's new covert and lost after a short run. Beers writes that they

found again in Stoke Park. Went away past Stoke Plain, Plane Woods to the left to Roade Station; did not go over the line, ran by the side of it to Ashton village, and killed him at the Ash Bed. A very pretty run. The empress rode

beautifully, and expressed her great delight to me, and thanked me very much indeed for the good sport. I had the honour of presenting Her Majesty with the brush. The queen of Naples went well also. The Austrian counts and princes also rode capitally; one got a good cropper.

On 31 March, the Empress, Prince Teck, and other distinguished people were at the meet at Radstone, and a good day's hunting ensued. This was the last time during the season that the Empress was out.

Beers mentions a curious instance of the sagacity of a hound. As they were going into Allithorn covert

an old bitch, Sprightly, was standing pointing at something in the dry grass. I rode to her and saw that she had before her nose five beautiful cubs; so I got the hounds off the line of the mother and left the covert as soon as possible.

In 1876 Tom Smith was appointed as first and Edward Cole as second whip.

On 2 February, 1877, there was a splendid run from Whistley Wood over a stiff line of country. Beers says he 'never saw hounds run harder or horses made such an example of.'

During the season 1876-7 hounds were only stopped twice by frost; they killed 51½ brace of foxes, a greater number than had ever been killed before in this country during the season.

In the spring of 1882, the Duke, through failing health, retired, after hunting the country handsomely for twenty years. The Hon. George S. Douglas-Pennant (now Lord Penrhyn) was then chosen master.

At this time the kennels were at Wakefield and the stables for the hunt horses at Towcester. This arrangement proved so inconvenient that in the year 1891 stables were made at Paulerspury out of farm buildings, and the following year hounds were moved to the new kennels in the same village.

On 4 December, 1882, hounds met at Preston Capes. They found in Hogstaff, and killed their fox close to Fawsley, after running him for 3½ hours. Beers held this one of the best runs he ever saw.

Mr. J. M. K. Elliott considered the run of 15 February, 1884, the best he ever saw; he still possesses the mask of the vixen. Hounds ran through thirteen parishes, and through parts of the Pytchley, Bicester, and Warwickshire countries. They met at Wappenham, and found in an uncultivated field near Weedon Bushes. The fox went away between Weedon Coppice and village by Oakley

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Bank to the left to Woodend, where hounds checked ; found the line again and ran through Plumpton Wood, Canons Ashby Church and Louseland to the left, Little Preston on the right, close past the inn, Preston Capes, straight down the grass fields, leaving Hogstaff to the right, to Fawsley Laurels ; did not enter, but ran on leaving Charwelton osier bed to the left, over Sharman's Hill to Prior's Marston. Hounds ran from scent to view, and killed at Napton-on-the-Hill after a grand run of nearly 3 hours over a magnificent country ; 14 miles as the crow flies, but probably nearer 20 as hounds ran.

A curious incident happened at the end of February, 1885, when the Grafton brought a fox from the forest into Nash village, and killed in an orchard there. Mr. Selby Lowndes' hounds at the same moment were drawing Beachampton Grove, and the huntsman Bentley, hearing Beers' 'Whoo-hoop,' thought it was a 'View holloa' and immediately got his hounds together and hunted the line of the Grafton fox up to the spot where the Grafton had broken him up.

In 1888 Tom Bishopp came as second whip from Lord Yarborough's hounds.

On 26 December, 1888, when hounds met at Chackmore, they found their second fox at Whitfield Wood, and had a wonderful night run. Beers got up to them at Geddington Mill after they had run for nearly an hour almost in the dark. It was a fine starlight night. Hounds, as it afterwards transpired, killed their fox in the river, where he sank. He was fished up next day.

One day at the end of January, 1890, both huntsman and whips had a very anxious experience. Hounds ran down into the cutting at Roade ; Beers, with both whippers-in, followed on foot, and ran with the pack through the cutting northwards. Two express trains being due, the hounds might have been cut to pieces every minute, but they were got out of the cutting just in time. This was the last season that Frank Beers hunted ; his health gave way and he was obliged to retire, though he tried once more in the autumn to resume his place with the hounds. Tom Smith, the first whip, was then appointed huntsman, with Tom Bishopp as first whip. During the three seasons that Smith hunted the hounds, good sport was enjoyed and a large number of foxes were killed, but it does not appear that there were any runs above the average.

In January, 1891, Lord Penrhyn resigned the mastership, not having time to attend to the onerous duties of the post, and Mr. Robarts and the Hon. Edward S. Douglas-Pennant were then appointed joint masters. In 1893

Tom Bishopp was promoted to the post of huntsman, with Charles Morris as first and F. Dare as second whip. Mr. Robarts and Mr. Douglas-Pennant continued as joint masters until 1895, when Mr. Robarts retired, and Mr. Douglas-Pennant became sole master.

On 23 March, 1896, a curious incident occurred. Hounds ran from Salcey to Horton, where they joined the Oakley Hounds, and both packs went on together for about two hours, the Oakley eventually drawing off their pack at Stoke Goldington. A similar incident occurred on 27 February, 1904, when the Whaddon Chase Hounds ran up to the Grafton in Gayhurst Wood, and hunted with them in the evening.

A meet at Wakefield on 11 December, 1896, was notable for the fact that one hound practically did all the work. From the spinneys at Grafton Regis a fox went away, chased by a bitch said to be Dauntless, far in advance of the pack. The rest followed to the river and railway, where the fox turned back with Dauntless still in pursuit ; the rest of the pack did not hit off the line, and were proceeding to draw the covert at Cosgrove when the whip viewed the hunted fox with Dauntless still at his brush ; hounds were then brought on, and soon killed. In 1905 Mr. Douglas-Pennant was succeeded by Lord Southampton, who is his own huntsman.

THE GRAFTON COUNTRY

The Grafton country is bounded on the north by the Pytchley, on the north-east by the Oakley, on the south-east by the Whaddon Chase, and on the south-west and west by the Bicester and Warden Hill. The country is almost entirely in Northamptonshire, a small portion only being in Buckinghamshire ; it is not very large in extent, but is of a very sporting character.

Whistley Wood, Whittlewood Forest, the woods and copses adjoining, and Salcey Forest together form a strong chain of woodland running from south-west to north-east, and in these forests it is no easy matter to catch a fox. Salcey Forest alone covers some 1,500 acres, and has always been good lying for foxes. Indeed, there is never any lack of foxes in the country, and they seem to be on the increase. In addition to these woods there are many smaller coverts—Plumpton Wood, Allithorn, Kingthorn Grubb's Cop-pice, Nun Wood, Plain Wood, and others famous in the annals of the hunt.

There is a good deal of grass land,

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especially on the northern and western sides, the plough being principally on the eastern side of the country. In short, within the borders of the hunt, thick wood, deep grass, light plough, and many large fences will be found. Both nerve and science are required on the part of the rider, and speed and

endurance on the part of the horse, if this country is to be crossed in safety. The enormous crowds which follow the Pytchley on a Wednesday, however, are quite unknown here. The little town of Towcester is fairly well in the centre of the hunt, and all meets can be reached therefrom.

THE FITZWILLIAM HOUNDS

These hounds have been in possession of the Fitzwilliam family and have been known by their name for a century and a half; though the mastership has been held, temporarily, by other members of the family—and by three masters not connected with it—the hounds have always been the property of the owner of the Milton estates. For 120 years there were but three masters, all Fitzwilliams, and practically only three huntsmen; John Clarke, the fourth, who succeeded Dean in 1820, only remained a few months. Earl Fitzwilliam, who was born in 1748, and lived at Milton House, Peterborough, established the hunt in 1769 by the purchase of a pack from the famous Mr. Childe. The huntsman was the well-known Will Dean, who bred his hounds with so much care and judgment that they acquired a great reputation, and influenced many of the kennels in England. Dean kept a kennel-book, in which he entered a complete list of the puppies bred. This book must be one of the earliest stud-books of hounds extant. At this time the pack numbered 51½ couple of hounds, almost exactly the same strength as the present pack.

Lord Fitzwilliam kept a careful record of his runs from 1789 to 1793. The following extract, which is typical of many others, is dated Monday, 9 November, 1789:—

Threw off at Ashton Wold, found many foxes, ran well in covert ½ of an hour; went off at the Polbrook Corner to Kingsthorp Coppice, ran very hard to the further corner of the Coppice, skirted through it and continued running hard to Thurning field (the wind favourable) then bore back downwind into the Hemmington inclosures and through the back of the village and past the farm house and through the elm nursery, then crossed the inclosures and past the patch of furze in the open field and then again into Ashton Wold (always going upon a tolerable scent) killed in five minutes after it. 1 hour 5 minutes from finding; behaved well.

Old hounds.

On 14 April, 1790, there was a good hunt in heavy snow from Bedford Purlieus, the

first ten minutes moderately and the last twenty minutes very fast, ending in a kill. In 1831 cub-hunting began on 1 August, and on 4 October hounds went by road to Yorkshire, where they hunted for a month, returning in time to commence the season at Milton on 5 November. Sebright, the huntsman, writes that they

Only missed four days from bad weather the whole season. I don't recollect a worse scenting season since I have been here, nor less frost throughout the winter. Our foxes were short on the Elton side, Orton side, Ashton, and Lilford likewise. The Soak (*sic*) was very little hunted from the scarcity of foxes.

Sebright kept a hunting diary from 1830 until 1837, when he gave it up.

On 18 January, 1833, hounds met at the kennels at Milton. After one run of fifteen minutes they found another fox in Castor Hanglands, and after ringing about killed him in Castor Gorse in seventy minutes. Sebright says:—

The day hail'd by a grate many people to witness the Sport of the field in which the hounds dune themselves credit perticular in their hunting which they were several times brought to by the plough'd lands in which they cross'd and the stile in which they kill'd their Fox.

On the death of Lord Fitzwilliam in February, 1833; his son Charles William, the fifth earl, succeeded to the estates at Milton, and became master of the hounds.

On 18 February, 1834, the hounds had a good run, and killed their fox after a run of fifty minutes, some part of which was very fast.

The hounds did their work in a most admirable stile making the most of a midling scent which is perfection in a Pack of hounds can but seldom be seen.

Sebright died in September, 1861, and, like his predecessor Dean, was buried in Thorpe

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Churchyard. George Carter was then appointed huntsman. He was very keen and understood both foxes and hounds. Indeed these hounds at this time perhaps reached their highest state of perfection. They were wonderfully courageous, with plenty of drive and not a little devil in them. It has been well said that they derived their characters from their huntsmen—the wild waywardness of Will Dean, the boldness of Tom Sebright, and the hard-bitten downrightness of George Carter, gave these hounds their terrible determination.

During the week ending 14 December, 1861, the Fitzwilliam enjoyed excellent sport. This was Carter's first year as huntsman, and naturally his proceedings were watched with much interest. The best day appears to have been on Saturday, 14 December, when they met at Barnwell Wold. A fox was found at once, and going away towards Salome Wood, was killed near Connington House after a run lasting an hour and a quarter; and it is said that Carter's 'Whoo-whoop!' might have been heard at Huntingdon town. In the spring of 1865 the master, the Hon. George Wentworth Fitzwilliam, announced that he would no longer maintain the pack entirely at his own expense. A meeting was accordingly held, and it was arranged that the county should raise a subscription of £2,000 towards the expenses. About this time the Hon. Charles Wentworth Fitzwilliam took over the management of the hounds for about three seasons, after which they reverted to Mr. G. W. Fitzwilliam. Between 1860 and 1875 the Prince of Wales, now our king, paid two visits to the Fitzwilliam country. On the second occasion the prince saw a very fast run from Titchmarsh Warren to Lilford, and then straight back, still at a great pace, by Thorpe Station towards Titchmarsh. The prince was galloping up to cross the railway, when the gate-keeper slammed the gate to in his face, replying to his expostulations, in anything but courtly language, that he would let no one else over until the train had gone by.

Mr. George W. Fitzwilliam, who was a good sportsman and fine judge of hounds, died on 4 March, 1874; his brother, Mr. Charles Wentworth Fitzwilliam took his place as master.

In 1877 the Marquis of Huntly took over the management of the hounds, but only remained in office for three years. On 11 March, 1880, hounds met at Walcot Park; and, after drawing several coverts blank, found an outlying fox near Nunton, ran him nearly to Etton, then back through the meadows by Lolham Bridges over the Welland, by the side of the Great Northern

Railway, past Casewick to Shillingthorpe Woods. The fox, however, escaped after an excellent and very fast run.

In 1880 the Hon. Thomas Wentworth Fitzwilliam became master. Next year on 25 November the meet was at Barnwell Castle, and a very good run ensued, though the rain fell heavily all day. On 28 November, 1881, the meet was at Barnwell Castle, the day being again very wet. A fox was found in Kings-thorpe Coppice, and hunted by Ashton Wold, Papley Spinney, Ashpole Spinney, Warming-ton, Elton, up to Fablings Lodge at Fothering-hay, where he was lost, after a very good run. There was another fair run in the afternoon. On 27 January, 1887, there was a Lawn Meet at the kennels on the occasion of the coming of age of Mr. George Charles Wentworth Fitzwilliam, who then took the hounds, but retired at the end of the season. On Easter Monday, 1888, hounds met at Blatherwycke; a fox was first found near Morehay Lawn, and killed at Deen after a very fast twenty minutes; a second fox was found in Long Wood and lost after a short run; a third fox was found in Woodnewton Spinney, and ran very hard to Blatherwycke, where he was suddenly lost; altogether a rare day's sport.

The same year Mr. Henry Wickham became master with Fred Payne as huntsman, Carter having retired, Will Barnard as first and John Olding as second whipper-in. Mr. Joshua Fielden became master and huntsman in 1892. Three years later Mr. G. C. Wentworth Fitzwilliam again took the mastership, Mr. C. B. E. Wright acting as deputy master and huntsman. Mr. C. B. E. Wright's arrangement with the Fitzwilliam terminating in May, 1901, it was arranged that a subscription of £2,000 should be raised; Mr. Fitzwilliam thereupon consented to keep on the hounds, and still retains office.

We are indebted to Mr. G. C. W. Fitzwilliam, Mr. A. Perceval, and Mr. J. A. Perceval for the many particulars connected with this hunt.

The Fitzwilliam is a fine sporting country; bounded on the north by the Cottesmore; from Stamford to Huntingdon by the Fen country; then by the Cambridgeshire and Oakley nearly to Higham Ferrers; by the Woodland Pytchley to Oundle, and then across to the Welland. Many years ago the Fitzwilliam used to meet regularly at Bulwick, but this is believed to have been by permission of the Pytchley. Wakerley Wood and Wakerley Oaks near Laxton are neutral with the Cottesmore. The Woodland Pytchley as well as the Fitzwilliam meet at Laxton,

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and draw the coverts there, and Laxton Wood is neutral between the two hunts. A large proportion of the woods in the soke of Peterborough, in the Giddings, and in the western and southern portions of the country belongs to the Fitzwilliam estate. Other woods in this country hunted by these hounds are

Barnwell Wold, Ashton Wold, Lilford Woods, Cliffe Forest, Collyweston Wood, Bedford Purlieus, and the woods at Apethorpe and Blatherwycke.

The kennels stand in an ideal position in the centre of Milton Park, not far from the house, surrounded by magnificent oaks.

HARRIERS AND BEAGLES

Records of harriers and beagles are more scattered and difficult to obtain than those relating to foxhounds. As often as not, kennel books and hunting diaries are not kept. The following notes are accordingly somewhat fragmentary.

Mr. Isham kept a pack of beagles early in the eighteenth century, and there are several entries relating to them in his diary; thus on 6 September, 1710—

We hunted for the 2nd time this year in the fields, Saturday having been the first. Mr. Robinson and Allicock were with us.

He hunted again on 30 September, Miss Isham being also out. On 12 October they breakfasted at Overstone, the ladies hunting with them. Mrs. Betty Stratford, we regret to learn, had the misfortune to fall from her horse, putting her wrist out and cutting her head.

On 6 November Mr. Isham

Hunted in Clipson (Clipston) field, where j was to meet Sr. Tho. Cave, but he came not. Mr. Wikes and several others were with me.

Next week they had a very good chase from Holcot Blackwell. On 2 December they had 'extraordinary sport' out hunting. The fields must have been of very moderate size, for only three gentlemen are mentioned by Mr. Isham as hunting with him.

Next year, on 31 March, they hunted for hares about Kingsthorpe Heath and Bushy Close. Mr. Taylor, the curate, and Mr. Alderman Lyon were out.

On 4 August, 1715, Mr. Isham writes that, 'this year being remarkable for early harvest we were a hunting in ye open field.'

In the middle of the eighteenth century Thomas Andrew, of Harlestone, was lord of the manor of Great Addington, and possibly he kept the harriers mentioned in Beckford's *Thoughts on Hunting*. One of the descendants of this Mr. Andrew, in March,

1789, enjoyed a hunt which is recorded by the *Northampton Mercury* in the following words :—

On Monday last Mr. Andrew's hounds found a hare at Kislingbury, near this town, which they killed at Green's Norton, after running her through the following Lordships, viz., Rothersthorp, Gayton, Bugbrook, Darlescott, Pattishall, Cold Higham, Grims-cott, Pottcote, and Foxley. The chase (which was fifteen miles) lasted two hours and five minutes.

Sir William Brooke, of Great Oakley Hall, mentions in his diary several days' hunting with Payne's harriers. On 23 April, 1823, they were hunting by Easton Park, Stoke, etc., 'no scent, no sport.' On 28 April he

started from Arthingworth about 11, going by Stoke Wood. Heard the hounds, and of course joined them. Had a run into the open scent; killed three hares. Lord Sondes and young Payne with them.

He also mentions some hounds kept by Mr. Stanbury in 1823, and records a day with them on 14 November.

About 1830 a smart little pack of harriers was kept at Clipston, and hunted round Market Harborough.

In 1842 a pack of beagles used to meet in the neighbourhood of Canons Ashby and Everdon, and Sir Henry Dryden notes several of their runs. Some, he says, were 'not much'; of others he observes, 'Killed after a slapping run of 1 hour and 55 minutes.' 'Had a good run of more than an hour, and killed,' and 'ran rings round Ashby for two or three hours, good scent and a stout hare.'

In 1843 a pack of harriers, hunted by one Gage, was established in the Grafton country to hunt two days a week. The first meet was at Canons Ashby on 30 November, 1843, when two hares were hunted but not killed. From that time until April, 1845, Sir Henry Dryden records the meets of these harriers with particulars of the runs. In fifteen days of one season they killed ten hares.

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The late Mr. Ambrose Isted, of Ecton Hall, began to keep harriers when about fifteen years old, and had them for nearly sixty years. This gentleman was born deaf and dumb, and hunting was a great amusement to him. He hunted the hounds himself, at one time with his old keeper, named Daniel Tassell, as whip; then William Pridmore, and afterwards the well-known and genial Tom Jolly, who died in Ecton village a few years since.

Mr. W. Wood, of Brixworth, for many years kept harriers; he had several men who afterwards made first-class huntsmen to fox-hounds, the celebrated Bob Ward being one of the best.

In Northampton a pack of beagles was established in 1888, and was for some years supported by the authorities of St. Andrew's Hospital. In 1892 these hounds were taken over by the late Mr. Horsey, and carried on by him without any outside assistance. They were then converted into a pack of about twenty couple of 17½ inch (Stud Book) harriers, and kennelled at Dallington, to hunt the country within a radius of about 15 miles from Northampton, chiefly within the limits of the Pytchley and Grafton Hunts, meeting on the Tuesday and Thursday in

each week. Mr. Horsey until 1901 hunted hounds himself, with T. Pickford as whipper-in.

In 1901 Mr. Horsey sold his pack to Mr. Henry Hawkins, of Everdon Hall, Daventry, in whose possession they remain, hunting much the same area of country. Mr. Horsey died in 1903.

Lord Alfred FitzRoy kept a pack of harriers about 1880.

Messrs. R. A. Cooper and C. A. Cooper, of Delapré Abbey, in 1894, started a private pack of basset hounds to hunt the country within a radius of about 12 miles of Northampton. These hounds showed good sport for five years, but they were not always fast enough to catch their hares, sometimes running for over 3 hours without killing. In the spring of 1899 these hounds were sold to Mr. E. H. Dunning, of Stoodleigh Court, North Devon.

The marquis of Exeter in 1899 established a mixed pack of harriers consisting of sixteen couples, which hunt on the Wednesday and Saturday round Stamford. The kennels are at Burghley; the master carries the horn, and has two whippers-in.

Lord Lilford in 1899 started a pack of harriers to hunt the country round Lilford and Thrapston.

OTTER HUNTING

The pack established by Sir Henry Hoare, at Wavendon, in Buckinghamshire, and carried on by subscription since 1891, as the Bucks Otter Hunt, under the mastership of Mr. W. Utthwatt, of Linford Manor, hunts yearly the River Nene and its tributaries. It also visits the Welland, the

Cherwell, the Ouse, and the Tove, in this county.

In 1899 seven otters were killed by these hounds in the streams of Northamptonshire. The late Lord Lilford was master of these hounds at one period, and took much interest in their doings.

COURSING

At the present time coursing is not practised to any great extent in this county, but there is evidence to show that at one time it was a very favourite sport.

Michael Drayton, who died in 1631, sets forth in his *Polyolbion* the properties of each shire in England; and he refers to the Kelmarsh hares as equal to those of the Chiltern Hills in swiftness, and describes the coursing of a Kelmarsh hare which the greyhounds did not succeed in taking.

Mr. Isham, writing in his diary at Lamport in November, 1671, says that: 'Mr. Wikes came with his hounds, and challenged ours to a coursing match, but the beaters

could not find a hare.' Next year, in September, 'Richard Spriggs found a hare in the kitchen close, which we hunted on foot with the dogs and killed.' A few days later, 'Valentine Woodd found four hares, two of which we caught and killed with Mr. Sanders about four o'clock.'

Frequent similar entries followed, but either the greyhounds were slow or the hares were exceptionally stout, for comparatively few hares were killed, certainly not more than one a week.

On 24 February, 1673, 'I found a hare in Woolfige (Brixworth), and our greyhound beat Mr. Sanders.'

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Mr. Cartwright, of Aynho, in his diary mentions several days' coursing by Sir Thomas Aubrey, thus :—'On the 16 November, 1829, Sir Aubrey coursed in Walton Grounds. Killed two hares.' Again, on the 29 January, 1836 :—'Sir Thomas coursed on Walton Grounds and killed one hare ; only two hares seen. Sir T. very "captious" in consequence.'

Though there are no organized meetings in the county, and but little private coursing

at the present day, there are two large kennels of greyhounds in Northamptonshire : one at the White House, Weedon, which Mr. E. M. Crosse, the well-known South-country courser, has recently purchased, and which contains accommodation for upwards of 100 greyhounds ; the other at Irthlingborough, where Mr. A. Dunmore keeps a number of greyhounds. Both these training establishments have produced famous hounds which have won stakes at various meetings.

FALCONRY

This sport has been practised from very early times in Northamptonshire, though the actual records of hawking are very few and far between. In the sheriff's accounts of expenditure at Rockingham Castle, and at the Hunting Lodge at Geddington, frequent mention is made of repairs to the 'mews' for the royal hawks.

Mr. Isham, in his diary for 1672, records that on 17 October he 'went with Lewis to Sir William Hazelwood's hawking.'

Nearly two hundred years later the Rev. Gage Earle Freeman, M.A., St. John's College, Cambridge, went to live at Ged-

dington, as curate, the Rev. W. M. H. Church being vicar. This gentleman, who wrote for *The Field*, over the pen-name 'Peregrine,' used to fly merlins and sparrowhawks in Boughton Park, the Chase, and Weekley Hall Wood. The entries in Mr. Freeman's sporting journal commence in the year 1852, some five years after he went to Geddington, and he describes many flights in one of his books—*Practical Falconry*, published in 1869. At this time Mr. Freeman was the only falconer in this county. Some years later Colonel Cooper, who lived at Pitsford Hall, used to keep hawks.

SHOOTING

The pre-eminence of Northamptonshire in fox-hunting does much to overshadow its repute as a shooting county; but Whyte Melville bore witness in one of his stirring ballads to the happy relations which exist between the two interests :—

We have acres of woodlands and oceans of grass,
We have game in the autumn and cubs in the spring.

Yet, strictly speaking, Northamptonshire is not a first-rate shooting county. Its shortcomings from the game-preserve's point of view are the heavy clay soil, the excess of pasture-land, and the lack, in places, of adequate water supplies. The increasing area of pasture threatens to become a serious drawback, for year by year more land is laid to grass. There are, however, certain localities, notably the Burghley district, where the lighter character of the soil favours the game preserve; indeed, a competent authority has stated that in some seasons partridges occur in the Burghley district in numbers that would compare favourably with the best lands of Norfolk.

Possessing very extensive woodlands interspersed with arable lands, Northamptonshire affords greater advantages for pheasants. Large numbers are reared annually on many estates, but the stock depends almost entirely upon the amount of money laid out on their rearing and preservation; given a favourable season, the bags will bear comparison with those made in any similar district, save in Norfolk and Suffolk. The type of bird most frequently seen is the result of cross-breeding between the typical *P. colchicus* and the Chinese ring-necked (*P. torquatus*); crosses between the former and the Japanese pheasant (*P. versicolor*) are also occasionally met.

By the kindness of Mr. J. Gardiner Muir the writer is enabled to give some extracts from an old shooting journal kept by Lord Ossory during the later decades of the eighteenth century, when he lived at Farming Woods. This house, which was originally Lord Ossory's shooting-box, is completely surrounded by noble oak woods extending for miles in every direction. It is undoubtedly one of the most beautiful seats in the county, and this, without partiality, is high praise.

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A feature of the journal, not without suggestive bearing on the quantity of game then existing in the Farming Woods Coverts, is the frequent reference to bets. Seldom, apparently, did a day pass without one member of the party laying a wager that another would not kill a bird. For example, on 14 October, 1770, we find that 'Lord O. (Ossory) holds Mr. Fitzpatrick guinea he does not kill pheasant to-morrow'; and on the next day, 'Lord Ossory holds Mr. C. Fox guinea he does not kill pheasant to-day.' The journal shows us that Lord Ossory lost his bet, Mr. Fox having killed one pheasant, while his lordship 'had but one shot, owing (he says) to his great politeness,' and missed that. The first mention of partridges the writer has been able to find occurs on 16 October, 1770, when there is a record that Lord Ossory killed two brace. The rest of this day's entry deserves reproduction in full:—

Mr. C. Fox killed nothing. He wilfully and barbarously slaughtered an old Hen Pheasant in Meadow Lay. Five minutes afterwards Mr. Fitzpatrick, who had particular bad luck and had got but one shot all the day, which was universally judged impracticable, levelled his piece at a Hen Pheasant, but when he saw her at the muzzle of it gave a noble instance of moderation and forbearance by sparing her life, which it must be confessed put the inhuman and unpardonable behaviour of his friend Mr. Fox in the most odious Light. He (Mr. Fitzpatrick) killed one Rabbit, and Lord Chewton shot at a Woodpecker!!!! which he informed us he had *peppered*. N.B.—It flew away. He likewise shot at a Rabbit, which he declared tumbled head over heels several times. Joe Wade was voucher, but as the dogs pursued and could not overtake it, it was thought the said Rabbit had played these Caprioles for his own diversion!!

From this it is obvious that the offence of killing a hen pheasant was almost as grave in 1770 as shooting a fox would be at the present day, and the evident scarcity of pheasants at the time sufficiently explains its enormity. Apparently the Farming Woods party were not exceedingly 'keen,' for it seems that on 17 October, the day being wet, the sportsmen amused themselves by shooting swallows:— 'Lord Chewton and Mr. Fitzpatrick each shot a swallow; Mr. C. Fox a water-wagtail *sitting!!*' It will not be reckoned to Lord Ossory's discredit, perhaps, that 'he preferred the fireside to this form of sport.' On 18 October the party went out after partridges, but so poor was their success that they left them and 'attacked the pheasants, found great plenty but performed moderately.' It is sad to find

that Mr. C. Fox repeated the offence of a previous day by firing at a hen, 'whom nothing but his awkwardness saved from his brutal violence.'

On 19 October, 1771, the journal briefly records the arrival of a guest who is referred to as 'the Murderer'; his advent seems to have been the signal for shooting to be discontinued, a fact which the new arrival's pseudonym perhaps explains, as 'next day all departed for Newmarket,' and there are no more entries in connexion with shooting until the following season.

Farming Woods is a typical Northamptonshire estate, and we may safely apply the principle '*ex uno disce omnes*.' The preservation of partridges and other game has been an object of solicitude to the owners of the Lilford estate for very many years. Records exist to show that great attention has been bestowed on game preservation during the last half-century. Partridge shooting was the department of sport on which the late Lord Lilford brought to bear knowledge and experience as wide as they were discerning. His own words with reference to the Lilford estate may be quoted: 'We have been and are more anxious about our breed of partridges than any other game. Partridges are great devourers of insects in all stages of development, and do infinite service to the farmer; in fact, this bird is desirable from every point of view: beautiful in shape and plumage, superexcellent as food, affording healthy exercise and sport to great numbers of all classes, the partridge is, in our opinion, the most worthy of protection of any of our British birds.' To this may be added the fact that into partridge preservation and shooting the money question, bane of all true sport, enters less than it does into any other form of shooting.

The best partridge lands in the county are to be found on the Burghley estate, where, thanks to the fostering care bestowed upon preservation by the great-grandfather, grandfather, and father of the present marquis of Exeter, the birds have thriven for a long period.

The Bulwick estate near Wansford, the property of Mrs. Tryon, is also, or was until recently, an excellent partridge manor. By the kindness of Mrs. Tryon the writer has been furnished with the game books kept at Bulwick since the year 1873. Several good bags are recorded therein; Mrs. Tryon also refers, in her letter, to the 'big partridge days on the Harringworth fields,' but details of these, unfortunately, are not available.

Another excellent sporting estate is Ape-thorpe, near Wansford. It was formerly the

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property of Lord Westmorland, who has kindly lent the writer the game book, which contains particulars of the shooting obtained there since 1880.

The year 1882 would appear to have been a very good one for partridges at Apethorpe : 1,107 birds were killed during the season, and on two days bags of over 100 brace and of 85 brace, respectively, were made. These are exceedingly good bags measured by the standard of the county. Lord Westmorland has been good enough to give some interesting details relating to other branches of shooting. In one year, for example, 13,000 rabbits were killed ; this must be the 'record' for Northamptonshire. In 1901, Lord Westmorland and his friends killed 1,110 pheasants in a wood named Jack's Green ; and averaged just 100 brace of partridges a day on four days' driving. This latter bag affords striking proof of the results that may be accomplished with care and good management in a locality which is not naturally endowed with the advantages that go to make good partridge ground.

The Biggin estate, near Oundle, at one time afforded wonderfully good partridge shooting. When the late Mr. David Watts Russell lived there the writer saw more birds on the Biggin estate than on any land over which it has been his fortune to shoot. The estate, however, has latterly been laid to grass to a great extent, and it is therefore to be feared that its amenities, as far as partridge shooting is concerned, must have been somewhat impaired. Adjoining the Biggin estate is Farming Woods, to which we have already referred.

Mention must be made of the wood-pigeon shooting to be enjoyed in Northamptonshire. In years when acorns are plentiful the large woodlands are visited by thousands of these birds, the vast majority of which are migrants, locally called 'travellers.' These arrive in October and remain as long as the supply of acorns holds out. The 'travellers' may be readily distinguished, being of slighter build and somewhat darker on the back than the home-bred birds. Pigeon shooting in these woods, where birds are numerous and when a high wind is blowing, is, in the writer's opinion, second to none as a sport. The late Mr. George Hunt, of Wadenhoe House, near Oundle, one of the finest shots in England, brought wood-pigeon shooting to the level of a fine art. One March evening several years ago he shot seventy birds in one of the Lilford coverts in under two hours, and followed this with a bag of forty on the following day. Excellent sport may be obtained among the wood pigeons in the fields which they frequent

after the harvest has been carried ; for this, decoys, either a dead pigeon or the wooden model sold by gunmakers, must be used. A remarkable, and as yet unexplained, feature of this form of shooting is that many more old birds than young are picked up ; the natural assumption is that the young birds would be more readily deceived by the decoy than the veterans.

The foes of game in the county are many and various, and some are almost entirely overlooked by game preservers and sportsmen who profess themselves keen. The average keeper, as a matter of course, attributes all losses to the fox ; and while it cannot be denied that a vixen with cubs is not, strictly speaking, a friend, anyone who has practical knowledge of the subject is well aware that there are enemies of game whose depredations are quite as serious as those of the fox. First and foremost among them are the human loafers and thieves ; these sometimes, but by no means so often as could be wished, receive their deserts. Among the furred and feathered poachers the rook and jackdaw are the cleverest and most mischievous : their very presence in or about the coverts is frequently overlooked, and their depredations are far less widely recognized than they should be. They are not merely casual egg thieves who yield to temptation only when accident brings a nest in their way ; they belong to the 'professional criminal' class ; their search for eggs is conducted with systematic regularity, and, thanks to their acute powers of vision, the most carefully concealed nest is not safe from them. These egg thieves do not receive in the county the attention that should be bestowed upon them ; young rooks, here as elsewhere, are shot during May, but the jackdaws, which are quite as mischievous, are generally granted undeserved immunity. On the Lilford estate in the neighbourhood of Pilton are a number of old hollow trees which have for many years been the favourite nesting resort of the jackdaws, and a regular jackdaw-shooting season has been established in the spring. A considerable number of jackdaws are killed off in this way, but vacancies are only too speedily filled up by birds from neighbouring estates. Were the multiplication of these birds regularly checked on all shootings, game preservers would be able in time to regard the alleged depredations of foxes with far more equanimity than they do now. Of other game foes—sparrow-hawks, stoats, and rats—this county has its share, but the mischief done by these is well recognized, and on all properly preserved estates their numbers are kept down.

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ANGLING

From a fisherman's point of view, Northamptonshire as a county possesses few features to distinguish it from its neighbours. Stretching from east to west of the central midlands, it is intersected by no stream of any note except the Nene. The Avon and Stour flow on its western boundaries, and the Ouse on the south, but the county is essentially one of small brooks. Besides trout, the pike, perch, roach, carp, bream, and rudd, in fact all the coarse fish common to the United Kingdom, are to be caught.

Of trout, the Northamptonshire streams contain a store not surpassed by any other midland shire. Every small stream holds them, or has done so up to a recent date. There can be little doubt that the fish is indigenous to every brook in the county, though there are instances, such as Weedon Beck, where the native breed has been supplemented by stocking. As the brooks grow wider and deeper towards their junction with the Nene, Welland, or Ouse, the trout become scarcer, larger, and more carnivorous. As an instance, until recent years the Tow above Towcester, and even for some miles below the town, held a good stock, and in parts does so still; but as it runs by Castlethorpe to the Ouse, the quantity of pike and perch in the stream precludes the existence of any great number of trout. Spratton Brook, from its two sources near Guilsborough and Cottesbrooke, used to be famous for its trout, but the fish have been practically exterminated by poachers.

The small affluent of the Nene which flows under the north-western line between Weedon and Blisworth at Bugbrooke, is as fine an example of the small midland trout stream as can be found in England. Trout up to 4 lb. were present in large numbers, and would take the fly well, but owing to poaching and other causes this is no longer so. The only security offered the fish against such depredations lies in the depth and size of the stream, a fact which avails nothing here, for there are no real trout streams of great depth in the county.

The most important part of the county's trout fishing is to be obtained in the large reservoirs, founded, the one at Ravensthorpe, and the other at Cransley, to supply Northampton and Kettering respectively with water. Of the latter little need be said save that it is much smaller and a poor imitation of the former. Cransley, too, is considerably more fished, and with every kind of lure, while only the fly and artificial minnow, and the latter with reserva-

tions, are permitted at Ravensthorpe. Fish at Cransley are numerous, but shy: they have been taken up to 6 lb.; three or four fish, however, in a day may be accounted a good basket. At Ravensthorpe the fishing is still very good. The reservoir, which is quite 9 miles from Northampton, having been stocked with young trout four years previously, was opened for fishing in 1893.

Of the many anglers who have regularly fished the lake the Rev. C. Brookes, the present vicar of St. Sepulchre's, Northampton, has killed more fish than anyone. During the eleven years since the opening of the reservoir, he has taken on the fly upwards of 1,100 trout of an average weight of rather over 2 lb.

During the four years subsequent to 1893 the trout steadily increased in size, until in 1897 they attained the remarkable average of 3 lb. 14 oz. Every fish is officially weighed and registered in a book kept for that purpose, and each angler's daily basket is limited to eight trout. Mr. Brookes' best day was in August, seven years ago, when he succeeded in landing eight trout weighing altogether 38½ lb., his heaviest fish being 6¾ lb. This forms the record bag from the reservoir. The largest fish recorded was caught by Captain Breeks, of Weedon, and weighed just on 8 lb. There is little doubt, however, that there were fish in the reservoir which exceeded even this weight. When it is remembered that the majority of the fish were killed on the fly it will be admitted that such trout fishing was well worth the money expended on it. Since 1897, however, there has been a slow but sure decline in size, till in 1901-2 the fish, though as numerous as ever, have only averaged 1½ lb. each in weight.

Whether this is due to the appearance of rudd in the reservoir is an open question. It is certain that in 1900, and the two succeeding years, the reservoir offered probably the finest rudd fishing in the country. A few stray specimens were caught in 1899, and in 1900 they were present in countless numbers. They took the fly greedily, and if the fisherman were fortunate enough to strike on a shoal of the larger fish, which run from ¾ lb. to 2 lb. each, an hour or two's casting would give him a creel which he would find it difficult to raise from the ground. The best catch ever made was eighty-six rudd, averaging 1 lb. each, in three hours, all on the fly. In the early part of the season of 1903 nature declared herself against the overcrowding of the reservoir; a virulent epidemic made its

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appearance among the rudd, killing them off by hundreds of thousands. The trout remained unaffected by the disease, though from several debatable causes they seemed fewer, and certainly were shyer than ever. The average weight of the trout, however, rose from $1\frac{1}{2}$ lb. in 1902 to nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ lb. in 1903. The presence of a large and growing colony of herons on the shores of the lake, must be productive of serious results to the stock of trout. At all seasons, more especially at spawning time when trout lie in the shallows, these birds destroy great numbers of fish.

The above forms a practically complete description of the trout fishing available in the county. The two tributaries of the Nene which join at Northampton, one from Spratton and Guilsborough, the other from Weedon and Kislingbury, are, with the exception of the former close to Northampton, not noted for their coarse fish. Years ago pike up to 20 lb., chub to 5 lb., and large perch and roach, used to be caught in the Spratton Brook; but this is changed now, the growth of the town being a potent factor in the decline of the fish population. A short stretch of this stream beside the Castle railway station at Northampton still holds some splendid pike. It belongs to the railway company and used to be rented by a small club. Pike up to 22 lb. have been taken there quite recently. A short distance below Northampton the river is rented by the Northampton Angling Club, which holds the stream, with the exception of certain small reaches, all the way to Wellingborough. Pike and roach are extremely plentiful, but the pike run small, an eight-pounder being considered a big fish. They are rarely caught over 11 lb. The river, however, teems with large roach, fish of $1\frac{3}{4}$ lb. being not uncommon. There used also to be plenty of perch, but of late years there has been a marked falling off in the number of these fine fish.

From Wellingborough to Oundle and Peterborough, the character of the fishing is somewhat similar, most of it being in the hands of the riparian owners. The further down the angler goes, the larger the fish he may expect to take: moreover the river becomes full of bream in addition to the species found in the upper waters. Near Oundle and Wansford bream are caught in considerable numbers, and up to 5 lb. in weight. Pike of from 10 lb. to 15 lb. are fairly frequent, the river both above and below Oundle being one of the best pike reaches. Historic Fotheringhay is perhaps the best part of the whole river for all-round sport. From Wansford to Peterborough the fishing is not so good, the

proximity of Peterborough apparently having an adverse influence.

The second principal stream is the Welland, which forms the northern boundary of the county. It is a very bad second to the Nene in the number of fish, chiefly roach and chub, which it contains. There are pike in the Welland, but they run small: the best sport obtainable is with the roach and chub, which rise readily to the fly, and are, of course, to be taken in considerable quantities by bottom fishing. Perhaps the best part of the river lies within easy reach of Wakerley and Barrowden, but the whole stream is very accessible from its proximity to the Market Harborough and Peterborough line. From Rockingham down to Stamford the whole of the fishing, with the exception of a very few reaches, is now in the hands of the Stamford Angling Association.

There can be no doubt that the best coarse fishing is to be had in the private lakes and reservoirs, of which there are a considerable number in the county. Of those that can be fished by payment, the Daventry reservoirs and Castle Ashby ponds are best.

The new reservoir is much the better of the two, and an extra charge is made if a punt is required. The Castle Ashby ponds teem with pike, roach, tench, bream, and eels. The pike are small, though isolated specimens up to 20 lb. are caught; perch run very large, up to 4 lb. in weight, but the average is not more than $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. Tench frequently attain 4 lb. weight, and bream 5 lb.

Naseby, Welford and Byfield reservoirs all afford splendid fishing; for them permission is required, but granted favourable weather conditions, and the fish on the feed, sport is sure to be memorable, whether with pike, perch, or roach. The great lake in Overstone park contains perhaps the finest carp in the kingdom. On a hot day in July they may be seen rolling on the surface in hundreds, great fish from 5 lb. to 20 lb. in weight.

A glance at the ordnance map shows various sheets of water in the spacious and beautiful parks of the county, amongst the best being Fawsley Park, the residence of Lady Knightley, where there are three large lakes all full of pike, perch, roach, tench, etc. Blatherwycke Park, at the other end of the county, the seat of Mr. H. Stafford O'Brien, is a splendid sheet of water, and full of fish; the same may be said of Wakefield Lawn, the seat of the duke of Grafton; Sir Vere Isham's ponds at Lamport, Mr. Loder's at Maidwell, the Broadwater lake near Wolverton, Lord Lilford's at Oundle, and many smaller but equally well stocked lakes throughout the shire.

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FLAT RACING

NORTHAMPTON RACES

The Northampton races were inaugurated in 1632, by deed of agreement with the corporation of Northampton, and were held annually at Easter on Harlestone Heath. At these races the corporation covenanted to give a silver-gilt covered cup of the value of £16 13s. 4d. In the chamberlain's accounts between 1676 and 1760, this annual payment is generally entered as for 'The Plate for the horse race,' or 'For the Harlestone race cup.'

Mr. Isham says in his diary that on 11 April, 1672 :

I went to Harlestone races, and there were many horses to run for the silver cup, amongst whom the horses of Lord Cullen, Lord Sherard, Sir W. Hazlewood, and Mr. Digby ; but Lord Sherard took the prize. Lord Cullen fell from his horse and was much hurt. Another gentleman rode a match with another man for five shilling, and when near the finish of the course his horse (how I do not know) stumbled and fell with his rider, whose body was bruised all over, and who fell lifeless.

On 14 September the same year :

There are to be new horse races at Harlestone the Thursday after Michaelmas day.

In 1733 the earl of Sunderland and Sir Arthur Heselrig took proceedings in chancery against the mayor and corporation of Northampton to prevent the continuance of these races. By an order of a master in chancery, made in December, 1733, the races were to be discontinued and the earl of Sunderland was to receive £200 as compensation, with interest thereon from Easter 1726. The corporation thereupon

paid to the Duke of Marlborough on the horse race account pursuant to a decree in chancery as appears by Rect. £279 8s. 9d.

The Northampton races, which were run on the common fields, also received support from the corporation.

Thus in March, 1658, the assembly ordered :

That if there can be noe abatement procured the Chamberlaines doe provide two plates according to the desire of the countrey Gent. for this year, vizt. the one of the value of Thirtye pounds, the other of the value of Fourtene pounds, which is to be delivered in full of all former arrears.

After a temporary suspension in the eighteenth century, these races were revived, and transferred to the Freeman's Common in the borough of Northampton. The institution of the Althorp Park Stakes perpetuates the memory of the cup formerly given, while the gift itself was renewed on a yet more liberal scale by Lord Spencer in the Spencer Plate.

In August, 1822, the assembly resolved to subscribe annually £30 to form a purse called the Corporation Purse, provided that not less than four subscriptions of £5 each be added thereto 'to be run for by not less than three reputed running horses on the last day of the Autumn races.' Until 1904 spring and autumn meetings were held on the racecourse at Northampton and were largely attended. The last was held on 30 and 31 March of the year named.

The Rothwell races were very celebrated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries ; thus we learn that on the 19 April, 1637 :

There was a horse race at Rothwell between Lord Cullen and Mr. Washbourne for £50, which Lord Cullen won.

The following September :

The celebrated Rothwell races were held, at which there were only three horses to start: Lord Sherard's, ridden by Lord Westmorland ; Sir Noel's, which he bought of Lord Exeter, ridden by Captain Lisle ; and the horse of Digby, deceased, ridden by George Blunt. The first heat Lord Sherard won. On this race there was much betting. Lord Sherard won the silver flagon.

Races were held at Rothwell on 30 and 31 August, 1727, but the only particulars we have of them are that two prizes were given, the first of twenty and the second of ten guineas. This meeting has been long abandoned.

Races also seem to have been frequently held at Irthlingborough in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On 29 August, 1672, Mr. Washbourn won the silver cup there. Thirty-eight years later, on 31 August, Mr. Justinian Isham says :

I went with my father and brother to Wellingborow, where having dined at the Ordinary, with a good deal of company, we went to Artleborow (Irthlingborough) meadow ; where there ran for the Plate a stone horse of Rané, the French horse Courser, a mare of Mr. Olibar's, and a strawberry mare of Mr. Washbourn ; the first won, and the last

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was shamefully distanced.¹ We found Mr. Griffin at Lamport and Lady Longueville had dined there.

From time to time flat races have been held in other parts of the county, and a few extracts from notices that appeared in the *Northampton Mercury* during the eighteenth century may be given. Most of these meetings survived only for short periods, and at the present time there is no racing under Jockey Club rules.

In 1727, at the Daventry races purses of sixty guineas for the first, thirty guineas for the second, and a plate of £15 for the third race were given. The thirty-guinea race was

free for Galloways, 9 st. the highest give and take; but the winner to be sold for 30 guineas, the second best to have the stakes. In running for this prize there were but two in either the first or second heat that made running for the same; but all the others took up, and came easy in. The two that ran for the first heat were *Smiling Molly* and *Cupid*, and the mare won it. The two that ran for the second heat were *Dumplin* and *Smiling Betty Bircher*, and the horse won it. In these two heats, the four last in the list were distanced, *Buck* was lamed and drawn, and the other seven started a third heat, every one making all the running he could, and came in as follows: *Smiling Molly*, first, won the Plate. *Dumplin*, second, won the Stakes. *Cupid*, third. *Smiling Betty Bircher*, fourth.

Fanny Rock, fifth. *Cripple*, sixth. And *Why-ask-ye* was distanced.

At Peterborough four plates were advertised to be run for on 5, 6, 7, and 8 July, 1720. The first was a plate of £20 for horses carrying 10 st., the winning horse to be sold for twenty guineas. For this race eight horses were entered. The second was a ladies' plate, the winning horse to be sold for £20. Two horses only were entered. The third was a Galloway Plate of £10 carrying 9 st., weight for inches, the winner to be sold for £10. Three Galloways were entered. The last race was for a plate of the value of £40, the winning horse to be sold for 80 guineas. This race produced five entries. Seven years later at this meeting the first prize was worth £50, the second £40, and the third £20. The races concluded with a match.

On the last day of this month of July, Mr. Bainbrigge's chestnut gelding, *Carlisle*, 9 st. 7 lb., beat on this course of Peterborough Mr. King's bay horse *Long John* 9 st., 4 miles, 100 guineas.

In 1720 races were run at Wellingborough. Two horses were entered for the Galloway Plate, four for the Wellingborough Plate, and three for the gentlemen's contribution.

On 29 September, 1720, a plate of £10, for which three horses were entered, was run for at Towcester, and on the following day a plate of £25, for which five horses were entered.

STEEPLECHASING

The sportsmen of the county appear to have turned their attention to steeplechasing soon after the first organized race of the kind² had been run in Hertfordshire in 1830. The Grand National Hunt Meeting and the Grand Military Meeting have each been held three times within the shire; and other meetings of more or less importance have been carried on at various times.

The valley between Brixworth and Cottesbrooke has constantly been the scene of steeplechases, and several excellent races have been run over practically the same course.

On 23 March, 1833, a race described as 'The Great Northamptonshire Steeplechase for Twenty Sovereigns each,' took place over this country. The race was won by Mr. Sollaway's Daring Ranger.

¹ For explanation of 'distanced' see *V.C.H. Surrey*, ii, 493, note 1.

² *V. C. H. Herts.* i, 365.

Squire Osbaldeston, the master of the Pytchley, who fell before the first brook, was the leading promoter of this steeplechase, although the part he took in it ill accorded with his usual success; for he was at that period the foremost champion of nearly all the sports of the country.

Some steeplechases were held at the village of Bugbrooke in the years 1835 and 1836, but were then abandoned.

On 30 March, 1838, a steeplechase of five sovereigns, with forty sovereigns added, was run at Little Houghton, near Northampton, over a very severe course. The horses 'placed' were:—

- 1st. Mr. Stevenson's True Blue
- 2nd. Mr. Lebird's Gladiator
- 3rd Lord Southampton's The Count

The Rake was almost the only horse that cleared the first brook, but he fell coming home; most of the horses were dead beat.

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Afterwards the Grand Steeplechase was run ; only three horses competed.

- 1st. Captain Lamb's Vivian
- 2nd. Mr. Lambden's Laura
- 3rd. Mr. Lambden's Vespasian

The following day another steeplechase came off at Little Houghton, in which the following horses ran:—

- Lord Waterford's Yellow Dwarf, ridden by owner
- Mr. Anderson's Jerry
- Captain Childe's Conrad
- Mr. Fairlie's Spicey, ridden by Captain Becher

Captain Phillipson withdrew his mare Mirth, because he considered the fences impracticable.

Captain Childe's Conrad and Lord Waterford's Yellow Dwarf made the running, and were both well over the first brook. At the second brook, however, so many Northamptonians had assembled that Lord Waterford had to take the water almost at a stand, the consequence was that, although he got over, the bank gave way and he fell into the brook. Conrad got well over and came in first, Jerry second, and Spicey third.

Seven years later the Brixworth course was again used, when a steeplechase was run on Thursday, 26 November, 1840. This was a very popular event, and the trains on the Wednesday brought numbers of sportsmen, who filled all the hotels and inns of Northampton. In the morning the riders weighed out at the Rose and Crown Inn, the horses being :—

- Mr. Anderson's Cigar, ridden by Mr. McDonough
- Mr. T. Oliver's Grayling, ridden by the owner
- Mr. Quartermain's Zethus, ridden by Mr. Powell
- Sir. E. Mostyn's Tobacconist, ridden by Mr. Whitworth
- Mr. E. Davey's Gay Lad, ridden by Captain Skipworth.

Captain Quinton and Mr. A. W. Williams, 10th Hussars, were the Stewards, and Mr. Joseph Tomlin, of Lye Lodge, Leicestershire, selected the line of country. The race was open to any horse in the world, Mr. Elmore's Lottery only excepted. The start was in a large field on the side of the hill in the Brixworth lordship, adjoining the lane leading from the Brixworth Road to Brampton. The course passed close to Merry Tom, then over two ploughed fields in the lordship of Spratton, to

a field barn in the occupation of Mr. Smith ; round the barn to Spratton bridge, and then round Lord Spencer's clump of trees in the lordship of Brampton, and so back to the starting point. The race was not started until past four o'clock in the afternoon, when the five horses got well away together, Cigar leading ; all safely over the brook, and all close together at the barn ; when nearing home on the flat, Zethus headed Cigar, but ultimately the latter won by a length, the others being not twenty yards behind. There are four coloured prints, by Charles Hunt, of this race, entitled 'The Start,' 'The Brook,' 'The Fence,' 'Coming in.'

The Pytchley Hunt Steeplechases were held in this valley, further up the stream, in 1855, and again in 1856, when the Grand Military events were held here jointly with the Pytchley chase. The army had just returned from the Crimea, and the meeting, which had been an annual festival for several seasons before hostilities broke out with Russia, was revived in Northamptonshire. The course extended into the Cottesbrooke pastures, and the Brixworth Brook was the principal feature in the line, the winning-posts being placed very near to it. A notable horse named Horniblow ran that day ; he won the Grand Military Steeplechase, and the light-weight race of four miles on the same afternoon. He was ridden by his owner, Lieut. Henry Blundell, then of the Rifle Brigade, afterwards of the Grenadier Guards, now Colonel Blundell, C.B., M.P.

In 1857 the soldiers again came to this country to run their steeplechase, and the same line was chosen, though traversed the contrary way to that of the preceding year. The winning field was close to the village of Cottesbrooke. There was a desperate race for the principal event, Horniblow being beaten a neck by Magnet, as decided by the judge, whose task was a very difficult one, as the horses finished very wide of each other. Viscount Talon, a French officer, rode Magnet.

The Grand Military and Northampton Open Steeplechases were again held in this county on 29 March, 1860, at Wootton. The starting point was in a field called Milton Leys, in the occupation of Mr. J. Dickens ; the line then went towards Dane's Camp, by the mere and General Bouverie's covert, over the brook, towards Mr. Manning's house at Milton Ham, then back over the brook again by Lady Bridge, and into the winning field, where the grand stand was erected. Almost the whole of the course was over land belonging to Mr Harris. Some 25,000 or 30,000 people were present at the meeting ; the first

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day was very wet, but the weather improved on the next. On the first day four races were run; one of these was four miles, each of the others three miles. In the match of £100, only two horses ran, the Rector winning. The Grand Military Gold Cup of £100, added to a sweepstake of £10 each, was won by The Hermit, ridden by Captain Anderson. Lord Southampton's Hunt Steeplechase, of £94, was won by Chance.

The last race was a sweepstake of £210, which was won by The Premier by half a length, a good race. The next day, Friday, five races were run, all of which were 3 miles, except the third, which was 2 miles.

The Welter Stakes of £185 were won by Marmion by a head. The Northampton Open Steeplechase Handicap of £120 was an easy race for the Tartar, who came in alone. The Wootton Hill Steeplechase Plate of £49 was won by Tumbler, Peru having led up to the brook, where he fell. The Veteran Stakes of £170 was won by Huntsman. Lord Southampton's Hunt Steeplechase Sweepstake of £74 was won by Midnight, the favourite, Ploughboy, having fallen soon after starting.

The most important steeplechase ever held in Northamptonshire, or, indeed, in England, was the Grand National Hunt Steeplechase, run on 18 April, 1860. Its importance is due to the fact that the establishment of the National Hunt Committee, the tribunal now governing the sport, grew out of the race. It took place near Market Harborough; the course, which was four miles, passed through the parishes of East Farndon, Thorpe Lubenham, and Clipston. The idea was to bring together the very flower of the numerous studs of hunters throughout the country. A committee was formed, and the subscriptions from every hunt in England, produced a fund of £500, and to this was added a sweepstake of £10 each. The conditions were that the competitors should be horses which had never won a race; and the jockeys gentlemen riders. Fifty-eight entries were sent in, and thirty-one horses came to the post, the largest steeplechase field which has ever started in England. Most of the horses were known as the best hunters in their various districts in Great Britain and Ireland; the jockeys also were the best amateur horse-men of the day. The race was won by Mr. B. F. Angell's Bridegroom, ridden by his old college friend Mr. E. C. Burton.

The Grand National Hunt Steeplechase was again run, on 4 April, 1861, in Northamptonshire. The meeting was held in conjunction with the Market Harborough races, over much the same line of country as in

the preceding year, except that the starting-post was changed and the horses had to face the water on going out, it being the third leap from the start. The result of the canvass for subscriptions throughout the country was not so satisfactory, £300 only were collected, to which was added a sweepstake of £10 each. Thirty-eight horses were entered and seventeen came to the post. Mr. Angell again won the race with a five-year-old named Queensferry, ridden by Mr. Burton.

Two years later the Grand National Hunt Steeplechase was again run for the last time over the course near Farndon Hill. Only five horses started, and the race was won by Lord Calthorpe's Socks.

Steeplechases were held at Blackley in 1868 and 1869; and there was one solitary gathering at Thrapston in 1869; but, for some reason or other, one season in this locality sufficed.

The village of Brigstock attained some celebrity by holding meetings in 1870, 1875, 1876, 1877 and 1878, when they came to an end. They were much frequented by the followers of the Fitzwilliam, Pytchley, and Cottesmore Hunts.

Hopping Hill, in the parish of Maidwell, lies on the west side of the old turnpike road leading from Northampton to Market Harborough, and at this place the Pytchley Hunt Steeplechases were held in the years 1873, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, and 1879, when they were abandoned. There is no record of any celebrated horse having run on any of these occasions. The Steeplechase Meeting of 1878 will, however, be long remembered in this country. It was held on 19 February, and was the largest and most successful meeting held at Hopping Hill. H.R.H. the Princess of Wales and the late duchess of Teck were present. H.I.M. the late empress of Austria was also at the meeting: it was the last time she was seen in the county, for she left the same evening, after having seen her pilot, Captain Middleton, win the cup presented by her. The first race was the Kelmarsh Challenge Cup of £150, given by Mr. J. C. Naylor, with £50 added, for which only three horses ran. Then came the Hohenembs Cup, value £120, given by the empress under the name of countess of Hohenembs; this was won, after a good race, by Captain Middleton, on his horse Piccadilly. The Cottesbrooke Cup, value £80, with £100 added, was also given by the empress. The Pytchley Hunt Cup of £50, with a sweepstake of £5 each, was again won by Captain Middleton, on Zouave. The last race, a Selling Stakes of £2 each with £30 added, was won by Mr. Manning's

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Columbine. This was a two-mile race, all the others being about three miles.

The Hopping Hill Steeplechases were successfully revived on 16 March, 1905, when six races were run over the old course.

Since the establishment in 1866 of the National Hunt Committee some races under their rules have been held at Kettering in 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, and 1882. The sport here was confined to hurdle racing and hunters' races on the flat. This remark does not apply to Daventry, where for twelve years, from 1869 to 1881 inclusive, steeplechases were held annually over a beautiful hunting country. It was a natural course, with no artificial fences, at the foot of Borough Hill, on the slopes of which the stands were erected. The gathering was universally popular, often bringing Warwickshire sportsmen as opponents to the cross-country horsemen of Northamptonshire. The meeting was abandoned in 1882, in consequence of the making of the railway from Weedon to Daventry, which runs right through the centre of the two-mile course. It may be added that the line from Northampton to Market Harborough cut through the steeplechase course in the Brixworth Vale.

The Grafton Hunt or Towcester Steeplechase Meeting was first held in 1877; it was then discontinued until 1881, and for twenty years up to the present time the races have been run in Easton Neston Park, formerly the

property of the earls of Pomfret, and now of Sir Thomas Hesketh, bart. This is the only meeting now regularly held in Northamptonshire, and, in its characteristics, ill accords with the meetings of the past.

Not a feature of Northamptonshire fences remains on the Towcester course. With the single exception of a small brook or tributary of the Tove the jumps are all artificial. Moreover the course runs three-quarters of a mile down hill, and three-quarters of a mile up hill; and the horses finishing up the incline get home quite pumped out and 'as slow as men.' Nevertheless, with all these drawbacks, the Towcester races, which are always held on Easter Monday, bring together a huge assembly of holiday folk from Northampton and the surrounding villages, and it would be a matter of great regret if this meeting should be abandoned. As no less than seventeen other steeplechase meetings are held on Easter Monday, it is rare that a good horse comes to Towcester.

The House of Commons Point to Point Race has been several times held in this county. In 1889 the race was from near Weedon Barracks to Studborough Clump, at Catesby, and was won by the late Captain Middleton. In 1890 the race which started near Willoughby in Warwickshire, and finished at Staverton Wood, was won by Mr. Haig. On 21 March, 1891, the members of Parliament ran again near Staverton.

GOLF

The game of golf receives as much and as steady support in Northamptonshire as can be expected in an inland county; for it is only on the sea-shore that those natural conditions are found which create a first-class course.

Certain local disadvantages, too, suggest themselves, of which the prevalence of clay is perhaps the chief, for clay is in all seasons the worst foundation for a golf course, and in winter and prolonged wet weather in many cases virtually precludes all play.

Northamptonshire, too, is peculiarly lacking in those stretches of waste land or common, light of soil and sprinkled with gorse, that offer facilities for golf second only to those of the low-lying sea shore.

Moreover it is only where those natural facilities offer themselves that a fair course can be laid out and kept up at comparatively small cost and trouble.

Golf of a serious kind, therefore, in Northamptonshire necessitates the formation of

clubs sufficiently strong to ensure the expenditure of a good deal of money in laying out and maintaining a course. For these, as well perhaps as some minor reasons, properly laid out courses and golfing associations are not numerous, being practically confined to the principal towns, where the requisite combination of men and means is to be found.

On the half-dozen established courses there is not often much play except on the regular holidays and half-holidays. Within these limits, however, the game is in a flourishing condition and is played with steady and unabating ardour. Nor is there any reason to suppose that its popularity is likely to wane. Northamptonshire golf is chiefly a winter game, the season being between October and April or May inclusive. This is partly due to the fact that the grass on some courses grows too vigorously for the restraining capacities of clubs of moderate numbers and small revenue.

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Golf took root in Northamptonshire, as in most other parts of Southern England, in the early 'nineties.' There are now six well-established clubs, namely, those of Northampton, Peterborough, Kettering, Wellingborough, Oundle, and Market Harborough. The last is included because the club has its links within the county limits. All these clubs were established during the above-mentioned period, and in the first enthusiasm of the game several smaller ones were formed which have since collapsed.

The nine-hole course of the Northampton club may be regarded as the best in the county and one of the best of the shorter inland greens of England. Founded in 1893, and originally located in another situation, the club has now for many years held on lease an elevated tract of land just outside the northern limits of the town. Much of the course is over undulating ground covered with thick, firm turf, and sprinkled with gorse, giving a very fair imitation of the natural contour of sea-side links. The hazards consist very largely of old pits and hollows, in which, being all turf, a badly hit ball, though sufficiently punished, is always playable unless caught in the gorse. Trees, hedges, long grass, and other tiresome and uncharacteristic obstacles are conspicuous by their absence. The putting greens are extremely good, nearly all the course is hard and keen and is practically unaffected by the wettest weather, while the grass can be readily kept short and fit for play by grazing through the summer. In a word, it is a sporting course, difficult but fair. If straight a moderate driver reaches safety, while the long driver reaps his due reward. Few inland greens require more accurate play or reward it more fully. Air and outlook are both fine, and Northampton is on the whole fortunate in a course full of character and far above the average of inland greens. There is a good club-house and a resident professional; spring and autumn meetings are held as well as the usual minor competitions, and several out matches are played.

There are over a hundred members, besides thirty or forty ladies, one of whom has played for England in the international competitions.

The Kettering club has its course, the only one of eighteen holes in the county, about ten minutes' walk from the centre of the town. It possesses no natural advantages, being ordinary smooth-lying ground upon a clay soil, which in wet weather greatly interferes with play. The natural hazards consist of hedges, ditches, and a brook twice crossed.

Play is prevented in summer by the luxuriance of the grass, the season ending 30 April.

The club, founded in 1891, consists at present of about 120 members, including ladies. It possesses a club-house, has spring and autumn meetings, and plays several inter-club matches.

Like those of Kettering, the links of the Peterborough Gordon Club, situated some two miles from the town, are unfortunate in a clay soil; and summer play is, on account of luxuriant grass, impossible. The course consists of nine holes with good natural hazards. The greens are fair, and the distance once round is about two miles. There are nearly a hundred members, including very few non-players, and over thirty ladies. The club was founded in 1894.

The Wellingborough club, founded in 1895, has its nine-hole course about a mile from the town on dry, high-lying iron-stone soil. The turf for the most part is, like that of Northampton, keen and firm, remaining dry in a wet winter and at the same time permitting play during the summer. Some of the greens are well placed and most are well protected and of good quality. The ground is undulating and the situation pleasant. The distance twice round is three miles and a quarter. There are about seventy members, including ladies, and there is a small club-house.

Oundle has the smallest club in the county, but it has flourished since 1893, with a nine-hole course at Biggin, a mile and a half from the town, where play is possible all the year round. The hazards are all natural, consisting of stone pits, brooks, and fences. There are thirty members including several ladies; but though so small a club its permanence seems well assured.

The course of the Market Harborough Golf Club is situated one mile and a half from the town, and consists of nine holes. It is laid out over ordinary pasture fields, which are of a hilly character and consequently dry. The hazards consist mainly of hedges and ditches, and several of the shots are played over deep valleys; otherwise the course is plain and without natural features. The greens are good. Some sixty members, including ladies, are on the club books, and there is a small club-house. The links are open all the year round, but the grass sometimes interferes with play during the summer months.

In conclusion one may fairly assume that golf has taken a permanent hold in the county, and will at least maintain its present popularity among the well-to-do class of both the larger and smaller towns and their immediate neighbourhoods.

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ATHLETICS

Northamptonshire has always been a foot-racing centre, but has owed its position to the professional rather than to the amateur. There is at the County Cricket Ground at Northampton a capital cinder track of rather less than three laps to the mile, with a straight sprint course, an excellent pavilion and stand accommodation; indeed, with the exception of that at Cambridge, this is the only properly equipped athletic ground in the midland counties. The Northampton ground has been selected three times since 1892 for the championship meetings by the Amateur Athletic Association, and on each occasion the gathering has been a pronounced success. The A.A.A. championships were last held at Northampton in 1903. The leading athletic club of the county is the Northampton and County Amateur Athletic Club, with its headquarters at the Gymnasium in Abington Street, Northampton. The club embraces several branches of amateur sport, boxing, cycling, and swimming, in addition to athletics proper. Altogether there are over five hundred members. It was founded about 1865, but the earlier records were lost through fire in 1875. In 1903 the earl of Effingham was elected president of the club. The open meeting, including several county champion-

ships, is held annually in August. Several A.A.A. champions have been members of the club. Perhaps next in importance to the Northampton comes the Kettering Amateur Cycling, Athletic, and Swimming Club with upwards of one hundred members. The club is handicapped by the want of a good ground. The members however have done well in cross-country events during the winter months. There is, in Kettering, another club of fair strength, The Town Harriers, but the members are chiefly occupied with winter sport and do not form such a prominent body as the Kettering club. The Wellingborough Athletic Club is a small body which annually holds an athletic meeting, and the Northampton Alpine Harriers, another minor organization, completes the list of clubs in the county. At Oundle, Market Harborough, Thrapston, Woodford Halse, Finedon, and Welford large and important athletic meetings are held annually, but are simply arranged by local committees for some charitable or other object, and cannot be considered club fixtures. Professional running matches and handicaps are frequent all over the county and never fail to draw crowds of spectators whom the amateur meetings do not attract.

CRICKET

Northamptonshire cricket has suffered from a want of a thickly-populated town to support it, but it has been fostered by many staunch supporters, notably Earl Spencer, K.G., and Sir Herewald Wake, who have been indefatigable in their endeavours to develop the game. The former, when Lord Althorp, may be said to have been one of the pioneers of Northamptonshire cricket as at present established, for the beautiful ground in Althorp Park was famous long before the county had any standing at all, and attracted to the district the best of the touring clubs from I Zingari downwards. In fact the County Cricket Club probably took root here, as the home team usually comprised the best amateurs that Northampton and its neighbourhood could produce, including amongst many others such well-known gentlemen and local cricketers as the late Mr. H. O. Nethercote of hunting repute, the Rev. W. Bury an old Cambridge blue, the present Lord Henley, Capt. Landon, Major Hollis,

Mr. C. C. Becke and Mr. W. Kingston, eight of whose sons have figured continuously and successively in the county eleven during many years, and the eldest of whom was a member of the famous Light Blue eleven for 1878.

Here also the leading schools, factories, and workshops were privileged to play on a perfect pitch and amidst delightful surroundings. Such matches were an incentive to school-boys and workmen to play, and it is impossible to estimate their value in the promotion of cricket. The privilege is one which exists to this day, although level pitches and good grounds are now abundant enough in the county town. Perhaps the earliest prominent name in a true cricketing sense which appears in the fortunes of the county is that of the Rev. H. H. Gillett, late of Oxford University, now rector of Woolsthorpe, Lincolnshire. He was a batsman of considerable repute both at Oxford and in this county.

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In the earlier days of the club's development the management was practically in the hands of Mr. T. Aucland, the hon. treasurer, and Mr. F. T. Tebbutt, the hon. secretary, both of whom were indefatigable in their exertions. There were however great difficulties to contend with, the chief of which was the need of a central and enclosed county ground. Important matches were consequently played on the open racecourse which was a splendid natural ground, but as it was also a public common, the taking of gate money was precluded save on very exceptional occasions. Even then it was necessary at considerable cost to place either canvas or boarding round the playing area.

It was on one of the occasions when the ground was thus enclosed that the renowned W. G. Grace paid his last visit to Northampton. He and his southern team had been into town during the luncheon hour to sign articles for one of the early visits to the Colonies, and as a result they came on to the ground a little late. When entering the gate a local enthusiast brought W. G. to book, and almost before the latter had time to explain, struck him a severe blow in the face and bolted. The result was that W. G. has never since paid a visit to the county town, a greater loss from a cricket point of view to the town than to the great player himself.

For many years Northamptonshire cricket was confined practically to amateurs, although Tom Plumb, the famous wicket-keeper (when the four P's—Plumb, Pooley, Pinder, and Phillips were renowned throughout England), was the idol of the Northampton crowd, and his contemporary, Joe Potter, who afterwards played for Surrey, also had a large share in gaining for Northamptonshire such little recognition as it acquired. In those days the best amateurs were perhaps Mr. J. Turner, who did good service both for the M.C.C. and his county; Mr. G. J. Gulliver, who of late years has assisted Beckenham, and Mr. T. H. G. Welch, an indefatigable sportsman whom Reigate has long claimed for its own; the elder members of the Kingston family; the late Rev. St. John Read, an old Oxford captain and for some time head master of the Oundle Grammar School; Messrs. R. A. Beresford and R. F. Winch. Mention must be made also of Mr. J. Furley, a batsman of the highest class, who chiefly played at Burghley Park, where his century was a regular institution; more than once it is locally believed he was asked to represent the Gentlemen *v.* the Players, but he seemed to fight shy of important cricket, and the county only obtained his services on the rarest occasions.

Lord Burghersh, of Burghley Park repute, also at this period assisted his county; whilst Peterborough furnished Mr. Watson, a capable left-hand bowler who was quite worthy of first-class honours.

Passing to the professionals of a later date the county also brought to the front the notable fast bowler Bowley, who afterwards found a better financial harvest in the ranks of Surrey, and the no less renowned Mold, who was tempted to join Lancashire. It was an unfortunate thing when Northamptonshire obtained their two solitary trial matches with the County Palatine,—they gained no credit and lost their great bowler.

Although efforts were made from time to time, the difficulty of obtaining a county ground was not overcome until Mr. J. H. Vials, a local solicitor, took over the hon. secretaryship, when on his initiative and with the active co-operation of Sir H. Wake, the Messrs. Markham and other leading county gentlemen, a company was promoted with the result that at last the county became possessed of one of the finest grounds in England, in the vicinity of the present Town Park. Still the finances did not improve, for the public were with difficulty weaned from their privilege of seeing good matches for nothing on the open course. The possession of the ground however gave the county a better standing, and as a result it quite upheld its position amongst the second-class counties. A good staff of professionals was engaged, foremost among whom was W. A. J. West, who has since become recognized by the M.C.C. authorities as one of the most trustworthy umpires in the country; T. Alley, by local enthusiasts judged as the equal of Bowley, and the brothers Bull and Colson, of Rushden, a village which has supplied cricketers and footballers without number. First-class honours however did not come to the county although it more than held its own for some time with Warwickshire and Essex, both of which preceded it into the front rank. The chief difficulty was still the want of funds, but the county was indebted for years to the M.C.C. for their annual match, first played in July, 1873, which afforded its best batsmen at least one opportunity yearly of trying their mettle against some of the best bowlers in the country. In further recognition of the great services the M.C.C. has rendered, it is only just to state that any application to it always met with generous response.

Following the retirement of Mr. J. P. Kingston from the captainship, which he held for some years, Lord Rosslyn accepted the

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appointment, but was unfortunately compelled to relinquish it after the first twelve months, when Mr. F. Tyler succeeded him for a season. Mr. T. Horton, the present captain, then took up the responsibility, and the county went on increasing in strength until 1899, when it succeeded in heading the list of the second-class counties.

The management of the club during these later years, since Mr. Vialls took up the treasurership in the place of Mr. A. C. Pearson, who for years had rendered the club great service in this capacity, has been in the able hands of Mr. A. J. Darnell, the present hon. secretary, and Mr. Percy W. Dale, who acts as organizing secretary to tennis and other attractions which the ground offers. At present Mr. Horton has at command a strong combined team of amateurs and professionals. Thompson, who is now engaged at Lord's, has been invaluable, and was well supported by T. Brown, Colson, and East, whilst of the amateurs the captain, Messrs. E. Scriven, T. G. Beale, and the younger Kingstons, H. E. and W. H., have given their unceasing services. Other gentlemen who at various times have been most energetic in serving the interests of the county may be mentioned; Messrs. J. M. Markham, C. E. Thorpe of Northampton, the Messrs. Thursby of Harlestone, H. J. Stockburn of Kettering, the brothers Claridge, and Mr. F. Knight of Rushden; but it must be stated that the wealthy residents have never given that support which might have been expected of them in promotion of the national game.

The antiquity of the county club is rather difficult to determine, for several authorities speak of the formation taking place 'about' 1843. In 1867 Messrs. Hollis and Butterfield jointly resigned the post of secretary, which position was filled by Mr. H. Becke, who was succeeded by Mr. T. S. Muddeman. Mr. F. Tebbutt subsequently took that office in 1873, and five years later the county club was re-organized and matches arranged on a more business-like footing.

The Australians substantially defeated Northamptonshire on 3 July 1882, although the county was assisted by Alfred Shaw and Messrs. Herbert and Charles Pigg. These three made 111 out of 164 from the bat in the two innings, and the brothers added 45 runs by their association at the wicket in each innings. Messrs. Giffen, Bonnor, and McDonnell were the largest contributors to the colonial score of 270, and Mr. Palmer claimed 6 wickets for 22 runs. In the same year at Lord's *v.* M.C.C. and Ground, Potter took 7 wickets for 15 runs, 5 clean bowled, and in the match 12 wickets for 60 runs. In

the same encounter in the following year, Bowley took 13 wickets for 136 and Mr. R. F. Winch scored 75 not out.

The earliest centuries for the county were in 1884, when Mr. H. J. Kingston made 168 *v.* Rutland and Mr. G. J. Gulliver 103 *v.* M.C.C. and Ground. The Parsees were severely defeated in 1886 by an innings and 61 runs, the first effort of the Indian visitors only realizing 26. Chatterton on behalf of M.C.C. and Ground hit 165 off the county bowling. During his only year, 1887, with Northamptonshire, prior to qualifying for Lancashire, Mold's delivery was severely censured. He claimed 80 wickets for 12'14 each. The bowling of Briggs, Watson, and Barlow proved far too good for Northampton batting when Lancashire was encountered, though G. Bull made 42. After this matters went very badly, and a victory over Bedfordshire on 13 July, 1891, was the only success in the next four years, whilst in each of the four following seasons there was but a solitary victory apiece over Lincolnshire, Bucks, and over Staffordshire (two).

Cricket in the county improved when in 1896 Northants entered for the minor county championship in the second year of that series. The total of 412 *v.* Durham was the largest the midlanders had yet made in a county match, but this was surpassed in 1899, when 442 was scored against the same opponents, whilst on 17 May, 1900, at Lord's, 429 was the aggregate against M.C.C. and Ground, Thompson making 186 not out, the biggest innings yet credited to a batsman on the side. However, in 1901, 470 was compiled against Hertfordshire, and in 1904, 469 for 8 wickets *v.* Northumberland.

By far the finest all-round cricketer was Thompson, who in 1905 was not much below test-match form. A fine free batsman and excellent bowler, as well as capital field anywhere, he is the only professional from the shire who has been taken on tour. He did admirably in all departments with Lord Hawke's team in New Zealand and Australia in 1903. In 1897 he was supposed to be qualifying for Kent, but this, happily for Northamptonshire, was averted. In conjunction with East, an untiring fast bowler, he has borne such a share in the attack as recalls the work of Hay and Mycroft for Derbyshire, and of Watson and McIntyre for Lancashire, in the seventies. Here are the bowling figures for 1901-1905, before the promotion of the county to the first class:—

	Runs	Wickets	Average
Thompson . . .	4,682	398	11'304
East	3,348	261	12'216
All the other bowlers	3,312	125	26'62

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Thompson's aggregate for his whole period in the county until 1905 is 751 wickets for 10,479 runs, or less than 14 runs per wicket, whilst he scored 5,174 runs in 144 innings, averaging over 35.

It was in 1903 that second-class championship honours were obtained, only two defeats being sustained, whilst in 1904 the county showed an unbeaten record. Beside the two professionals Messrs. W. H. and H. E. Kingston, with Mr. T. Horton and Mr. G. A. T. Vials, were the chief run-getters, and when it has been said that out of 36 possible points 30 were obtained further eulogy is needless.

The first year after promotion furnishes a severe criterion, but Northamptonshire had no reason to be dissatisfied with the result of 1905, as Derbyshire, Somersetshire, and Hampshire were below the new comers, who gained victories over the last-named county and Essex, and suffered eight defeats. It was in the former success that Mr. C. J. T. Pool scored the only century, 110, and, with an aggregate of 664 and average of 36, he headed the averages, Thompson coming next. In bowling the latter took 75 wickets for 16 runs apiece, East being again his only notable supporter. The future of the cricket of the county is most promising.

THE TOWN CLUBS AND CRICKET.—The earliest town cricket club which has left any mark in the annals of local cricket was the old Nene Club, named after the river which winds its way at the bottom of the meadows in which the players had their ground. The meadows were called the Old Cow meadows and being, like the race-common, the property of the freemen of Northampton they were the historic playing-grounds of the townspeople. As the Nene Club grew in importance it transferred its quarters from these low-lying meadows to the racecourse at the farther end of the town. After several years of success the Nene Club was discontinued and the Northampton Town Club took its place, being indeed a continuation of the former under a new name. From the Town Club emerged the County Club as it exists to-day. Following the Nene Club, and coming after it as clubs distinct from the Town Club, were the Britons and the Morning Star. These clubs also commenced in the Cow meadows, and to their efforts as their prosperity increased Northampton owed its first possession of a private and enclosed ground, the only one with the exception of the county ground that it ever possessed. A pavilion was erected and the ground thoroughly turfed, and for some time it looked as though

on their ground Northamptonshire cricket might eventually find a habitation. It was badly situated however, and had none of the run-getting qualities of the racecourse, and in time it went the way of so many of the cricketing enterprises in Northampton. A. Chester captained the Britons for years, and W. Pitts the Morning Star. Then came the Alma, which included local professionals, and after the Alma the Enigmas, a purely amateur combination, which for three years carried off the Town Challenge Cup offered by the County Club authorities. The Catholic Cricket Club, their great rival in the competition, comprised the professional talent of the town, and struggled hard to wrest the honours away from the Enigmas, but the latter eventually won the cup outright. When the Enigmas dropped out, which they did after a few years of splendid success, the Temperance became the leading local club, followed closely by the Star and the Excelsior, all of which are in existence at the present day and take part in the Town and District League Competition, a style of contest which has quite superseded the cup battles of old. It serves the same purpose, and is certainly without some of the objectionable features so noticeable in cup matches.

The above represent the principal local clubs during the rise and progress of Northamptonshire cricket, although there were of course innumerable others, some scarcely inferior in skill and renown, attached in many cases to the religious organizations and large business establishments.

On 24 June, 1880, the Australians defeated eighteen of Northampton by 8 wickets, although the home side had the assistance of Messrs. G. F. Grace, Jupp, and Emmett. The totals were not large because Mr. F. R. Spofforth took 17 wickets for 67 runs. But it is rare for an eighteen to be dismissed for 48. Numerous other interesting features deserve to be recorded. For Shire v. Town on 27 August, 1863, Mr. H. E. Bull, on the winning side, went in first and carried his bat through each innings, making 63 out of 145 and 77 out of 136. Abington House School in 1876 had Messrs. J. P. Kingston, F. W. Kingston, C. Pigg, and H. Pigg in its eleven. Mr. J. P. Kingston, who scored 144 against Mr. Dunn's eleven almost entirely by leg-hitting, averaged 59 for the season of 1877; whilst in 1874 Mr. C. Pigg bowled 81 overs, 34 maidens, capturing 24 wickets for 110 runs, yielding the remarkable average of 4.14 per wicket and 4.4 per innings. For Loughboro' Grammar School in 1876 Mr. G. J. Gulliver averaged 71. On

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31 July, 1884, six of the brothers Kingston played for Kingston's School *v.* Wellingborough Town Club, and between them scored 341 out of 380, Mr. J. P. Kingston heading the card with 171, Rev. F. W. Kingston making 61 and Mr. W. H. J. Kingston, 43.

Some striking incidents have been recorded in more recent matches. In a round of the Northampton Town Challenge Cup in 1889, the encounter between the Enigmas and Grammar School Rovers yielded 1219 runs in four innings, played on five afternoons. On 24 August, 1889, for Northampton Club and Ground *v.* Rugby, the home team declared their innings at an end with a score of 254 for no wicket, made in four hours, Mr. G. J. Gulliver being not out 100, and Bull also undefeated with 127 to his credit. In the following year Leicestershire Club and Ground defeated Northampton Club and Ground by 4 wickets with only a minute to spare. A stand between Messrs. A. J. Darnell and P. Cox for the third wicket of *Excelsiors v.* Enigmas, which yielded 209 runs, was one of the longest partnerships recorded in the county. At Wellingborough on 28 July, 1898, for the Masters' Eleven *v.* Leicester *Ivanhoe*, Mr. A. W. Platt (105) and Mr. P. A. Fryer (91) scored 198 for the first wicket in ninety minutes.

OUNDLE SCHOOL CRICKET.—Oundle has not turned out many great cricketers, but Mr. A. M. Sutthery gained his blue at Cambridge in 1887, when he batted consistently well with an average of 38 and headed the bowling figures of a side rather deficient in attack. He also took part in the inaugural match of the now extinct Hastings week, whilst he represented the South *v.* Australians on the same ground in 1888. Mr. R. A. A. Beresford was also frequently tried for the same University, but just failed to obtain a place in the team. He achieved a remarkable feat on the school ground on 29 and 30 May, 1888, when he scored two centuries in the same match and was each time not out, his figures being 102 and 307. He also made 225 not out against the Old Boys, and in the season took 33 wickets for an average of 12 apiece. In 1881 for the School *v.* Kettering Mr. R. F. Winch took all ten wickets, every one being clean bowled. He subsequently became a master, and with the head master, the Rev. H. St. J. Reade, who captained Oxford in 1862, did much for the cricket of the school. Mr. Reade made 49, top score, *v.* Cambridge in 1861, and in 1862 took 5 wickets for 47, being each time on the losing side. He remained at

Oundle about ten years, but Mr. Winch stayed on till 1896. Mr. F. W. Sanderson became head master in 1893, and has always insisted on all sports being made as interesting as possible for the smaller boys. The nets and games are now carefully organized and supervised, and the cricket of the whole school is much better than it used to be; the eleven, too, is gradually improving.

The levelled part of the playing-fields measures about 300 yards by 100, and affords room for six games at once, which at present is just sufficient for the needs of the school, but fresh ground must soon be laid out. In the summer, Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays are whole school-days; Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays half-holidays. On the half-holidays the whole school, arranged in six games according to merit, plays from 2.30 to 5.30; then for the last hour of the afternoon there is practice at the house-nets, of which there are two for each house. On whole school days net-practice is continued for an hour and a half, from 2.30 to 4 till the weather becomes warm, and then for the latter part of the term from 5 to 6.30. There are nine of these nets—three for the first game, two for the second, and one for each of the others, and boys are put down in turn for them, so that every boy gets net-practice about once a week. The masters take a great interest in the games, and five or six of them (that is half the staff) may often be seen on the field at the same time, coaching at different nets.

The school eleven plays Oakham School, against which it holds its own, and Leys School, Cambridge, which is often too good. The other matches are with Oundle Town, Burghley Park, and two or three of the Cambridge colleges. The Oundle Rovers, composed of old boys and masters, go on tour for a week at the end of the summer term, and are a match for most ordinary clubs.

WELLINGBOROUGH GRAMMAR SCHOOL.—Previous to 1879 the school was situated in the centre of the town, and there were no grounds connected with it on which cricket could be played properly. In 1879, when Dr. Platt was elected head master, there were less than 20 boys in the school. Now there are 250. As the number of boys has gradually increased, so the standard of the games in the school has increased proportionately. In 1880 new buildings were erected outside the town, and as there was plenty of land adjoining, Dr. Platt set to work to lay out grounds on an extensive scale, so that at the present time playing-fields of upwards of twenty-three acres of perfectly level ground are in use, which will

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compare favourably with those of any school in the United Kingdom.

In cricket as well as in football the school possesses three elevens, and also an eleven composed of masters alone.

Quite four-fifths of the boys play regularly, as cricket is compulsory amongst the boarders throughout the school except in the case of those boys who are prohibited by the doctor from playing.

The boys are divided up into clubs, eight or ten in number, each club is coached and superintended separately by a master, and the whole is under the control and management of another, Mr. P. A. Fryer.

The work of the school is so arranged that an hour and a half in the middle of the day and two hours in the evening on all days, except half-holidays, are available for cricket, and net-practice in the middle of the day and sides and trial games in the evenings is the usual routine. By this means the best cricketers are soon discovered, and after about six weeks boys likely to obtain places in the school elevens are brought to notice.

Considerable trouble is spent on fielding-practice, and the masters find that to bat and hit catches whilst the eleven fields is the best method for improving this branch of the game. The trial games create great keenness and enthusiasm, and it is due to this more than anything else that the cricket has improved so much of late years.

The three school elevens comprise :

1. The first eleven, whose chief matches are against Mill Hill School, Bedford Modern School, Bedford County School, the Old Boys, M.C.C. and Ground, and scratch elevens brought by O.W.'s.

2. The second eleven, who play the second elevens of the two Bedford schools, Dunstable Grammar School, the Old Boys, and several elevens brought by friends.

3. The eleven for boys under fourteen years, who play the preparatory schools in the neighbourhood. The institution of these matches for the small boys keeps the keenness

in the lower clubs at fever pitch, and prepares boys for the more arduous task of getting runs and wickets in the upper elevens in future years, as it removes a great deal of the nervousness so often exhibited on their promotion.

The masters' eleven is usually a very good side, and too strong for most of the clubs in Northamptonshire. As it is essential that boys when learning the game should see as good cricket as possible, no pains are spared to induce strong elevens to come down to Wellingborough. The chief fixtures of late years have been with Burton upon Trent, Leicester Ivanhoe and Ashby de la Zouch. About twelve or fourteen matches during the summer term are the yearly average, and taking all the four elevens together upwards of forty matches are played in the term.

No professional is engaged to coach the boys. It is found difficult to get the right sort of man for a school coach. Most of them either bowl too fast or too erratically, or else try to bowl a boy out when he wants encouragement.

The masters do all the coaching and see to the management of the wickets, with the help of the gardeners to superintend the mowing and rolling of the grounds.

Whilst a match is being played boys not taking part in it are not allowed to play on the other grounds, but all watch the game most intently and consequently soon learn its chief points. The match and practice wickets here are excellent, and are mostly in favour of the batsmen.

The old boys have played a prominent part after leaving school, especially in club cricket. Amongst those who have played regularly in first-class cricket are C. J. B. Wood, Leicestershire, who scored over 1,765 runs in 1905; T. S. Fishwick, Warwickshire, who scored over 1,400; and A. E. Fernie, Cambridge University, who played in the team against Oxford in 1897 and 1900.

An old boys' tour is generally arranged in August, when a very powerful team can be sent into the field.

FOOTBALL

ASSOCIATION

The history of the development of Association football in Northamptonshire supplies not a few interesting features. From the time the game began to be played under practically its present conditions clubs have existed in the county. But it was not until Wellingborough Grammar School took up the pastime in the

seventies that the game can be said to have been played with anything approaching the scientific skill of to-day. The Wellingborough G.S.F.C. may fairly claim to have been the pioneer of good class football, not only in Wellingborough but throughout the whole of the east and north of Northamptonshire.

Some twenty years ago Rugby football held the field in all the large towns. But little by

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little the Association game has surely won its way into popular favour, and now in every important town in the county save Northampton enjoys unchallenged supremacy. Almost every village has its Association club and numerous competitions are carried on. Northamptonshire clubs have done exceedingly well in such competitions as the Midland and United Leagues, and have made a creditable show in the English Cup. Northamptonshire players have deservedly won places in the International teams. The first to obtain such distinction was J. B. Challen, a master at Wellingborough Grammar School, who was chosen more than once to play for Wales. It was during his association with Wellingborough Grammar School, in 1884, 1885, and 1886, that the school team included such players as A. G. Henfrey, W. H. Garne, A. Platt, L. C. R. Thring, and W. Pretty. Several of these, including Challen and Henfrey, obtained no little celebrity with that famous amateur combination, the Corinthians. Henfrey it may be incidentally mentioned was a fine runner and cricketer, and is generally considered the best athlete Northamptonshire has produced. He was born at Finedon (near Wellingborough), and for many years this little village possessed one of the best amateur teams in the Midlands. At this time Finedon could well hold its own with the clubs of the important towns in the county, but the advance of professionalism has caused it now to take a somewhat secondary position. Another International hailing from Northamptonshire may be mentioned in Garfield of Higham Ferrers, who in later years did yeoman service for the Wolverhampton Wanderers. Reverting to the doings of Wellingborough Grammar School it may be questioned whether any school of similar pretensions in the country has had such a brilliant record in connexion with Association football. It supplied for years the backbone of the Northamptonshire F.A. (which was for a time very successful) and the East Midland Counties F.A.

There are few towns in the country which have shown a greater proportionate advance than Rushden in the last quarter of a century. The inhabitants have deservedly won a reputation for go-aheadness, and in nothing is this more marked than in their love of sport. The Rushden Association F.C. was formed about 1877, and in 1890 amalgamated with the Rugby football and the cricket clubs. For years Rushden held a leading position among Association clubs in the county, and the organization was run on purely amateur lines. The Northamptonshire Cup

was won by Rushden in the first year of its institution, the opposing team in the final being the then well-nigh invincible Wellingborough Grammar School. Rushden also carried off at this period the Wellingborough and District, the Luton, and the Kettering and District Cups, and supplied a good number of county players at various times, having always loyally supported the County Association. Rushden entered the Midland League in the season of 1894-95, and a year later became a professional club. Since then it has done well in the Midland and United Leagues, though handicapped by lack of popular support.

It is probable that the Association game has been played at Kettering longer than at any place in Northamptonshire. Prior to the town club (originally a Rugby organization) taking up Association there were many good junior clubs. For six or seven years the Kettering Club played matches under both codes, but about twelve years ago Rugby was given up, and in the season of 1890-91 Kettering as an amateur Association team won the Luton Charity Cup. In 1891-92 the club adopted professionalism and held the seventh position in the Midland League. Since that period the team has made excellent progress and has twice finished at the head of the Midland League (1895-96, 1899-1900). Kettering has done very well in the various county competitions, better than any other Northamptonshire club in the contest for the English Cup, and has turned out a considerable number of sound players, of whom H. Dixon, W. Draper, J. Garfield, and Perkins (the Liverpool goal-keeper) have obtained more than local reputations. Lord Southampton is the present president of the Kettering Club, and he takes a very practical interest in its welfare.

The prowess of Wellingborough Grammar School served as an incentive to the formation of other clubs in the town. The most important of these were the Wellingborough Revellers and the Wellingborough Britons. In 1887, the Jubilee year, these clubs amalgamated and formed the Town Club, playing splendidly against Rushden in the Northamptonshire Cup. Since then the Wellingborough Club has always been prominent in competitions in this part of the Midlands. Six years ago Wellingborough joined the Midland League, and its struggles against the neighbouring clubs of Kettering and Rushden and latterly of Northampton have always excited the keenest interest and enthusiasm. Wellingborough, in addition to always showing a bold front in the Midland League (finishing second

SPORT ANCIENT AND MODERN

in 1899-1900), has won the Wellingborough Cup two or three times, the Northants Cup and the Rushden Charity Cup.

In Northampton, Association football made comparatively poor headway up to a few years ago. There is a Town League in Northampton with two divisions. Football in Peterborough is not quite so flourishing as might be expected of the second largest town in the county, but the chief amateur club has done fairly well and looks forward to doing much better.

RUGBY

The history of Rugby football in Northamptonshire goes back over thirty years. It was in 1873 that the first important Northampton Rugby Club was formed. Almost simultaneously there sprang into existence a very excellent club in connexion with Abington House School, at the head of which was Mr. W. Kingston, the father of the band of brothers who have done so much to maintain the prestige of Northamptonshire, not only on the football field but also in the cricket world. When not engaged in playing for Abington House School the elder sons of Mr. Kingston used to assist the Town Club, and some capital matches were witnessed in the 'seventies' on the old Northampton racecourse between the Town and such clubs as Kettering, Leicester, Rushden, Bedford County School, Olney, and Stony Stratford.

Other clubs sprang up in Northampton, including the Rovers, the Wanderers, and the Scorpions, the last named embracing medical students and the sons of civic dignitaries. The old Town Club and the Rovers finally combined, and the Northampton Unity became one of the leading Midland organizations. Hard fought contests were carried on with Coventry, Rugby, Moseley, Bedford, and other teams, the place of meeting being repeatedly changed from the racecourse to Peach's field, and yet again to the militia stores field, and finally to the new cricket ground.

Some eight years ago the club began to show wonderful improvement, a result largely due to the efforts of Mr. C. H. Davis.

Younger members of the Kingston family and J. W. Adam (a master at Guilsborough Grammar School, whither Mr. W. Kingston had removed to take up his residence with his son, the Rev. F. W. Kingston, a Cambridge 'blue') did wonders for the 'Saints,' as they were familiarly called. In 1897-98 Northampton St. James's made the record score of points for England and Wales, and the words 'St. James's' were dropped from the

Rugby club's title, the organization being now known as the Northampton Club. In 1898-99 the highest number of points in England was made, and in 1899-1900 the highest for England and Wales. More noteworthy even than the rapid rise in the standing of the club was the support it received from the public. Gates of 10,000 were not uncommon—14,000 have assembled to see Northampton play their great Midland rival, Leicester; and as many as 3,000 supporters have accompanied the Saints on their journeys to London.

The history of the present Northampton Club is virtually the history of Rugby football in Northamptonshire in recent years. Mention has been made above of the Kettering and Rushden Clubs. The latter was formed in 1877 and the Kettering Club a little earlier. Although the Rushden players were drawn from what was then an obscure village without railway accommodation, they did exceedingly well in the Midland Counties Cup, giving Leicester, Rugby, and Moseley hard games. Both at Kettering and Rushden the clubs were carried on under the same management as the Association clubs, and thirteen years ago Rugby football was virtually dropped at both towns. True, there was some kind of revival about eight years since at Rushden, but Association football now has the field to itself both at Rushden and Kettering. Northants had a really good county team some twenty years back, though little county football was played at Northampton after 1890 until the formation of the East Midland Counties Union (Northants, Beds and Bucks) in 1897. The East Midlands entered the County Championship, and were placed in a section with the Midland Counties, Middlesex, and Surrey. In the first year they did fairly well, but in the second year they finished last with terrible ill-luck. In 1899-1900 however they played up splendidly, and tied with Kent for the honours of the division, though Kent gained an unexpected victory when the tie was played off. As four-fifths of the players have been drawn from the Northampton Club, the success of the East Midlanders has been very gratifying to their supporters. There are numerous Rugby clubs in Northampton and the immediate vicinity, and a cup for seniors and shield for juniors are offered in competition. In Bozeat, the Rugby game predominates, and a Rugby club was last year formed in Wellingborough. Oundle School is the only public school in the county where Rugby is played, and that flourishing institution has long been honourably associated with the game.

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POLO

The Northampton Club, founded 1 May, 1905, has its ground close to the Northampton Castle Station; it is considered one of the best grounds out of London. Matches are regularly played with the Market Harborough,

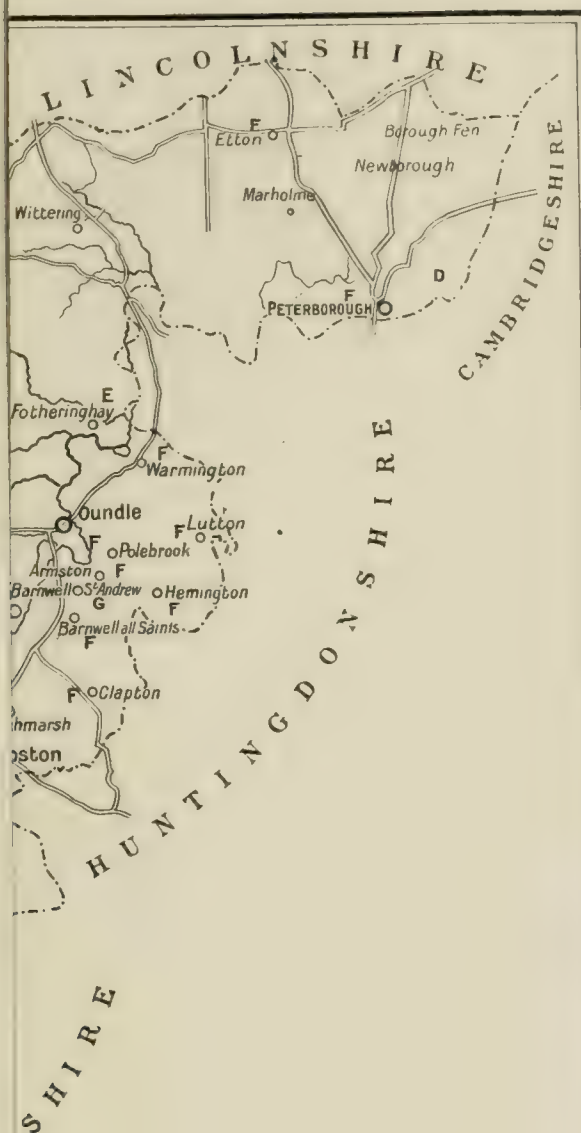
Bedford, Weedon Garrison, Manchester, and other teams. The membership is not large.

The Weedon Club is maintained by the officers of the regiments that may be stationed at that town.

NOTE

The article on shooting, it will be seen, refers exclusively to north Northamptonshire; there is practically no history attached to the sport of shooting in the southern and western parts of the county. Even before the days of mowing and reaping machines it was naturally poor partridge country, and the hedgerow pheasant, never plentiful, has vanished before high farming and modern methods of agriculture. From time to time there has been game preserving on the Spencer estate, but not such as requires special description. Little has been attempted on the Grafton estates; the duke has at Euston in Suffolk a first-rate shooting property, and the woods at Wakefield are best known

as fox coverts. There has been no preservation of any kind at Fawsley, and what exists on smaller estates is comparatively recent and has been at no time extensive. There was, indeed, a good deal of expenditure in this direction at Whittlebury in the days of the late Lord Southampton, but the local conditions were by no means favourable and the endeavour was not continued. The coverts dotted over the Grafton country now and then hold a woodcock, but the fact that a bag of seven in one season in Sewell Wood is cited as memorable has its own significance. There is the very greatest difference between the northern and southern parts of the county in this matter.

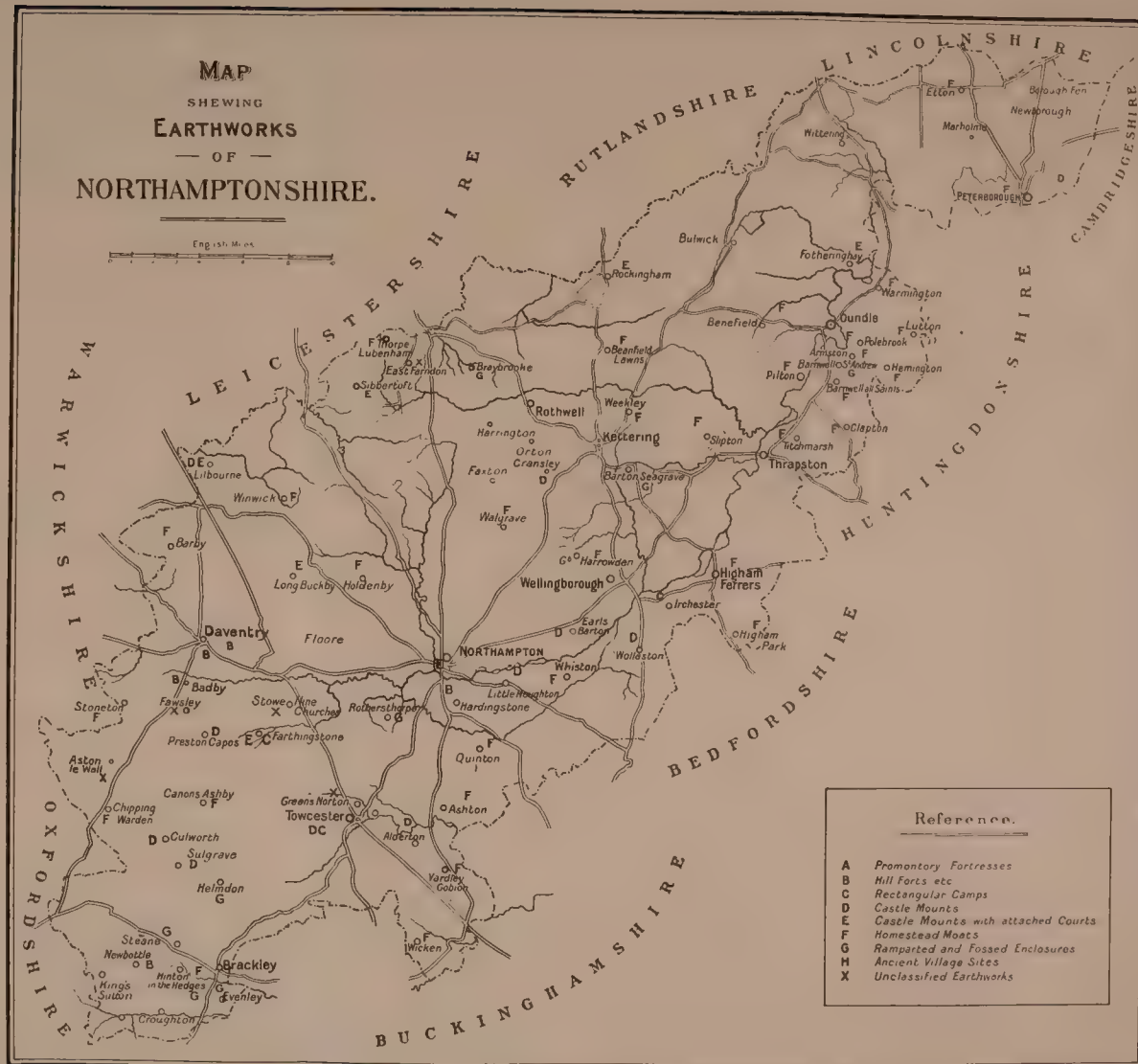


Reference.

- | | |
|----------|---|
| A | <i>Promontory Fortresses</i> |
| B | <i>Hill Forts etc.</i> |
| C | <i>Rectangular Camps</i> |
| D | <i>Castle Mounts</i> |
| E | <i>Castle Mounts with attached Courts</i> |
| F | <i>Homestead Moats</i> |
| G | <i>Ramparted and Fossed Enclosures</i> |
| H | <i>Ancient Village Sites</i> |
| X | <i>Unclassified Earthworks</i> |

MAP
SHEWING
EARTHWORKS
— OF —
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

English Miles



Reference.

- A Promontory Fortresses
- B Hill Forts etc
- C Rectangular Camps
- D Castle Mounts
- E Castle Mounts with attached Courts
- F Homestead Moats
- G Ramparted and Fossed Enclosures
- H Ancient Village Sites
- X Unclassified Earthworks

ANCIENT EARTHWORKS

Northamptonshire is probably richer in mediaeval earthworks than in those of an earlier time. In the present state of our knowledge, however, it is impossible to assign to many of them even approximately exact dates, and the arrangement here adopted accords with that of the Earthworks Committee of the Congress of Archaeological Societies, which is as follows :—

Class A. Fortresses partially inaccessible by reason of precipices, cliffs, or water, and additionally defended by artificial banks or walls, usually known as promontory fortresses, of which none are recorded in the county of Northampton.

Class B. Fortresses on hill-tops with artificial defences, following the natural line of the hill or, though usually on high ground, less dependent on natural slopes for protection. The few Northamptonshire examples belong rather to the second than the first section of the class. Of these Borough Hill is not only unique in form, but one of the largest trenched enclosures in the country, though, unfortunately, in poor preservation.

Class C. Rectangular or other simple enclosures including forts and towns of the Romano-British period. Here this county is but scantily represented. Irchester takes rank as the most important Roman work, since Towcester has lost nearly all traces of its walls.

Class D. Forts consisting only of a mount with encircling ditch or fosse, of which Clifford Hill is a particularly fine example.¹

Class E. Fortified mounts either artificial or partly natural with traces of an attached court or bailey, or of two or more such courts. Castle Dykes is well preserved, and perhaps the most generally interesting in the county.

Class F. Homestead moats, such as abound in some lowland districts, consisting of simple enclosures formed into artificial islands by water-moats. Here we have a fair number, but Northamptonshire cannot compare with either Suffolk or Essex, where these simple moats are particularly abundant.

Class G. Enclosures, mostly rectangular, partaking of the form of Class F, but protected by stronger defensive works, ramparted and fossed, and in some instances provided with outworks. These were generally the sites of the castles or fortified manor houses.

Class H. Ancient village sites protected by walls, ramparts, or fosses. Of these Northamptonshire furnishes no certain example.

Class X. Defensive works which fall under none of these headings.

¹ It is possible that some mounts placed in this class had at one time courts of which now no traces remain.

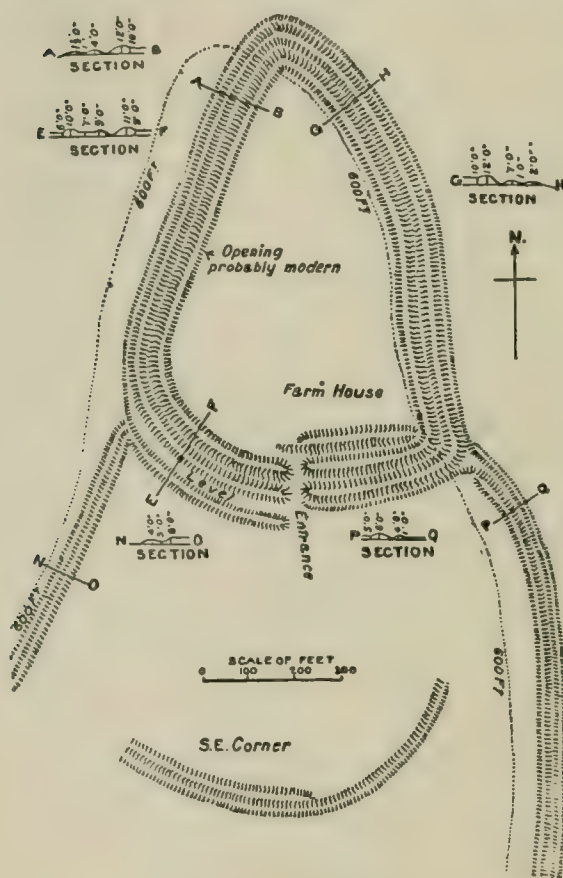
A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

On a general survey one cannot but notice in Northamptonshire the rarity of the earlier types of earthwork, which is paralleled by the small number of barrows and tumuli.¹ It may also be worth attention that at least eight important castles or moated houses stood close to or near the river Nene—Peterborough, Fotheringhay, Barnwell, Titchmarsh, Wollaston, Earls Barton, Clifford Hill, and Northampton. In fact, the valley of the navigable Nene was in the middle ages the richest and most populous part of the county.

HILL FORTS, ETC.

[CLASS B]

DAVENTRY : BOROUGH HILL² (one mile east of Daventry).—This fortress occupies the highest part of a hill 600 feet above sea level, and 250 feet above



BOROUGH HILL, DAVENTRY.

the lowest land in the neighbourhood. Though it stands upon high ground and has a good command of the district north and north-west, and also east and south-east, it gains but little strength from this fact, as the fall of the hill is steep at no point, and in many places the land outside the entrenchments is practically level. The north portion, which forms a rough triangle, is defended on two sides by two ditches, the ballast from which has been thrown inward to form two ramparts; the third, that is the south side, which cuts off this portion from the larger enclosure, is more strongly entrenched, one side of the entrance consisting of three ramparts, one ditch, and a level space, the eastern side of the entrance having three ramparts and three ditches. All these earthworks are not now in a perfect condition, owing partly to their great age, and partly to farming operations. The entrance was perhaps more compli-

cated than that shown on the plan, and was evidently specially formed.

The larger enclosure roughly follows the 600 feet contour line, continuing south for three-quarters of a mile, in breadth a quarter of a mile at the south, but swelling out in the middle to rather over three-eighths of a mile. The lower portion of the eastern entrenchment has all but disappeared, in some places entirely, but the track can be traced along much of the way by a ditch now 6 to 10 feet deep from the inside, and 2 to 3 feet from the outside, some portion being planted with trees and underwood. The

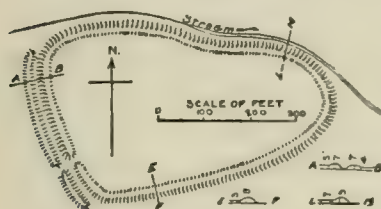
¹ *V.C.H. Northants*, i. 138, 139.

² *Ibid.* 255.

ANCIENT EARTHWORKS

southern entrenchment is rather better defined—a ditch and the inside rampart, now used as a public footway, being traceable. The return north by the west is absolutely levelled, and the track is a matter of pure speculation for a quarter of a mile; then for another quarter of a mile, running due north, is a ditch and outside rampart reduced to 3 or 4 feet in the perpendicular measurements. The remaining distance, rather longer than a quarter of a mile, runs north-north-east to join the northern enclosure as shown on the accompanying plan, and as will be seen by section N—O consists of one ditch and an outer rampart. The greater part of this larger enclosure is under cultivation—hence, no doubt, the levelled condition of the earthworks; but in their perfect state these entrenchments apparently consisted of one ditch with the ballast thrown on both sides to form two ramparts, the whole, though of no great power, having a total base of 58 feet—hardly sufficient to defend so large a space.

DAVENTRY: BURNT WALLS¹ (1 mile S.E. of Daventry).—This small defensive earthwork is in a most curious position. First, the spot chosen is

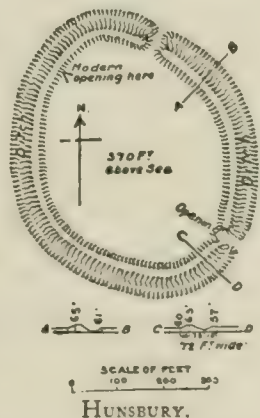


BURNT WALLS, DAVENTRY.

one specially weak by nature: it lies in a valley with the land north and south-west rising immediately, so that within three-eighths of a mile the land at these points is 150 feet above the enclosure, and commands it. Again, the very large stronghold of Borough Hill stands above Burnt Walls within half a mile, and other fortifications are at no great distance, so that the

question arises at what date would such a small and weakly defended position, be of any use? The entrenchments are not in a good state of preservation, but apparently consisted of a rampart north and south, with perhaps an outside ditch, now obliterated on the south, while on the west is a ditch with the ballast thrown both ways to form two ramparts, making on that side as strong a defence as the entrenchments of the larger enclosure of Borough Hill, which are built on the same method. As the two works may well have been connected in the same scheme of defence we include Burnt Walls in this class.

HARDINGSTONE: HUNSBURY² (1½ miles south-west of Northampton).—This is a small enclosure standing on the highest portion of a hill some 370 feet above sea level and 170 feet above the river Nene, which flows east three-quarters of a mile north-west. The ditch is still in a good state of preservation, but as the subsoil is ironstone and of great demand in the neighbourhood, the north portion of the enclosure has been quarried, as has also that immediately outside; hence the rampart upon the inside, formed of the ballast from the ditch, has been for the greater part destroyed. The sides of the hill fall gently, so that the position has no natural defence; hence, though the defences are of considerable power, the 'camp' is of no very great strength; the earthworks are planted with trees, and the enclosed portion is under the plough. The stronghold has a good command of the neighbourhood



¹ *V.C.H. Northants*, i. 196.

² *Ibid.* 146.

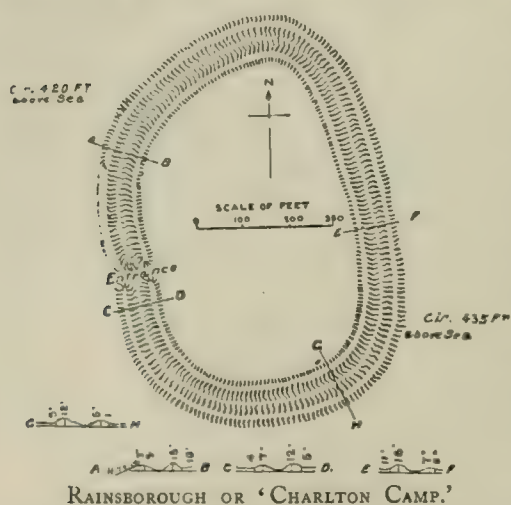
A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

for some miles on all sides. Ring Hill in Essex and Badbury in Berkshire are much of the same shape and build as Hunsbury, though rather larger; Whelpley Hill in Buckinghamshire is almost exactly the same in shape, slightly smaller, though apparently lacking the ditch, but as the rampart of Whelpley Hill is all but levelled by the plough the ditch may have been obliterated. Hunsbury is named on the Ordnance Survey (one-inch scale) 'Danes Camp,' but upon what authority is not stated. A green lane running from the east makes straight for the opening on the south-east, and then curves southward to continue west; this lane may be a portion of the Welshmans (strangers) Road which is seen in the west. A few hundred feet to the east is what looks like a rampart; but as the London and North-Western Railway Company's line tunnels under the hill close by (as seen by the ventilating shafts) and great heaps of ballast from the tunnel have been deposited close to this 'rampart,' probably the 'rampart' is part of this waste.

NEWBOTTLE (CHARLTON HAMLET): RAINSBOROUGH¹ or 'CHARLTON CAMP' (3 $\frac{3}{4}$ miles W. by S. of Brackley).—This stronghold is not in a very perfect state of preservation, but like many others in the county of Northampton has been greatly interfered with; hence it is not easy to judge of the actual mode of entrenching in the original plan. It stands upon ground some 430 feet above sea level and 80 feet above a stream half a mile north-west which flows in a valley. The position of the stronghold has no natural defence

except the very slight fall to the stream above mentioned; hence it cannot be considered as a hill fort, the land generally in the district being of about the same height.

The entrenchment consists of one ditch with the ballast thrown inward to form one powerful rampart, and in places, if not on all sides, outward as well, to form a second rampart. The inner rampart, now about 16 feet in its highest part above the ditch, is in a fair state of preservation, and is formed out of the natural soil and subsoil, which is soft stone, piled loosely; but about 10 feet above the



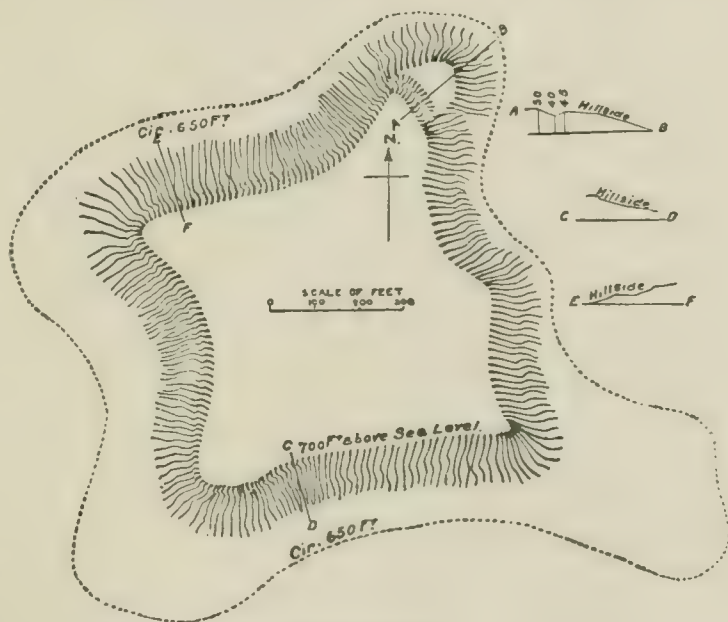
ditch, where the banking has been peeled off, a rough wall is revealed, formed by the laying of small slabs of the native stone to make an outer rough perpendicular line; this is probably part of the original work, and was not meant to be an exposed wall, but was intended to strengthen the ramparts. Judging from the decayed state of all the entrenchments in this part of Northamptonshire, formed from this stony subsoil, the stone does not make an enduring rampart such as is formed of chalk in Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and elsewhere. The ditch is of no great depth in its present state, being about 7 feet deep from the outside in its most perfect place, where once it was probably 10 to 12 feet deep; the base of the counterscarp is unusually wide. It is hard to determine whether there was a perfect

¹ *V.C.H. Northants*, i. 152, 153.

ANCIENT EARTHWORKS

outer rampart all round : strongholds built in this method vary, some such as Membury and Old Sarum in Wiltshire and Wallbury in Essex have or had the outer rampart perfect, while Ambresbury Banks in Essex, Fosbury in Wiltshire, Caynham in Shropshire, and others are irregular. The object of the outer rampart may have been to obtain a powerful ditch as at Evenley 'Old Town,' 3 miles east by south, and Hinton Manor House, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles north-east, but in both these places the object of the outer rampart was to form a water level, which could hardly have been the object at Rainsborough, where the ditch must always have been a dry ditch. From the section E-F it will be seen that the ground outside the entrenchment is 6 feet above the ditch, while the section G-H shows the ground only 1 foot, hence to form anything like a deep ditch on the south-south-east a rampart on the outside was needed. The probability is that a perfect outer rampart once existed, now more or less levelled and out of shape, as it is on the east side. The position has a good command of the west generally, and of the south to a certain extent, but of the north and east to a limited extent only. Beech trees of some considerable age stand on the inner rampart.

BADBY : ARBURY HILL¹ (3 miles south-west of Daventry).—This is an isolated hill 700 feet above sea level and 300 feet above the land north and east within one mile, and 200 feet above the land one mile west; but five-eighths of a mile to the south is Ryton or Sharmans Hill of the same height or higher. The hill is formed of the soft stone common in the district, and the summit commands the neighbourhood on all sides for some miles except the south, where the hill above mentioned limits the view. The hill is called a 'camp' by the Ordnance Survey maps published in 1834 and also in the later surveys, and may once have been a temporary camping ground ; but it is not now an entrenched position, neither has the hill the appearance of ever having been fortified, at least not to any extent. The summit is practically level, but there is



no clearly marked hedge such as one would expect to find if the hill had been artificially scarped, except on the south at places, and there the escarpment is rather accidental than deliberate for defensive purposes, a hedge occupying the line of escarpment. On the west again, some little way down the hill, is a ditch 9 feet wide, with a scarp 5 feet deep, and the counterscarp 1 foot, forming with a hedge a division of land ; but this is certainly not an ancient entrenchment, and adds nothing to the strength of

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the position. On the north-east the hill juts out for a short space, and there is a dip which might or might not be a ditch ; if it is a ditch it hardly adds any defence to the hill summit.

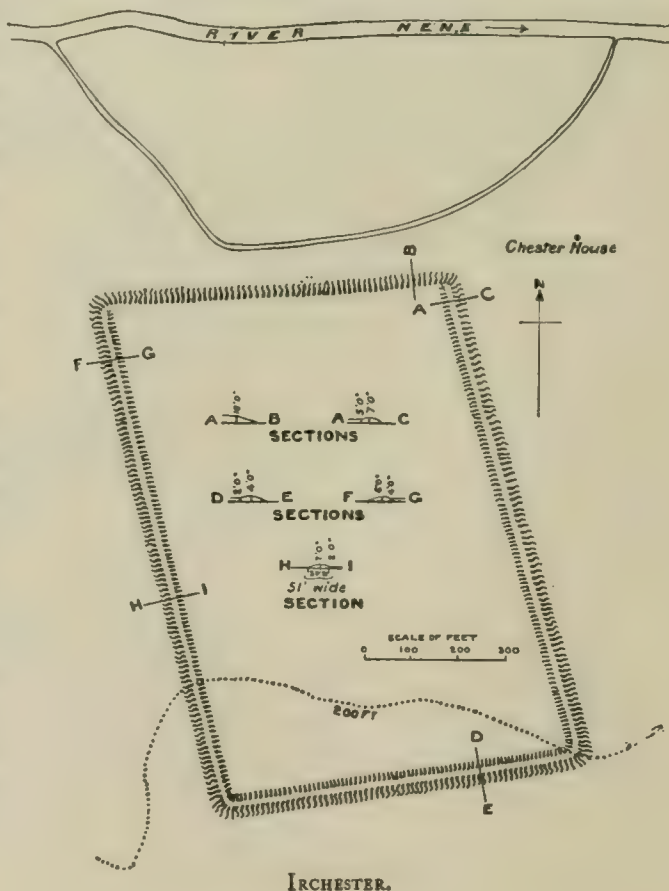
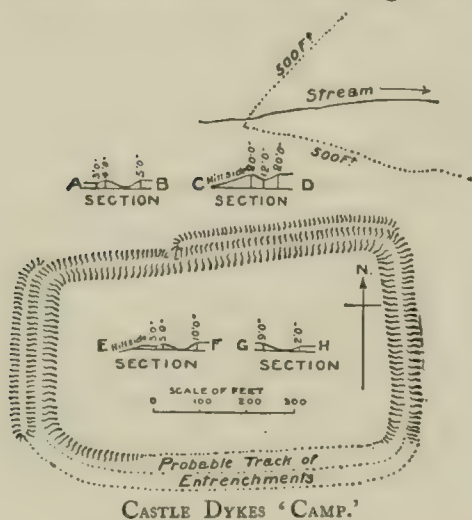
RECTANGULAR CAMPS

[CLASS C]

FARTHINGSTONE : CASTLE DYKES 'CAMP' ($4\frac{1}{4}$ miles S.E. of Daventry).— This can be called nothing but the remnant of a stronghold that once may have been of some considerable interest and strength ; it is now practically destroyed ; even of that much shown on the accompanying plan (made from the Ordnance Survey), only the north side and a few feet of the return south are left, the rest having been ploughed level, except that there is a faint track of the once existing entrenchments. Of what these entrenchments actually consisted it is not now possible to tell, but that there was a ditch and exterior rampart on all sides may be taken as fairly certain from what is left, and an inside rampart, if not an outside ditch, is also probable ; one or both of these would make a powerfully defended enclosure.

The chief interest of this 'camp' is its nearness to the extremely important mote castle, within a quarter of a mile on the north-east, called Castle Dykes, which consists, as hereafter shown, of four enclosures dating probably from Norman times.

IRCHESTER¹ ($1\frac{1}{2}$ miles E.S.E. of Wellingborough).—This enclosure is formed out of ground sloping from 200 feet above sea level on the south, to the river Nene on the north, some 150 feet above sea level. The entrenchment, which appears in its perfect state to have consisted of one rampart only, as at Uphall in Essex, and Egbury in Hampshire, is now all but levelled, as will be seen by the sections. The whole of the south, and the southern half of the west rampart is



¹ V.C.H. Northants, i. 177.

ANCIENT EARTHWORKS

under the plough, and only to be discerned by a practised eye. The north portion of the west side, also the north and east sides, are in a slightly better state and not under the plough. The north boundary shows no rampart, but a scarp only, probably natural, below which is the river Nene, with a stream and low land between, the whole of this low land being apparently liable to floods. As a space enclosed by earthworks it is one of moderate size; as an entrenched position it is not well chosen and is poorly defended, unless, as is probable, in its original condition it was defended by a fairly high rampart and a strong stone wall. As to the form of the enclosure, which is one of unusual type, there seems to have been no special reason from the nature of the ground for this angled parallelogram, unless the scarps on the north and east existed before the stronghold and were made use of; as will be seen by the sections they are not of any steepness. Mareham Grange, near Sleaford in Lincolnshire, is the same shape, and Y Pigwn, near Mynydd Tre Castell in Brecknockshire, named on the Ordnance Survey a 'Roman station,' should be compared with this.

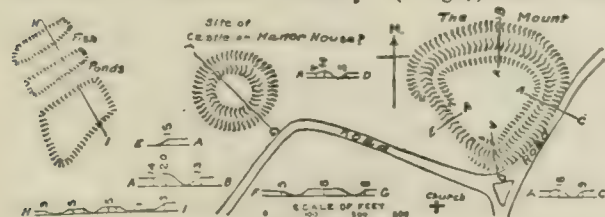
The cutting from the river Nene on the north bringing the water from the river in a bend towards the enclosure may or may not have formed part of the original defence; it was perhaps a means of flooding the low marsh land already referred to between the stronghold and the river, or to bring boats near to the inhabitants, if it were at one time deeper. The one-inch Ordnance Survey maps, 1891, use the word 'CAMP,' apparently indicating that it is a Roman work, and place the word 'CEMETERY' near a + a quarter of a mile north-east. The one-inch Ordnance Survey (1835) shows it to be a 'Roman station' and marks an 'ancient way' running south by west for $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles to Wollaston; otherwise no 'Roman' roads are marked, and this 'ancient way' is omitted from the 1891 issue. Both issues show a mound at the south-west corner, the earlier calling it a 'tumulus.' No mound, however, is now there; what existed was probably only a better preserved portion of the rampart.

TOWCESTER.—There are here in a field behind the police-station and in some gardens to the south traces of ramparts, once forming an irregular quadrilateral which may represent the Roman lines.¹

CASTLE MOUNTS

(CLASS D)

ALDERTON (3 miles E.S.E. of Towcester).—The entrenchments² here consist first of a rough three-sided enclosure known locally as The Mount, and so named on the Ordnance Survey (1896), but entitled Barrow on the Ordnance Survey (1834), and secondly a circular enclosure. The



THE MOUNT, ALDERTON.

Mount stands on ground 340 feet above sea level, and 60 feet above the river Tove, which curves north-east half a mile north-north-west on its way south. The entrenchments are not in a good state of preservation, the inner fall of the

¹ *V.C.H. Northants*, i. 184.

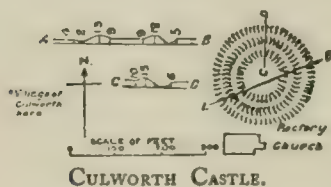
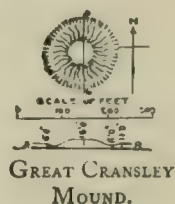
² If the roughly triangular and circular enclosures here are of different date and unconnected it is possible that they should be placed in one of the other classes.

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rampart not being clearly defined, and consist of one ditch on the north and south-east sides, with the ballast thrown inward to form one rampart. The ditch and rampart are lacking on the south-west side; possibly they once existed; but as will be seen by the Section E-A the ground outside at that point is 15 feet below the enclosed portion. The rampart and ditch where they exist are of some power; perhaps once a stone wall or stockade protected the south-west side. The form of the enclosure is unusual, and by its nearness to the church must be classed as a mote castle of the Culworth and Sulgrave type. The ditch was a dry ditch and never intended to hold water. The position commands the north for some miles, but other points to a limited extent only. The subsoil is stone.

The circular enclosure, some 40 feet below on the west, is a small platform surrounded by a ditch probably not of the same date as the mount.

CRANSLEY: GREAT CRANSLEY MOUND ($3\frac{3}{4}$ miles W.S.W. of Kettering).—This small mound, surrounded by a ditch, stands within a plantation a quarter of a mile north-west from the church, 400 feet above sea level, and 100 feet above a stream which flows north-east half a mile east. It is shown on the one-inch Ordnance Survey (1835), and called a 'tumulus,' but was certainly a mote castle mound. As a castle mound it is small in circumference, like many others in Northamptonshire, being only 16 feet high above its ditch; but its situation near the church, and the comparatively large space nearly level on its summit (45 feet in diameter), mark it as having been erected for defensive purposes. The position has no great command, as there is higher land on the west, and the land on the north is higher than that on the south, as will be seen by the section. The story common to castle mounds all over England of a treasure hidden within the mound is current in the district, and a great diagonal section has been cut through (which has permanently injured the work) to seek for this treasure, or perhaps the mound was taken for a grave. There is now no trace of a court or of stonework.

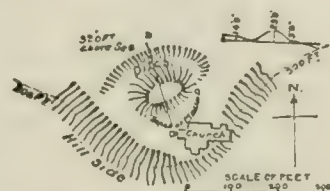


CULWORTH CASTLE ($6\frac{1}{2}$ miles N.N.W. of Brackley).—This small ramparted enclosure stands upon ground 550 feet above sea-level and 150 feet above a stream five-eighths of a mile west. One-eighth of a mile to the north and a quarter of a mile to the south are combes or gullies with small brooks running roughly west; hence the position, though not naturally strong, commands the country to the west and north-west, but is weaker on the other sides. The entrenchments, consisting of one ditch with the ballast thrown inward as a rampart, form one enclosure only, which rises a few feet above the ground outside; a somewhat similar enclosure, though not now so perfectly circular, exists at Sulgrave, $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles south-east, both being built upon the same principle as the keep of Castle Dykes, $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles north-north-east. This enclosure is in a fair state of preservation, except that a portion of the south-east has been destroyed at some date to extend the rectory garden. There is no trace of any other earthworks connected with this, and a sunk fence bounding the rectory garden, running east from the south-east of the entrenchment, must not be regarded as part of a bailey, but is modern work.

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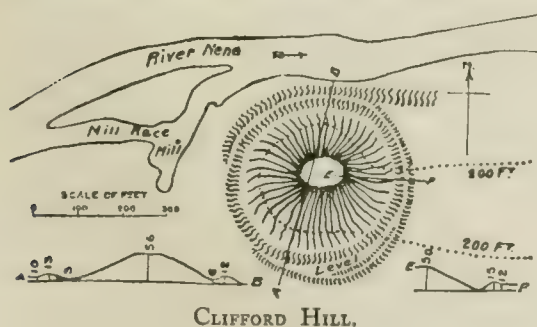
The subsoil is stone. There is no visible masonry, and probably none ever existed. Barrow Hill, 1 mile east, and on higher ground by 47 feet, has a mound generally regarded as a tumulus or barrow; but Lilbourne Castle has also a mound half a mile distant, and upon higher ground apparently a defensive work rather than a burial mound; hence this on Barrow Hill may also be such. The contiguity of the castle to the church should be noted; it is a very common occurrence, as will be seen at Sulgrave, Peterborough, Earls Barton, Towcester, Wollaston, etc. Welsh Road, which is an ancient way or cattle drove, apparently runs through Culworth from north-west to south-east.

EARLS BARTON CASTLE ($6\frac{1}{2}$ miles E.N.E. of Northampton).—This small mound is that apparently of a mote castle. It is not now in a perfect condition, having been peeled on the south side either to make room for the building of the church tower, or for some other purpose. It is formed on a natural spur of land jutting out south from a hilly range some 320 feet above sea-level and 170 feet above the river Nene. As at Wollaston Castle mound ($3\frac{1}{2}$ miles east by south), a ditch remains on the side weakest by nature—namely, here on the north—and the ballast has been thrown on to the spur so as to raise it 9 feet above the level land (in its present state), and thus now forms a mound protected on the south by the fall of the hill, which is of some though of no great steepness, and on the north by the ditch. There are no visible remains of either stonework or further entrenchments, but the ground on the north of and immediately outside the ditch is level, so that a courtyard might easily have existed on that side bounded with entrenchments, stone wall, or stockade, now destroyed.



EARLS BARTON CASTLE.

LITTLE HOUGHTON: CLIFFORD HILL (3 miles E. of Northampton).—This is a castle mound, one of several that command the valley of the river Nene, Earls Barton and Wollaston being on the east, and Northampton once existing on the west; the two former are small mounds, the latter may have been important, but has been levelled for some years. As a castle mound Clifford Hill is of large circumference, and compares well with such important mounds as Thetford in Norfolk, and Pleshey and Ongar, in Essex,

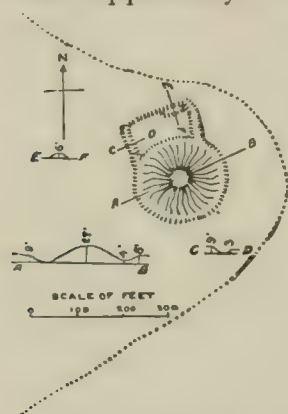


etc., and in height (53 feet above the ditch in the lowest part) it is also great. It is formed out of the west end of a gravel bank which continues east for some little distance, above which it rises 35 feet, this addition being obtained by the ballast from the ditch which surrounds it. The summit is level, and measures 84 feet east to west and 58 feet north to south. The ditch may once have been deep enough to contain water obtained from the river Nene at flood times; there is the appearance of a former cutting on the north-west which corresponds to the mill race. The level on the south-east, and slight outer rampart, artificial on the south and east, but natural on the north and north-west, should be noted.

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There is now no trace of a bailey or other enclosure, or of any stonework; but a bailey built entirely of stone, as at Thurnham and Binbury Castles, both in Kent, may have existed on the high land to the eastward. The summit of the mound may have been reached by means of a stone or wooden bridge from the east. The mound on the south side has the appearance of having been interfered with.

LILBOURNE: HILL GROUND (3 miles E.N.E. of Rugby).—This mound with apparently the remains of a small enclosure is in this odd position, namely, that it is within half a mile west of the mote castle at Lilbourne, which is a small but powerfully-built stronghold consisting of a mound and two courts; also that this mound, locally called Hill Ground, is larger than the other in circumference, and of rather greater height, standing on a hill some 70 feet above the low land, where the castle is built. The Ordnance Survey names it a tumulus. As a tumulus it would have been of large size, and the apparent court on the north-by-west would be out of place. But this court may not have been part of the original plan, the entrenchments bounding it, as will be seen by the plan and sections, are in a vague state, and may not be the true traces of a court. Had it been in existence before Lilbourne Castle it would have formed the foundation of a much more powerful stronghold than was possible on the low land, unless existing as a tumulus or grave it was so respected. Another point to be noticed is that it stands within a quarter of a mile of the ancient high road, Watling Street, with which at some date it may have had a connexion.

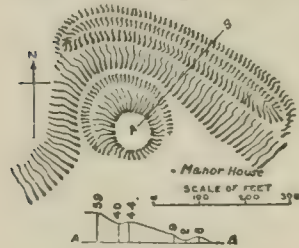


HILL GROUND, LILBOURNE.

PETERBOROUGH: TOOT HILL.—This mound, apparently that of a mote castle, stands within the garden of the deanery. It is of no great size or height, and there is now no sign of a ditch or of further entrenchments. The ground on which it stands is by nature slightly higher than that more to the west, but perhaps is not more than 30 feet above the river Nene, which flows east a quarter of a mile to the south. The summit of the mound is flat and measures 42 feet in diameter. The elongation towards the south-east may or may not be part of the original plan; it may be a portion of a rampart, or the mound may once have been much larger; as it stands in cultivated ground in the middle of the city, no doubt there have been considerable changes. Grass covers the sides and top, but one or two trees grow on its southern slope. In size it approaches Towcester, Bury Mount, and other earthworks in the county.



TOOT HILL, PETERBOROUGH.



PRESTON CAPES.

PRESTON CAPES ($4\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of Daventry).—This small entrenchment occupies a spur of land jutting out northward some 550 feet above sea level, and about 200 feet above the land on the north-east. The entrenchment is apparently but the fragment of a larger work now levelled by farming operations.

The mound, which is of no great size or height, is formed out of the

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natural sandstone artificially raised some 6 feet, surrounded on three sides by a ditch, while at the bottom of the steep portion of the hillside a ditch with the ballast thrown outward to form a rampart has been made; this ditch in its present form appears to have been all that ever existed. Thus the north side, which by nature is of some strength, is artificially defended. But on the south side, where the high land continues and gently rises, there is now no trace of further entrenchments; a comparatively modern house stands about the position marked on the plan, with its gardens, etc., and a farmyard exists on the south-west of the mound. Of course other earthworks may have defended the position on the south, but it is more likely that this portion was protected by a stone wall. Thurnham Castle in Kent has a somewhat similar mound, but the court is defended by a stone wall, a good part of which still remains.

SULGRAVE CASTLE (5 miles N.N.W. of Brackley).—This small mote castle stands in a field close by the church, on a tongue of land jutting out eastward some 520 feet above sea level. On the south-east and north there are slight gullies, but the position has no true natural defence as the village lies between the castle and what slight fall there is in the ground. The ramparts have a good command on the east, but on the west the land is higher. One and a quarter miles north-west is the somewhat similar castle of Culworth, which should be compared and considered with this, the two being evidently of the same date and built for the same purpose.

The form of the enclosure appears to be a rough circle or square, but as it is not in a very perfect state of preservation it may not represent its original shape. The entrenchments consist of a ramparted keep only, which can in no sense



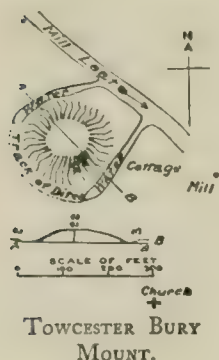
SULGRAVE CASTLE.

be called a mound, though it answers to the mound of such mote castles as Lilbourne in the north of the same county. No doubt when the castle was in its original condition the rampart was of some considerable height, and the ditch some 4 feet deeper. There are no remains of stonework visible, and though it is possible such once existed, it is more probable that the earthen

defences (formed of the natural stone subsoil broken small and mixed with the topsoil) formed the means of defence, strengthened perhaps with timber. Neither are there any visible remains of further entrenchments forming a courtyard. On the west is a sloping causeway to the enclosed portion so formed as not to expose the centre to the attack of an enemy on the outside, which may be the original entrance, but such an entrance is unusual with fortifications of this type. The ditch on the north-east side is all but filled up, the wall of the churchyard cutting it, but undoubtedly the ditch was once complete on all sides as shown on the plan.

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TOWCESTER BURY MOUNT.—This work is situated in the town of Towcester on ground some 280 feet above sea level and surrounded by slightly higher land, but the summit of the mound has a fair command of the south-west. The position is naturally defended on the north-east by the river Tove and its mill leat. The entrenchments are in a very poor state of



preservation, but appear to have consisted of a small mound surrounded by a water ditch, except on the north-east, where the stream a short distance off was considered sufficient protection; entrenchments appear to have surrounded the town at one time. Now the mound is 22 feet high above the bed of the inlets which supplied the water to the moat, and has a cottage of some age standing on its south-east side, the slope and summit being cultivated as a garden except on the north-east, where the side has been scarped perpendicularly either by mischance or design; fir trees also surround the summit; of the ditch round which the

river washed there is no trace on the south-west, and but little anywhere else. As the mound has been made mostly of gravel it appears to have formed a handy gravel pit at some date or other, hence, perhaps, the dilapidated state of the north-east side. The base of the mound is small compared with such mounds as Clifford Hill near Northampton and others.

WOLLASTON CASTLE ($8\frac{1}{2}$ miles S. by E. of Kettering). This appears to be a mote castle mound of the Norman period. It stands upon ground some 280 feet above sea level, and 130 feet above a stream which runs north half a mile to the west. The mound, which is neither large compared with such castle mounds as that of Clifford Hill in the same county, nor as small as some others, is formed out of a slight natural knoll, and, as will be seen by the section on the accompanying plan, is 20 feet above the ground immediately on the west, and only 13 feet above that on the east. Hence a ditch was cut on the east and south sides as a defence against the rather higher land at these points. There appear to be no local traditions as to the date or object of the mound. One person in the village called it the Mill Hill, the 25-in. Ordnance Survey names it Beacon Hill; it may have been used for both purposes. At the present time it is planted as a fruit garden; but the position of the mound in the village, and the fact that it is close to the church suggests that we have here the base of a castle keep. The summit is level and measures 72 feet from east to west. There are no visible remains of stonework nor of a court. A series of ponds are formed on the hillside a few hundred yards to the north-west, but have no connexion with this mound.



CASTLE MOUNTS WITH ATTACHED COURTS

[CLASS E]

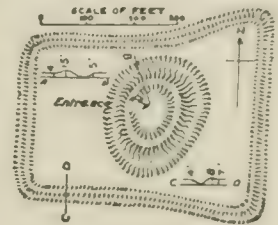
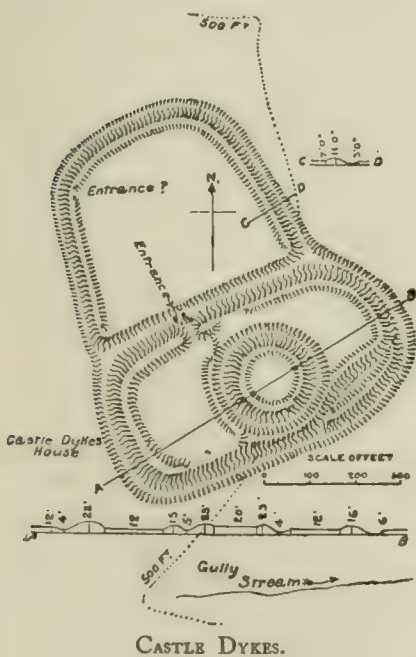
LONG BUCKBY CASTLE ($4\frac{1}{2}$ miles N.E. of Daventry).—This is a mote castle of unusual form, consisting of a ramparted keep and an outer enclosure. It stands in the village close to and south of the vicarage, within the grounds of which the north-west portion lies, and 200 yards south-west of the

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church. It occupies a portion of some high land 450 feet above sea level, though only about 100 feet above the lowest land in the neighbourhood, in a fairly commanding position, except on the east and north-east, where the higher land continues. The oval-shape keep is of small dimensions, once strongly defended by a powerful rampart and ditch, not now in a perfect state of preservation; the section A-B is taken at its most perfect part. This keep cannot in any sense be called a mound, though it answers the purpose of the mound in mote castles of the type of Sibbertoft in the same county, as the centre is 3 feet lower than the ground outside the ditch on the east. Roddenbury Castle, near Frome, in Somerset, and Knocks Bridge Castle, near Staplehurst in Kent, are built on much the same principle. The earthworks are of turf and free from underwood, and are on private property.

The outer enclosure shown on the plan must be taken as only a rough idea as to what once existed; the form is fairly correct, but the entrenchments are very slight and rather vague; there are also slight traces of further works on the south. The land falls gently to the south and south-west, but forms no natural defence.

FARTHINGSTONE: CASTLE DYKES ($4\frac{1}{2}$ miles S.E. of Daventry).—This is a mote castle in an exceedingly fine and perfect condition, of an interesting type, though unfortunately the three enclosures on the south are now thickly matted over with underwood, nettles, etc., and so the beauty of the work cannot be seen as it would be if the ramparts and ditches were exposed and used for grazing sheep. The property is private, but the owners for many centuries are to be congratulated upon the care with which they have preserved the work in such perfect condition.



LONG BUCKBY CASTLE.

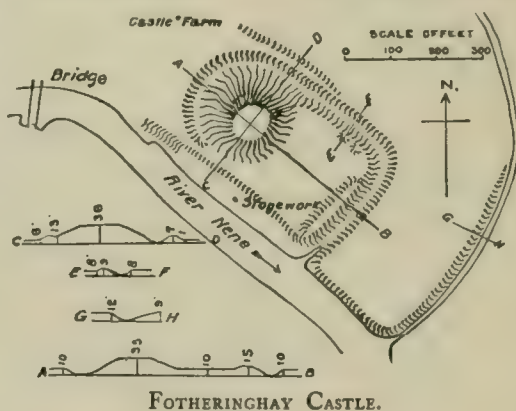
The castle stands upon land some 500 feet above sea level, and has, or would have, if the bushes were not there, a good command of the north-east generally. The entrenchments are formed out of the subsoil, which is sandstone, with no visible signs of artificial stonework. The castle consists of four enclosures, a circular keep supported by courts east and west, and a large court on the north-north-west. The circular keep is distinctly a ramparted enclosure, and not a mound such as those found at Sibbertoft in the same county, and Brinklow, in Warwickshire, though answering the same purpose; it is rather of the same class as the keeps of Old Sarum, Wiltshire; New Buckenham, Norfolk; Roddenbury Castle, Somerset; the so-called 'Cæsar's Camp,' near Folkestone, Kent; and that earthwork four miles east-by-north of Bedford, which has been regarded by some as a Roman amphitheatre, by others as a Danish camp, but is no doubt, like the others, the keep of a mote castle of a special form. The approach was probably from the west yard by means of a bridge.

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The yards supporting and defending the keep, roughly east and west, are also of special interest, that on the east being the smaller of the two; somewhat similar double yards are found at Ongar Castle, in Essex, Castle Rising, in Norfolk, and Morton Castle, near Gainsborough, in Lincolnshire. The rampart on the east side of the west yard, and the double entrenchment on the south-east of the east yard should be noticed; the latter is somewhat similar to that found at Castle Acre, in Norfolk, at the north-east corner. The larger enclosure on the north-north-west, once ploughed, now bare, is rather peculiar; it seems rather small to answer to the large outside enclosures connected with such mote castles as Pleshey and Ongar, in Essex, and New Radnor, in Radnorshire, which formed the settlements within the jurisdiction of the governor of the castle. The causeway from this enclosure to the west yard and the opening on the west from the outside are probably the original entrances; if there were no stonework connected with the stronghold then movable bridges of wood most likely existed.

Across the slight gully on the south is the remnant of a rectangular earthwork called, for want of a better name, Castle Dykes Camp; as will be read under that heading it is likely to have been a defensive work of earlier date than this castle; it certainly does not form part of it.

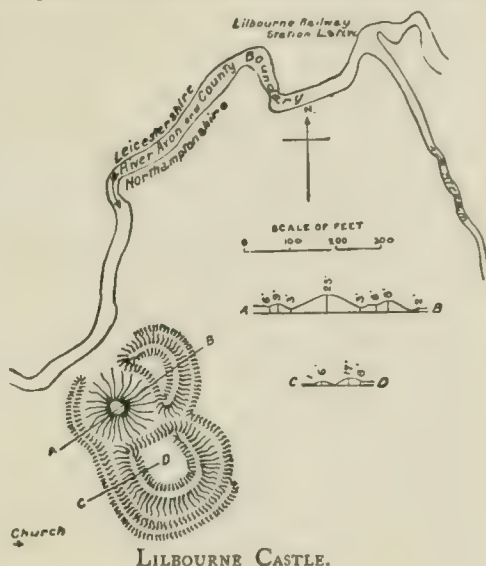
FOTHERINGHAY CASTLE (3 miles N. by E. of Oundle).—This mote castle, one of the few in Northamptonshire which are of the true mound and court type, is not in very good preservation. It is formed out of ground about 65 feet above sea level, and 9 feet above the river Nene. The mound is some 38 feet above the lowest part of its ditch, the summit measuring 72 feet by 66 feet, and practically flat, though there is 'some inequality of surface.' The court is of moderate size, protected on the south-west by the river Nene, and once probably by a stone wall; and on the north-east and south-east by a ditch, with the ballast thrown inward to form one rampart; this court, like the mound, has some inequality of surface, as if stone foundations had been dug out. The ditch, which was evidently supplied with water from the river at flood time, never continued further round the mound than is shown on the plan. The entrance was apparently between the mound and the river. Probably there were other enclosures on the north-east and south-east, but now the ground at these points has no definite trace of earthworks. The only visible remains of masonry is a block near the river.



LILBOURNE CASTLE (4 miles E.N.E. of Rugby).—This, a mote castle of the mound and court type, stands upon low ground close to the river Avon, which with a stream upon the east and the intermediate marsh land protects it on the north and north-east generally, while upon the south-west is higher land. It consists of a mound, a bailey upon the south-south-east, and a second yard on the north-east, and perhaps once a larger enclosure on the south-east. The mound is of small circumference, as are most of the

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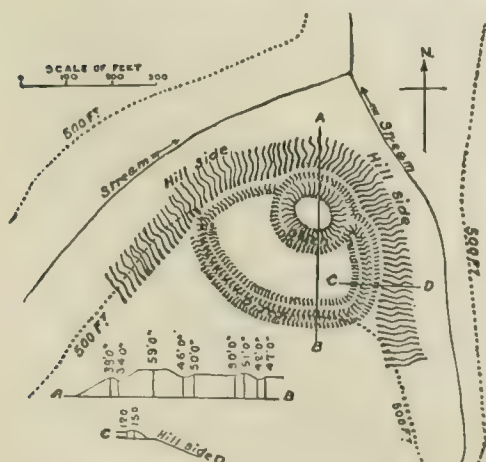
castle mounds in this county, and about 22 feet in height above the ditch which surrounds it on three sides; it has no level space upon its summit as have many such defensive works, and if this is its original form it belongs to a distinct class of mounds, of which Huntington, in Herefordshire, is a very conical example. The bailey or courtyard on the south-south-east is a very minute enclosure, but protected by a powerful rampart and ditch; the south-east corner is so high that it has the appearance of being a second mound. The yard on the north-east, which is smaller still than the bailey, is also strongly entrenched, but not now in a good state of preservation, and is an interesting feature, though not uncommon; Hallaton, in Leicestershire, some eighteen miles north-east, has faint traces of two such extra enclosures, while Old Basing, in Hampshire, has six enclosed spaces.



The whole work is small but of some considerable strength. The water from the river was evidently caused to wash round the mound and yards, though now the ditches are for the most part silted up above the water level. The outside rampart on the west and south is rather unusual, but the west portion was evidently to bank up the water within the ditch, the south portion perhaps to form an extra protection against the higher land on that side. There are traces of slight entrenchments on the south-east, which might indicate that a large space was enclosed on that side, but there appears to be nothing definite now. A mound, locally called 'Hill Ground,' close by on the south-west should be considered with this.

NORTHAMPTON.—The castle here, destroyed to form a railway station, should probably be placed in this class.¹

ROCKINGHAM CASTLE.—This castle should probably be placed here, as there seems to have been both a mound and an attached bailey.²



SIBBERTOFT CASTLE YARD.

SIBBERTOFT CASTLE YARD ($3\frac{1}{2}$ miles S.W. of Market Harborough).—This is a mote castle of the mound and court type. It occupies and is formed of a spur jutting out north-east from some high land about 500 feet above sea level, with higher ground on the south, lower on the north, and gullies on the east and west, as will be seen by the plan. The position is curious, but lends itself readily to the form of this type of stronghold. It stands on private property, and is planted with and hidden among trees

¹ A drawing by a French artist, made about A.D. 1650, shows that the mound of Northampton Castle was circular and had appended to it a court partly semicircular but with one straight side. Add. MS. 11,564, B. M.

² *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xix (1904), p. 428.

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and bushes, so that the beauty of the castle is lost, and it is not easily found unless approached from the south by a green-sward glade; a summer-house stands on the mound. The mound is small compared with such castle mounds as Pleshey and Ongar, in Essex, and Brinklow, in Warwickshire, but is of about the same size and height as those of Earls Barton and Wollaston, in this county. Unlike the last two, however, the ditch runs completely round the mound. The bailey or court on the south-south-west is of the ordinary rough horse-shoe form, and was probably once defended by a complete ditch and rampart on three sides (the mound and court being separated by a ditch only), but the rampart and ditch are not now traceable on the north-west side, and the ditch is reduced to a level on part of the east side. There is no true entrance, but the approach was probably from the south, the ditches being crossed by bridges. No stonework exists now, and possibly never was used, but it is likely that a timber stockade added to the defences. Three-eighths of a mile south, a small mound is shown on the Ordnance Survey maps, and named 'Moot Hill' and 'Tumulus'; the writer, however, could find no traces of such a mound. The property belongs to the Papillon Hall estate.

HOMESTEAD MOATS

[CLASS F]

ARMSTON.—Moat near site of St. Mary Magdalen's Chapel, also a moat north-west of Armston.

ASHTON.—Moat, Ashton Manor House.

BARBY.—Moat, Barby Manor House.

BARNWELL ALL SAINTS.—Moat.

BEANFIELD LAWNS.—Moat.

BENEFIELD.—Benefield Castle and Moat.

CANONS ASHBY.—The site of an old monastery, 7 miles west-by-north of Towcester, has some moats and fish-ponds. Here is also a slight mound, according to the Ordnance Survey.

CHIPPING WARDEN.—Moat to east of Arbury Banks.

CLAPTON.—Moat. Ringdale's Wood to south of Clapton.

ETTON.—Woodcroft Castle Moat, near Maxham's Green Road.

GREAT HARROWDEN.—Moat to north-west of Red Hill and west of Red Hill and West Red Hill spinnies near road from Kettering to Wellingborough.

HEMINGTON.—Hemington Manor and a moat to the west of Hemington.

HIGHAM FERRERS.—Laffton Moat. Moat Castle.

HIGHAM PARK.—Moat.

HINTON IN THE HEDGES.—Moat (not Hinton Manor).

HOLDENBY.—Remains of moat and site of manor-house and old fish-ponds. Holdenby House.

LUTTON.—Lutton Manor Moat.

PETERBOROUGH (St. John Baptist).—Low Farm Fengate to west of Car Dyke. Oxney House Moat by site of St. Mary's Chapel.

PILTON.—Moat north-west of Bearshank Woods.

POLEBROOK.—Moat north-east of Kingsthorpe Coppice.

QUINTON.—Quinton Moat.

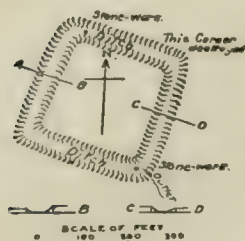
SLIPTON.—Moat between Long Lown Wood and Eken's Copse.

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STONETON.—Moat Stoneton Manor.

THORPE LUBENHAM.—Thorpe Lubenham Hall Moat.

TITCHMARSH.—Titchmarsh Castle ($1\frac{1}{2}$ miles E.N.E. of Thrapston). This is a fair-sized platform surrounded with a ditch 54 feet wide, once containing water, but now drained into a large pond on the south-east. The enclosed portion, which has some inequality of surface, is from 2 to 6 feet above the natural level. The position commands the east and north for a mile or two, being some 80 feet above a stream which flows north a quarter of a mile to the east, and 200 feet above sea level. The ground outside the ditch on the south-west is very uneven, as if there were once further entrenchments on that side; also on the north-west is an indefinite heap. The subsoil is stone. The village is on the north, and the church a quarter of a mile north-west.



TITCHMARSH CASTLE.

WALGRAVE.—Moat to north of Walgrave.

WARMINGTON.—Moat. Papley.

WEEKLEY.—Site of old Weekley Manor.

WHISTON.—Place House Moat.

WICKEN.—Moat to south-east of Rabbit Wood.

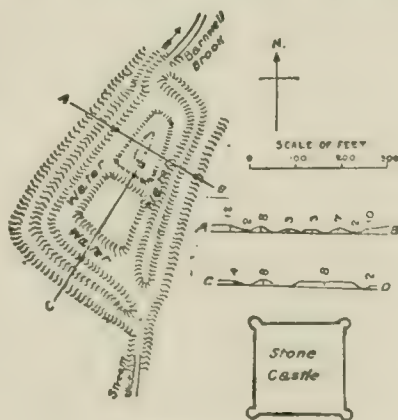
WINWICK.—Moat.

YARDLEY GOBION.—Yardley Gobion Manor Farm, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-east of Towcester, has slight entrenchments.

ENCLOSURES RAMPARTED AND FOSSED

[CLASS G]

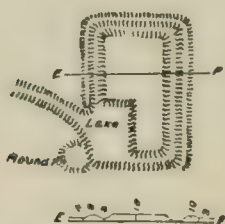
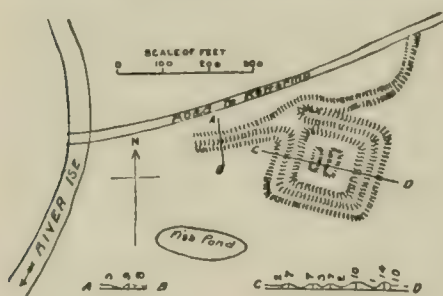
BARNWELL CASTLE ($1\frac{1}{2}$ miles S.S.E. of Oundle).—Here are two ancient works beside a modern mansion; first a square stone castle standing on the ground some 20 feet above the Barnwell Brook, with no true entrenchments except on the east side where there is a raised bank 6 feet high, but probably not of early date. Second, a curious earthwork near the brook, apparently the site of an earlier castle, of much the same type as the castles or manors of Braybrooke, Hinton, and Steane, all in this county, except that here the rampart was for defence rather than a bank to create a water level. The entrenchments form two enclosures, the smaller being lower than the larger, with an oblong hollow in the middle as at Braybrooke and Barton Seagrave, and consist of two ditches and one rampart, the water of the brook being caused to wash round the inner ditch and perhaps also at one time round the outer ditch, but the outer ditch is not now continuous. The position is not well chosen as a defensive work, if such it was, since it has no command of the neighbourhood, the land on each side, east and west, rising immediately. The earthwork is planted as a spinny.



BARNWELL CASTLE.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

BARTON SEAGRAVE CASTLE ($1\frac{1}{2}$ miles S.E. of Kettering).—This castle is apparently an earthwork built somewhat on the same principle as that at

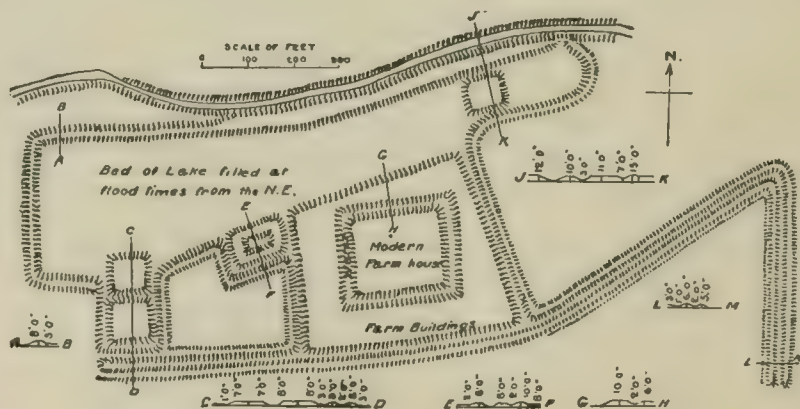


BARTON SEAGRAVE CASTLE.

Braybrooke, which lies $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles north-west, only Barton Seagrave was, judging by the present remains, a much less powerful stronghold. It stands upon ground a few feet above the river Ise, in a rough field, the two enclosures being disconnected, and having now no common outworks. There are no visible traces of stonework, but unless this was originally a stone fortress the defences would have been poor indeed. The ditches, now dry, were probably once filled with water; the ditch surrounding the northern earthwork might have been filled from a stream once existing on the north-east, and there is still a hollow which continues west towards the stream. The southern earthwork has a low place on the south-west, either the bed of a small lake as part of the original plan, or

a modern excavation for farming purposes. In this latter case the mound on its south-west, only 6 feet high, is an accidental heap; in either case the mound has not the appearance of age. The depressions in the centre of the northern work were undoubtedly for the same object as the depression in one of the rectangular platforms at Braybrooke. The form of the southern work is in accordance with courtyards found at Braybrooke, and also at Brandon Castle, near Rugby, in Warwickshire, but in these two places the space here forming a lake was the site of a mound or keep. The pond between the two enclosures has not the appearance of forming part of the original plan; in fact the enclosures themselves may be of different dates. The present hall lies across the road on the north. The church is situated $\frac{3}{8}$ of a mile east.

BRAYBROOKE CASTLE ($2\frac{1}{2}$ miles S.E. of Market Harborough).—This is of an altogether different type to such mound and court works as Sibbertoft, 5 miles west by south, and Castle Dykes near Daventry, but akin to Brandon Castle¹ in Warwickshire. Braybrooke Castle stands by the side of a stream some 310 feet above sea level, the land within one mile north and south being 200 feet higher,



BRAYBROOKE CASTLE.

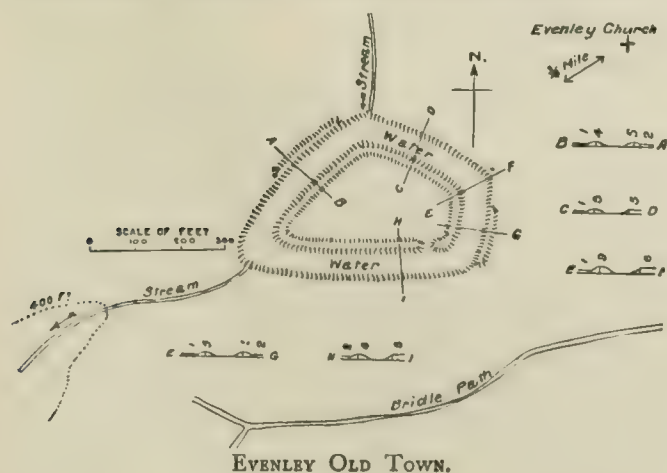
¹ *V.C.H. Warwick*, i. 359; and see Downman's manuscript plan with full sections in the Guildhall Library, London.

ANCIENT EARTHWORKS

and that east and west, except the actual bed of the stream, being 100 feet higher within the same distance. Hence this position commands the immediate neighbourhood only. In the natural state of the ground it must have been but little above the water level of the stream at ordinary times, and flooded under heavy rains, there being a gentle slope upward towards the south. By careful use of the spade the stream has been banked up and a large space levelled, the brook tapped on the extreme north-east, and this large space flooded, so as to form a permanent lake, probably once deeper than at present; such another lake, but of different form, existed about Berkhamstead Castle in Hertfordshire; perhaps also at Clavering Castle in Essex. The square mound (if so it may be called) cut by the section E-F was perhaps that used for the keep, which may have been of stone, though there are no visible remains of ancient stonework here or anywhere else about the earthworks, the ditch or dell in the middle acting as a cellar or dungeon; compare this with the north-east enclosure at Barton Seagrave, 9 miles east-south-east, where are two such dells. The size of this mound, though small, is larger than the mound at Sibbertoft. The enclosure on the south and west of this keep was apparently the main courtyard or bailey; the shape is practically the same as that at Brandon above mentioned. The larger enclosure on the east answers to such extra yards as are found in mote castles of all types: Castle Rising, Norfolk; Tonbridge, Kent; Clare, Suffolk; Old Basing, Hampshire; and elsewhere. The rectangular inner enclosure here containing the farm-house, the moat of which is cut by the section G-H, may or may not be part of the original plan; the house itself, locally called the castle, is an ordinary farm-house of no great age, certainly not part of the feudal stronghold, and now uninhabited. The moat of this rectangular enclosure is not in a perfect state, but is still to be traced at most points. The small islands cut by the sections C-D and J-K are peculiar, and, as may be seen by these sections, their summits are lower than the height of the ramparts protecting them on the south. The writer knows of no similar islands, though mote castles are often divided into many enclosures; for instance Old Sarum in Wiltshire, and Powerstock in Dorset. The entrenchments on the south defending the castle from the higher land are not now in a perfect state; the high road runs just under the outer rampart, and may when widened have destroyed an outer ditch. These entrenchments should have continued west and turned north to protect the south-west corner, also north-

east to protect that portion; but the ending of the extreme east entrenchment about the section L-M is abrupt, stopping short at the road; originally it must have continued in some direction; probably it returned west to form a triangular enclosure.

EVENLEY OLD TOWN
(1½ miles S. by W. of Brackley). This enclosure, locally called Old Town, but on some



A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

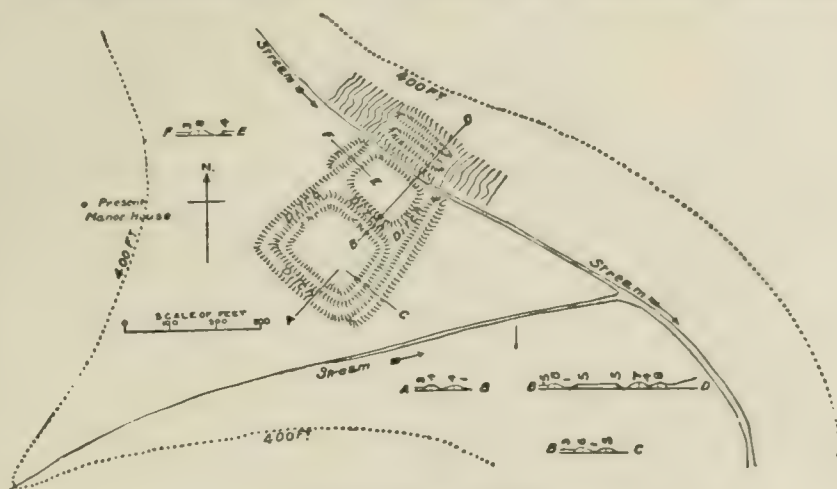
Ordnance Survey maps entitled 'camp,' is apparently neither the old town of Evenley, which lies three-quarters of a mile north-east, nor yet a camp, but a moated hold formed on the same principle as the manor houses of Hinton in the Hedges, $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles north-north-west, though the shape is somewhat different. It stands in a slight hollow by the side of a stream, the north-west side of the moat following its course (hence the unusual shape of the whole), the other sides being arranged so as to obtain a water level round which the stream, more or less dammed up at the south-west corner, was caused to flow, the inner rampart being a bank to keep the water out, and the apparent remains of an outer rampart being embankments to keep the water in the moat at points where the natural land is low. This will be seen by a careful study of the sections; take for instance the section H-I; here the land outside the moat is 5 feet above the present level of the water, while the enclosed portion is only 2 feet; hence while the inner bank or rampart is needed, no outer work is required to form a water level of any depth, or to restrain the water in flood times. But take the place cut by the section E-G; here the land outside is but 2 feet above the level of the moat, and the enclosed portion 1 foot, hence a restraining bank or rampart would be needed, and actually exists both inside and out. The other sections reveal the same purpose; thus the main object of the inner rampart, and the sole object of the outer, where it exists, was to bank up the water within bounds. The idea appears to have been to obtain a good supply of water, which could be done with a deep moat, though now the depth of water is only a few inches. As a moated enclosure intended for habitation it is distinctly ill formed, the chief fault being that the area has not been raised above the natural level as is usual with the ordinary moated homestead, such as Basildon Moat House (Botelers) in Essex, in which case the dwelling or dwellings erected would have been drier, and the whole platform raised above the highest water level, and the subsoil being stone the base would have been a firm one. But this mode of entrenching is not uncommon, and apparently belongs to a special date. Thunderfield Castle and Lagham Park in Surrey, and Hinton Manor House, 2 miles north-north-west, have the same weakness; also Braybrooke Castle in the north of the county. The land generally here is high, 400 to 500 feet above sea level. The entrenchment lies in the middle of farmland not very easy to find, and on private property, but the bridle path on the south runs from the village of Evenley, crossing the Brackley to Bicester road as a fieldway to Croughton.

HELMDON.—Helmdon Manor House, $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-west of Towcester, has large enclosures bounded by slight entrenchments.

HINTON IN THE HEDGES: HINTON MANOR HOUSE ($1\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of Brackley). This is one of those curiously entrenched enclosures long ago forsaken, where a low lying position has been chosen close to a stream, and the one object of the entrenchment has been to use and yet restrain the water within bounds; Evenley Old Town, $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles south-south-west, and Steane Castle or Manor House $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles north-by-west, were thrown up with the same idea. Here at Hinton a spot has been chosen situated in a triangle formed by two streams, one from the north-west, the other from the west, which unite and flow south-east, the land on the three sides, north-east, west, and south, being higher than the enclosed portions. The earthworks form

ANCIENT EARTHWORKS

first on the north-east a small oblong platform surrounded on all four sides by a ditch, round which the stream which forms the north-east part of the ditch was caused to flow ; this platform, which in no sense can be called a mound, answers to the mound of such mote castles as Fotheringhay in the north of the county, and apparently upon this stood that portion of the manor house which represented the keep. South-west of this is a rather larger enclosure which formed the courtyard or bailey, banked or ramparted within, more for the purpose of keeping out the water than an enemy. This enclosure is surrounded by a ditch or wet moat. Depressions in the rampart towards the keep and also north-west rather seem to imply that the entrances were at these points, bridges probably crossing the moat.

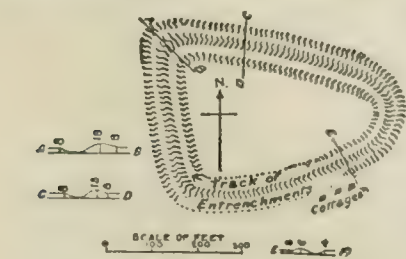


HINTON MANOR HOUSE.

The south-east side of the whole work, where the ground falls towards the meeting place of the streams, has a fairly powerful bank much needed, as will be seen by the sections, to form a water level to the moat. The outside bank to the smaller enclosure, cut by the section E-F, though less needed, was apparently for the same purpose of restraining the water, as there is now no rampart on the remaining portion of that side or upon the entrance south-west, though there is an imaginary outer-scarp with a fall of a few inches as shown in section A-B. The subsoil is a soft stone. The position has no command of the surrounding country.

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ROTHERSTHORPE BERRY ($3\frac{1}{2}$ miles S.W. of Northampton).—This enclosure, called locally The Berries, is curious for two reasons: first,



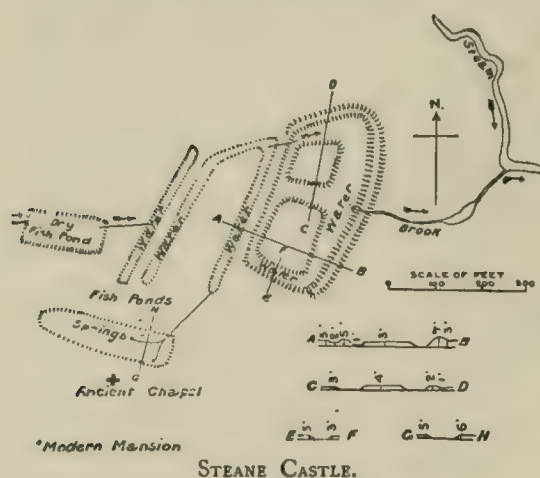
ROTHERSTHORPE BERRY.

while the base of the entrenchments on the north and west is 96 feet, that on the east and possibly south is only 70 feet ; and secondly, the earthwork is apparently a village stronghold, near the church and surrounded by the houses, as if it was a mote castle, and yet unlike the usual types of such ; for a Saxon or earlier stronghold however it is rather small. Standing on level ground 245 feet above sea level, with higher

land on the west and south, and slightly lower land on the north and east, it partially commands the neighbouring country for about a mile. The south side is more or less destroyed to make room for cottages and their gardens. The whole work in its original condition must have been of some considerable power. The entrenchments stand in a field and are used for pasture.

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STEANE CASTLE or Manor House ($2\frac{1}{2}$ miles N.W. of Brackley).—This site of the ancient building, now represented by the mansion and its



grounds commonly called Steane Park, stands 400 feet above sea level and practically upon the lowest land in the neighbourhood, having higher land on all sides except south-east along the course of the stream. A spot was chosen just below one or two water springs, so that a large quantity of water could be collected in moats surrounding the castle and in fish ponds near. Evidently the first building was a homestead built less for defence than for a habitation in time of peace.

The earthworks consist of one broad ditch or moat with the ballast thrown outward at most points to make a bank or dam for the purpose of forming a water level; since the tendency of the water is to flow east the strongest bank has been thrown up on that side. Within this moat are two islands, not artificially raised above the natural level (as would have been wise) to make a dry platform on which to build, nor yet ramparted as is one of the enclosures at Hinton Manor House, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-south-east, because it was not needed to obtain the water level, and the springs not being far away no great rush of water would occur. The moat proper is now more or less dry, but in its original state would have been much deeper.

The three long fish ponds running roughly north and south still contain water and fish. The pond on the east is now practically dry, but the springs in that on the south still bubble, though the dell itself is no longer watertight, and is being filled up gradually. The chapel is a fifteenth-century building. The subsoil is stone and marl. The position commands the close immediate neighbourhood only. The remains stand within private grounds.

UNCLASSIFIED EARTHWORKS

[CLASS X]

ASTON LE WALLS (9 miles S.W. of Daventry).—Here are according to the Ordnance Survey some slight irregular entrenchments.

EAST FARNDON: HALL CLOSE ($1\frac{3}{4}$ miles S.W. of Market Harborough).—This entrenchment stands upon ground 500 feet above sea level and 200 feet above a stream which flows north one mile west. The manner of entrenching is unusual, a ditch having been dug and the ballast thrown outward. Though there is a slight fall upon the east and the position would lend itself for an enclosed stronghold, it seems to be the line of defence for temporary use against an enemy on the west. Three and three-quarter miles south-south-west is the site of the battle of Naseby,

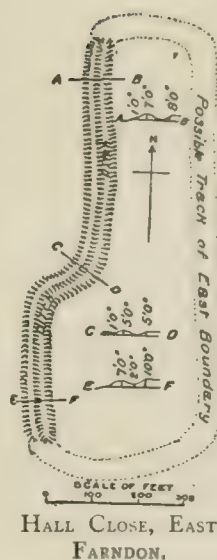
ANCIENT EARTHWORKS

according to the Ordnance Survey, and the local story has it that this was a defenced position occupied by Charles I against the Parliamentarians. The name of Hall Close hardly supports this theory; at the same time the form, namely, one line of defence with a curve (for which curve there appears to have been no special reason from the nature of the ground), connects the entrenchments with such works as the one close to and south of the Union Poor House near Chelmsford, in Essex; Fairfax's Entrenchment at Bingley, in Yorkshire; and a defence in Sutton Scarsdale Park, $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles south-west of Bolsover Castle, in Derbyshire—all of which may have been thrown up in the Civil War.

FAWSLEY: TEMPLE HILL.—Fawsley Park, 3 miles south-west of Daventry, has a small oblong enclosure.

GREEN'S NORTON.—A slightly entrenched enclosure $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles north-west of Towcester.

STOW NINE CHURCHES.—Here there is a long entrenchment called the Larche.



INDEX MAP
to the
HUNDREDS
OF
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Victoria History of Northamptonshire Vol. 2.



TOPOGRAPHY

THE SOKE OF PETERBOROUGH

CONTAINING THE
CITY OF PETERBOROUGH,
AND THE PARISHES OF

BAINTON
BARNACK
BOROUGH FEN
CASTOR
ETTON
EYE
GLINTON

HELPSTON
MARHOLM
MAXEY
NEWBOROUGH
NORTHBOROUGH
PASTON
PEAKIRK

ST. MARTIN'S STAMFORD
BARON
THORNHAUGH
UFFORD
WANSFORD
WITTERING¹

THE boundaries of the Liberty of Peterborough have changed very little, except on the eastern side, since the earliest times of which there is record. No authentic document before the Conquest gives definite boundaries. A charter of Edgar, which may be genuine, confirms to the abbey 'the vill of Peterborough with the villages adjacent, and the town of Oundle, with all that which is thereto adjacent, called the Eight Hundreds.'² The land 'between the waters of the Nene and the waters of the Welland as they meet at Crowland,' and on the west to 'the great road³ from Wansford, to Stamford,' was what Peterborough always claimed, and those boundaries appear in a charter of John, dated 1215.⁴ In Domesday Book the soke of Peterborough is called 'Optongrene'⁵ hundred or wapentake; but the hundred headings are not sufficiently numerous to indicate what places were then part of it. The only places definitely included in 'Optongrene' hundred which are not in the present soke are part of

¹ This list is taken from the *Population Return* of 1831. The soke since 1888 has been an administrative county, and includes, as well as the places mentioned in the text, Fletton and Woodstone in Hunts, which are part of the municipal borough of Peterborough. Stamford Baron has been divided into the parishes of St. Martin's Stamford Baron and St. Martin's Without; the former is for civil purposes in the administrative county of Lincoln.

² *A. S. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 220. There are many royal Anglo-Saxon charters and confirmations to Peterborough Abbey. The most important are those of Wulfhere, dated 664, and Edgar, dated about 972. There are several versions of both. The charter of Wulfhere is unquestionably a forgery, and in its most extended form (Birch, *Cart. Sax.* No. 22) cannot be even a representation of the truth. The nucleus of Edgar's charter, which has been interpolated into the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, is considered by some authorities to be genuine, and in any case it does not claim more than Peterborough may well have had at that time (*Arch. Journ.* xviii, 193). The author of the forged Crowland history, known as the Chronicle of Ingulph, also frequently refers to this part of Northamptonshire. No statement from that source can be received with credit without further corroboration (*Arch. Journ.* xix, 127).

³ The present course of the Great North Road from Wansford to Stamford would just exclude the villages of Wittering and Thornhaugh, which have always been part of the soke. Possibly the course of the road may have slightly deviated.

⁴ Printed in Gunton, App. p. 154.

⁵ In the earlier Northants Geld Roll it is called the 'double hundred of Uptune.' *V. C. H. Northants.* i, 296.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Easton on the Hill, now entirely in Willybrook hundred, and Stibbington in Huntingdonshire. The 12th century Northamptonshire Survey also includes Stibbington and Easton in the 'two hundreds of Nass,'¹ but does not give a complete list of the parishes in the hundred, as the places comprising the 70 hides and 3½ virgates in the demesne of the abbot of Peterborough are not enumerated.² A long dispute with Crowland concerning the eastern boundary of the soke began early in the 13th century. Stephen had confirmed to that monastery among other possessions the marsh 'from the water of Crowland, which is called Nene, to the place which is called Fynset, and from that place to Greynes, and from Greynes to Foldwardstaking, and thence to Southlake, where it falls into the Welland.'³ This marsh, called Alderland, obviously included part of the land claimed by Peterborough as lying between the Nene and the Welland as they meet at Crowland. Peterborough impleaded the neighbouring monastery, and in 1206 an agreement between them was made.⁴ Crowland acknowledged that the marsh was of the fee of Peterborough, and agreed to hold it of Peterborough at a rent of four stone of wax yearly, saving also to that monastery and its tenants the right of common on the marsh. This agreement remained the basis for all future dealings with the matter, but it was not well kept. Crowland soon complained that Peterborough infringed it, and there were further conventions in 1216 and about 1247, and again at the end of the reign of Henry III.⁵ The dispute continued at intervals till 1481, when Thomas, archbishop of York, was called in to arbitrate. He decided that Crowland should first surrender the marsh, with view of frank-pledge and a court of a hundred, called Renning Court, to Peterborough, who should thereupon give back to Crowland, in return for other stated concessions, the marsh and all its appurtenances, and cease to exact the old rent of four stone of wax, or claim the right of common.⁶ No more is heard of the dispute till 1567, when an action arose between Queen Elizabeth, as lady of the manor of Crowland, and the tenants of the soke of Peterborough, who claimed common on the marsh. The matter was not settled until 1583, when commissioners adjudged the marsh of Alderland to belong to the manor of Crowland; but, considering that the tenants of the soke had proved their right of common, took from the marsh 400 acres and gave it to the soke as full compensation.⁷ This was the origin of the Four Hundred Acre Common which was enclosed with the Borough Fen in 1822. The boundary between the soke and the manor, which was fixed by the Elizabethan commissioners, is now the boundary between the counties of Northampton and Lincoln; but in a case as late as 1691 concerning this neighbourhood, the witnesses almost unanimously agreed that all the marsh called Alderland south of the Welland was in the county of Northampton.⁸

The abbots of Peterborough had almost as wide and full a jurisdiction over the soke as it was possible for a subject to have. Edgar is said to have

¹ The two hundreds were Nassaburgh and the 'hundred of the vill of Burgh.' See later under the history of Peterborough.

² *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 367b.

³ Fulman, *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptorum Veterum*, p. 451. Fynset is a boundary stone near Singlesole; Greynes and Foldwardstaking are in the present parish of Newborough.

⁴ *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 39; agreement printed in *Fenland N. and Q.* iv, 343.

⁵ *Ibid.*; Close, 53 Hen. III, m. 11 d.-12 d.

⁷ Exch. Spec. Com. No. 1275, 2930.

⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* i, 398.

⁸ Exch. Depos. 3 Will. and Mary, East. No. 14.

PETERBOROUGH SOKE

granted to them their Eight Hundreds 'so freely that neither king nor bishop nor earl nor shirereeve have any command there, nor any one save the abbot only and him whom he shall appoint thereto,' and 'with sac and soc, toll and theam and infangenthef.'¹ These immunities are even more fully stated in a charter of Richard I, who confirmed the lands to Peterborough free from scot, geld, etc., 'from shires and suits of shires, hundreds, wapentakes and tithings,' with sac and soc, toll and theam, infangenthef and outfangenthef.² From John in 1215 the abbot obtained leave to disafforest the soke of Peterborough,³ and from Henry III in 1228 the privilege of collecting the king's dues throughout his hundreds and demesnes in Northamptonshire without the interference of the sheriff.⁴ He obtained in 1253 another charter, granting to him the chattels of felons and fugitives, pleas of *namii vetiti*, and the return of writs in all his hundreds and demesnes.⁵ Early in the reign of Edward I he claimed by prescription a right to have a prison at Peterborough for felons taken within the liberty.⁶ At this time the amercements were saved to the king, but by 1329 these also belonged to the abbot.⁷ Henry VI further extended the privileges of the abbey in 1460 by granting licence to the abbot to constitute at will justices, one of whom was to be of the quorum for the county of Northamptonshire, to deliver the gaol of Peterborough, and also to have a court of pleas in Peterborough.⁸ This was confirmed by Edward IV, with the restriction that one of the justices must either be of the quorum or at least a person skilled in the law.⁹ Henry VII enlarged the same in 1493, and granted that the abbot's bailiff should have all the rights pertaining to the office of sheriff, and that the abbot might appoint a sufficient person as coroner.¹⁰ In this reign the abbot recovered from Margaret, countess of Richmond, lady of the manors of Torpel and Maxey, with the knights' fees pertaining to them, his right of view of frankpledge, and certain rents and dues of which the abbey had been defrauded since the reign of Richard II, 'through the power and influence of the lords of these manors, against whom the abbot could not enforce his rights.'¹¹ Henry VIII resumed the right of appointing the justices of gaol delivery,¹² but the other large powers of the abbot passed intact to the first bishop of Peterborough, with the lordship of the hundred of Nassaburgh.¹³ In 1576 Bishop Scambler sold the latter with all its privileges to Queen Elizabeth, who immediately granted it in fee to her treasurer, Lord Burghley, whose descendant, the marquis of Exeter, now holds it.¹⁴

There were two hundred courts in the 'two hundreds of Nass,' one in Peterborough for the vill and its wards,¹⁵ and the other for the hundred of Nassaburgh, at which the hamlets of the vill of Peterborough, as well as all the other places in the soke, did suit, except the abbot's 'liberty of Stamford,' for which a separate view of frank-pledge was held.¹⁶ The Nassaburgh court

¹ *A. S. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 220.

² Charter printed in Gunton, App. p. 154.

³ Chart. R. 28 Edw. I, m. 5, No. 21, inspecting charter of 37 Hen. III.

⁴ *Chron. Petrob.* (Camden Soc.), 124.

⁵ Pat. 38 Hen. VI, pt. ii, m. 8.

⁶ Ibid. 8 Hen. VII, pt. ii, m. 15. Printed in L. B. Gaches, *Hist. of the Lib. of Peterborough* (1905), p. 23.

⁷ Ibid. 3 Hen. VIII, pt. ii, m. 20. Inspeximus of an indenture dated 19 Hen. VII.

⁸ Stat. 27 Hen. VIII, cap. 24.

⁹ Close 19 Eliz. pt. xxi, m. 1, 13.

¹⁰ See below, p. 427, for date of creation of this court.

¹¹ Ct. R. in custody of the dean and chapter of Peterborough.

² Cart. Antiq. DD. 16, 17.

⁴ Fine R. 12 Hen. III, pt. i, m. 4.

⁷ Ibid.; *Quo Warr. R.* (Rec. Com.), p. 553.

⁹ Ibid. 2 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 10.

¹³ Pat. 33 Hen. VII, pt. iii, m. 13.

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was held at Langdike, at the meeting place of the parishes of Ufford, Helpston and Upton, where a bush bearing that name still stands.

The magistrates for the soke of Peterborough hold not only commissions of the peace, but those of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery, and His Majesty's justices of assize have no criminal jurisdiction in the soke, though capital offences are sent to them under a special Act of Parliament. The soke is a separate administrative county under the Local Government Act of 1888, which preserves its ancient administrative autonomy.

THE BOROUGH OF PETERBOROUGH

Burgh (1000 A.D.), Burch, Burg, Burgus Sancti Petri, Burgensis Abbatia (1100).

Peterborough is situated on an edge of limestone swept by a sea of fen upon its eastern, and by the River Nene upon its southern shores. It was (so far as we know) the only one of the five great fen monasteries whose dependent town was made a borough. Lying a few miles east of the Ermine Street, it was not early marked out as a trading centre save by its facilities for river communication and its position as an inland port for the fen. From early times its hythe was a place of call, and the Nene still offers means of water communication to Northampton and the Grand Junction Canal towards the inland; and enlarged as the New River, to Wisbech and King's Lynn towards the sea. But at the present time it is as the junction of four great railway lines, the Great Northern, London and North-Western, Midland, and Great Eastern, that the town has become a commercial centre of importance. In the north part of the city two 'railway villages' have been peopled by the railway workers of the Great Northern and the Midland; the one known as New England, the other Spittal, for it is on the site of St. Leonard's Hospital. There are $325\frac{1}{2}$ acres of arable land and $270\frac{1}{2}$ acres of pasture in Peterborough.¹

The plan of the urban nucleus is and was from early time irregular. The original town was on the north bank of the river, and from the river-hythe a main street ran as it now runs northward, sending out branches to the west; on the eastern side lies the cathedral precinct. Opposite the west front of the cathedral this main street widens out into a large market-place, in which the parish church of St. John the Baptist has stood since the early 15th century. The borough has now spread to the southern side of the river into Huntingdonshire. The station of the Great Eastern Railway is on the south bank, and in 1888 the municipal borough was extended to include the whole of Woodstone and Fletton, two villages in Huntingdonshire south of the Nene bridge.

The original name of Peterborough, Medeshamstede, points to the existence of a village settlement in early Saxon times before the creation of the monastery in 655, and the territory attaching to this settlement may possibly have been coterminous with the boundaries of St. John's parish before it was divided in 1857. Some of the evidence, however,

would suggest that Longthorpe and its area were not originally included in the boundaries of the first settlement but were subsequently absorbed. It is noticeable that Domesday Book treats 'Thorpe' apart from 'Burg,' though the hidage of the (Danish) settlement of Thorpe must be added to that of Burg in the general scheme of the hidage of the hundreds. Further, Longthorpe did not common with Peterborough and its hamlets, Dogsthorpe, Newark, and Eastfield in the Little Borough Fen.² It seems then that these three hamlets began as colonies or granges upon the Medeshamstede fields, and that Longthorpe should not be regarded as forming, from the first, part of the arable area covered by that settlement. That that arable area was originally laid out in two great divisions or fields may be suspected from the fact that the East and West Fields can still be identified, lying east and west of the cathedral. The southern boundary of the East Field was the Carr Dyke; beyond it there stretched the fen and the waters against which it was a protection. Mill Field was a division of the West Field, the Boon Fields a division of the East Field. The Boon Fields should rather be called Bondfields; to them led the Bondgate, later Bungate, now City Road, and here lay the arable strips of the bondsmen of the abbey whose tenure is commemorated in the field name.

The 'burgesses' of Peterborough are first mentioned in the survey of the abbey's possessions made soon after 14 October, 1125,³ and in all likelihood the village attached to the monastery of St. Peter had not then long been equipped with the legal attribute of a borough, a Portmanmoot or borough court with powers equivalent to those of a hundred court. There is nothing to urge in favour of a Saxon origin for the borough beyond the statement of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle⁴ that the Abbot Kenulf, 992-1005, made a wall about the minster, and changed the name Medeshamstede to Burgh, and the cause of this change of name William of Malmesbury (writing when the town had undoubtedly become a borough) explicitly ascribes to the building of the wall.⁵ But it does not follow from this that the town acquired the legal attributes of a borough in the 10th century; the monastery had become 'like a city,' a strong place, a burgh, and hence the change of name; indeed, that the villagers had not acquired a borough court in 1086 seems clear from the evidence of Domesday Book. There Peter-

¹ The estimates for pasture and arable land in each parish are taken from information supplied by the Board of Agriculture from the return of 1905.

² Bridges, *Norfbants*, ii, 539.

³ The survey from the Liber Niger of Peterborough, No. 60 among the MSS. of the Society of Antiquaries, is printed as an appendix to Stapleton's *Chron. Petroburg.* (Camden Society). The date is

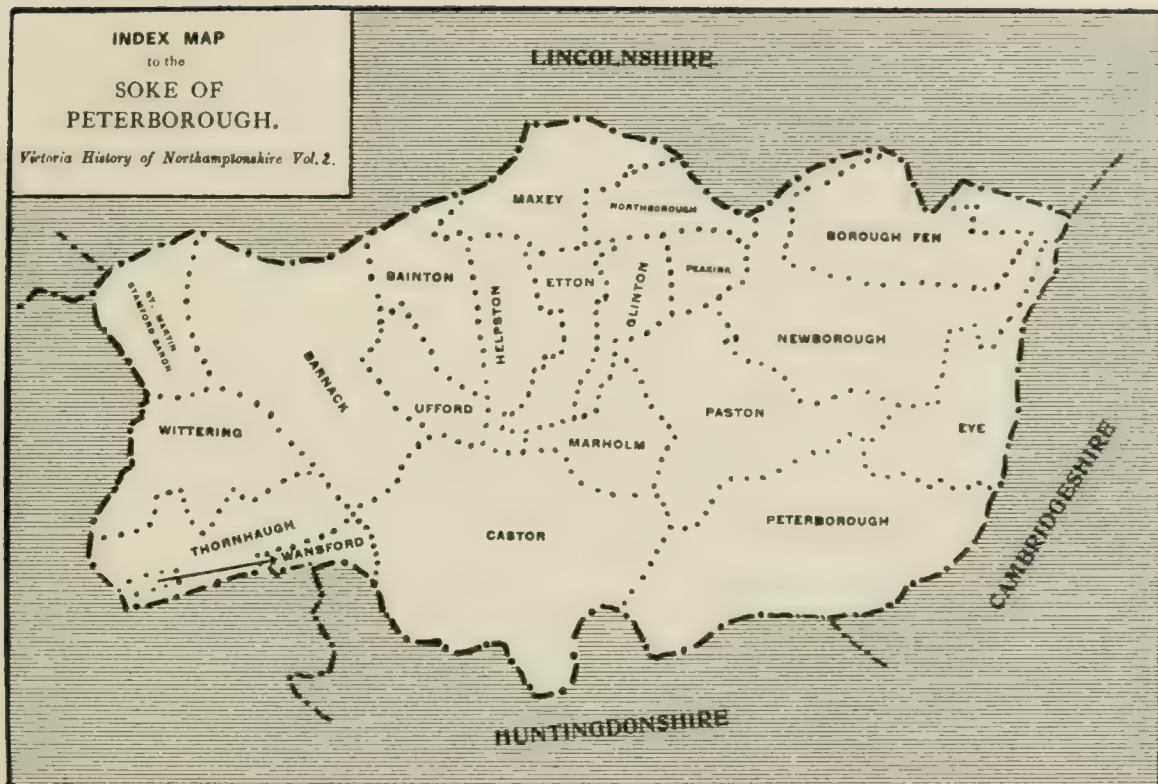
closely fixed by Hugo Candidus, *Hist. Ang. Scrip. varii*, ed. Sparke, 72.

⁴ Op. cit. 963 E.

⁵ *Gest. Pont.* ed. Hamilton, 317.

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to the
SOKE OF
PETERBOROUGH.

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borough forms no hundred of itself, but is an integral part of the hundred of Upton Green.¹ But a change in the name of the hundred was made not long after this time—a change due, we may suspect, to the creation of a new borough. In an early 12th century survey² the hundred of Upton Green has disappeared, and is represented by a district called indifferently the two hundreds 'de Nasso'³ (namely of the nose or ness of Burgh, later called Nassaburgh)⁴ or the two hundreds of the wapentake of Burgh.⁵ The change may be due to the fact that Peterborough had become a borough, and a hundred of itself.

The creation of the borough may not impossibly have been the work of Abbot Ernulf, 1107–1114; he it was who arranged a system by which the newly founded parish churches should contribute certain 'pensions' to the abbey;⁶ these pensions were paid by the vills of the hundred of Nassaburgh up to the dissolution and are entered in the bailiff's accounts,⁷ generally in association with payments charged on the vills of the same hundred for 'Burgh-work',⁸ perhaps to be traced to the same organizer. The destruction of the vill by fire in 1116,⁹ when John de Séz was abbot, may, however, be a safer date to choose, for of Ernulf's borough-making no explicit record is forthcoming and some reference is to be expected in the case of one whose work is so fully reported. Be this as it may, in 1125–6 we get the statement that¹⁰ Alsward holds eighteen burgesses, and the toll *de bordesca* for 115s.¹¹ apparently as a farmer under the abbot.¹² To this number we may perhaps add 55 men who pay 71s. 2d., and are differentiated from the villeins, and 'the pleas' of the same record are presumably the pleas of the burgesses' court.

The town itself was never walled, and for this reason was easily moved. Between 1133 and 1155 the Abbot Martin changed the site of the town,¹³ and later of the market.¹⁴ Between 1155 and 1175 the rent of the market and vill was largely increased.¹⁵

The historians of Peterborough make no mention of the existence of any mediaeval borough charter, but one is extant, and is specially interesting as a specimen of the class of borough charters which offer release from seignorial exploitation, but on the most restricted terms. In the 'Liber Niger,' fol. 177b,¹⁶ there is a charter from an Abbot Robert to his men of Burgh and their heirs, occupying 154 tenements, which are individually specified. Of the two abbots named Robert to whom the

charter may be ascribed, Robert of Lindsey 1214–22, and Robert of Sutton 1262–73, the second is most probably the author of the charter.¹⁷ His need for money was great,¹⁸ and his concessions were made with a view to immediate profit. At the request of his men of Peterborough he freed them for ever from all tallage, which is paid yearly by custom;¹⁹ and from *merchet* for their daughters, so that they may marry them as they choose without licence; and from carrying hay and reaping grain;²⁰ and from pinnages or payments for feeding their swine; but he specially saves the pleas of the Portmanmoot (it is mentioned by name here for the first time) and the rent of ovens, and all customs due and accustomed at the river bank, and belonging to the market of Burgh. For this charter of relief the grantees, who had paid together a yearly rental of £7 2s. 0½d. at four terms, agreed to pay £18 9s. 6d. yearly at the same terms. The rentals are then particularly specified, the name of the holder, the nature of the holding, whether he or she holds only a toft, or some acres of arable or meadow in addition, and whether the rental is in addition to a farm due to one of the monastic offices, to the fraterer, almoner, sacrist, infirmarian, or to some other person named. In the case of tenements belonging to the monastic officers the tenant is not named, but whoever shall hereafter hold it is made the recipient of the grant. The rents average over 22d. for each toft. These tenements are granted to the abbot and convent's men and their heirs 'saving the right of each of them, in such a way that none may give or sell or alienate any part thereof, or do aught therewith by which the grantors may lose any of the said rents and services and customs.' It is a borough charter conferring privileged condition but of a very humble kind.

The recipients of the charter are not styled burgesses in the charter, but the *Liber Niger*, fol. 181a, goes on to make a further statement: 'In Burgh there are burgesses who pay £18 (*sic*) yearly at four terms, according to the charter which they have of the Abbot Robert and the convent.'²¹ On fol. 181b the writer describes in detail the customs rendered by the virgaters of Dogsthorpe (Dodistorp), Eastfield, and Newark, hamlets appurtenant to Peterborough, and then follow the customs rendered by the thirteen full virgaters in Burgh, services which mark the contrast between villein tenants and burges tenants. The virgaters rendered heavy ploughing

¹ This fact is obscured by the false rubric of D.B.I. fol. 221, but see *V.C.H. Northants* i, 268, 297. The assessment of Burgh and Thorpe must be added to the figures for Upton Green to make them complete.

² On the date see Round, *Feudal England*, 221. ³ *Ibid.* p. 217.

⁴ See above, i, 268.

⁵ *Chronicon*, p. 167.

⁶ See Gunton, *Peterborough*, 11, 267; Hugo Candidus, ed. Sparke, 65–7.

⁷ In the keeping of the chapter clerk; there are also some rolls in the cathedral chapter library.

⁸ Some houses in Peterborough itself contributed a quarterly rent in the name of burghwork, see *Liber Niger*, fol. 255b.

⁹ Hugo Candidus, ed. Sparke, 71, 256.

¹⁰ *Chronicon*, App. p. 161.

¹¹ Cf. the 'herpsac' of the poetical English version of Athelstan's grant to Ripon (? herd-sac), see *Mon. Ang.* ii, 133;

Birch, *Cart. Sax.* 647 n. and K. C. D. ccclx.

¹² The bull of Pope Eugenius, 1146, names the land of Alswart of Burgh as part of the abbey's possessions. Sparke, 83.

¹³ Sparke, 76, *villam mutavit*. It is supposed from the east of the monastery to the west, for the name of 'St. John's Close' on the east of the monastery is believed to mark the site of the old parish church. The church (as will appear below) was far from the town until, in the 15th century, it was removed to the market-place.

¹⁴ Sparke, 88, *forum mutavit*.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 93.

¹⁶ There is another copy of the charter in the register marked 'a volume of ancient charters' in the chapter library, fol. 228a.

¹⁷ The witnesses' names are Rob. de Thorpel, Rob. fil. Galfridi, Ric. de

Waterville, Galf. de le Halm, Hugo de le Halm, Rad. fil. Reginaldi de Pokebroc, Magister Will. de Scotere, Ric. fil. Humfridi, Rob. de Partenay tunc decanus Burgi, Joh. Fauvel, Hugo de Bernak, Will. de Thorp, Tho. de Thorp. Richard de Waterville and Hugo de Bernak are in the list of the abbot's knights of 1212, but some of the other names, and perhaps also these two, can be found in Edwardian documents.

¹⁸ *Walter of Whittlesea*, ed. Sparke, 141, 599.

¹⁹ Probably the Michaelmas aid, which in 1322 was £12, paid by the customary tenants only. Sparke, 181.

²⁰ Ploughing services, which are not named, had probably been released by an earlier grant.

²¹ This is followed by the further statement 'There are franklins francolaini) who render yearly,' and the rest of the page stands empty.

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service, carried hay and reaped grain, and paid *merchet* for their daughters.

In 1322 when a survey was made¹ the value set on the pleas and perquisites of the Portmanmoot was 10s., or with the view of frank-pledge, 23s.² The free tenants, that is no doubt the burgesses, were paying in rent £19 6s. 0d. (instead of the old £18 9s. 6d. of the charter), and twenty-five customary tenants held a virgate each at a rental of 1s. each, paying ploughing services, which are particularized.

In 1329 the abbot was called to answer before the king's justice by what warrant he claimed certain rights. His replies set forth his powers.³ He claimed Peterborough and its members as one of the Peterborough 'eight hundreds,' Nassaburgh as another, together with the profits of all their justice; the chattels of fugitives and felons; the view of frank pledge, the custody of the prison of Peterborough till the prisoners were judged, and also the execution of the judgements. The judging of prisoners, in the king's pleas, belonged to the king's justices, who entered the soke and held eyres at Peterborough.

The courts of inferior jurisdiction were all presided over by the abbot's deputies, and the judgements given (except in the market-court) were the judgements of the suitors of the court.⁴ The abbot, acting as sheriff, held his tourn for view of frank-pledge twice a year⁵ for the borough of Peterborough; his steward presided, and here presentments were made which formed part of the administration of justice. The abbot himself was sometimes 'presented' as a disturber of the peace, but when he was fined he paid his fine to himself.

The view was held, in the 15th century at all events, jointly with an annual court of the abbot, which was no doubt the full annual meeting of the Portmanmoot, at which attendance was compulsory and in which conveyances were made. The abbot's accounts distinguish the profits of the two courts, because in origin they were derived from two distinct sources. The earliest of the rolls of the annual view, of which many rolls have been preserved, is of 33 Edward III.⁶ This shows the town divided into five wards,⁷ each with one or two constables and a varying number of tithing men (nine in the larger wards), who make the presentment. The names of the five wards were Priestgate, Markestede, Hythegate (later Highgate, the present Bridge Street), Westgate and Howgate (later coupled with Bondgate, which in the form 'Bungate' ultimately gave its name to the ward). The wards were the 'geats' or streets; Westgate is occasionally spoken of as a separate 'vill,' but perhaps only because the wards did the work which the law had allotted to the four 'vills' nearest to the scene of inquiry.

At the view each ward 'presented' the offences, falling short of felony and punishable by fine, which had taken place within its limits during the year, and the fines were assessed by four 'affeerers,' two of whom were appointed by the abbot's bailiff and two by the town.⁸ At the conclusion of each roll (except

the first) a list, more or less complete, is given of the officers in each ward, appointed for the ensuing year, the constables, tithingmen, beer testers, fish, flesh and leather testers, surveyors of tanned hides and shoes, surveyors of sewers, or of parts of the town which were to be kept clear of dunghoops, and later of surveyors of the marsh. The nature of the proceedings at the election of officers is unexplained, but a roll of 11 Henry VII shows clearly that there was an election of some kind. The average receipt from fines was about £5. The officials of the wards, of the borough-court, and of the monastery were all subject occasionally to penalties. The bailiffs and ward officers were fined for not carrying out the orders of the court, for concealing offences and making unjust charges, upon the accusation of a grand jury of twelve freeholders, who checked the proceedings of the wards. The officers of the monastery were presented repeatedly for injury done to the town's sewerage, and to the roll of Edward IV there is appended a valuable list of presentments by the grand jury, written on paper in English, and expressed in much plainer terms than the Latin summaries entered on the parchment roll.⁹ The jurors explain that they do not present those who brew not as brewers by way of regular trade: they complain of the state of the sewer called Martin's Bridge in Howgate, 'which fault is in my lord and convent,' who received an endowment of land for the purpose of this repair. They present and complain of the almoner whose sewer is yearly presented and never mended, 'but cast up a little to blind the people.' They present and desire, by special command of the abbot and steward, that filth shall be cleared away in certain places, and that all the butchers take order from the abbot and steward to clear the churchyard on Saturdays of the bones and filth brought in by the butchers' dogs. A man infected with leprosy (*lepurschepe*) is to be removed by a day assigned by the steward. Constables are to find out idlers, who are to be examined and driven out of the town or kept till it may be known whether they have goods whereby to live. They present the grievous toll which the bailly takes of the men and tenants of Peterborough in the town dwelling and in the parish, of carts and carriages, 'the which we think and desire, by the freedom that my lord (the abbot) has, should be free and pardoned.'

On the Quo Warranto Roll of 3 Edward III the abbot had specified in detail the nature of his claim to toll: a payment of 1d. from the seller of every horse, and a proportionate fee for other merchandise; and a 'through-toll' daily of 2d. on every cartload (reduced for the men of Leicester and Stamford), ½d. on every boatload, 1d. on every tun of wine carried over the bridge, or 2d. if it were not put down, ½d. on every horseload, and ½d. on every man's pack, with like charges on beasts driven through the town. The abbot's accounts tell also of an ale-toll and 'bothilyelde,' and a toll on salt carried through the Saltersgate and of the feudal dues of relief and escheat. We find no merchant-gild; where burgesses and foreigners were all alike subject to the abbot's toll there was

¹ Sparke, p. 180.

² Another account (*ib.* p. 182) puts the pleas and perquisites of the Portmanmoot at 2s. 6d.; the Michaelmas court and view at 30s. 4d.

³ *Quo Warr. R.* (Rec. Com.), 551-2.

⁴ In the *Hundred Rolls*, ii, 14, the hundred of Nassaburgh reported in 1275

that the bailiff of Peterborough, one Robert Clerk, imprisoned people for the sake of securing a fee of 4d. and the prisoner's best garment (*superior vestis*) as the perquisite of the gaolkeeper, who was his brother.

⁵ In the 15th century, once a year, at Michaelmas.

⁶ Earlier rolls may lie hidden among the papers of the dean and chapter, which are uncatalogued and unarranged.

⁷ The opening of the roll is illegible, but it appears from the later rolls that it opens with the presentment from Priestgate.

⁸ So the roll of 1 Edw. IV.

⁹ See *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xix, 526.

no scope for a merchant-gild.¹ On the other hand, the monastic fairs were frequent and no doubt helpful to the borough. There were four fairs, each lasting a week—one at the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul (29 June), granted by a charter of 1189² (this was changed in 1878 to the second Tuesday and Wednesday in July);³ another on the second Sunday in Lent, granted 1253,⁴ and a third on St. Oswald's day (5 August).⁵ The Bridge Fair on St. Matthew's day, held on the south bank, was not granted till 1439.⁶ The date of this fair was changed in 1878 to the first Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday in October.⁷ The profits of these tolls and fairs passed at the dissolution to the dean and chapter, in whose volumes of 'audit accounts' they appear. The toll and fairs and 'reserved rent for toll' brought in £3 14s. 0d. in Elizabeth's time, while the city's payments for purposes not made clear in the account average £100 a year.

The earliest accounts of the abbot's bailiffs of the liberty date from 1379, and these accounts explain clearly the nature of the abbot's profits from and expenses on the town. The salaries of the bailiff and underbailiff were of course paid by him, and the maintenance of the cuckstool and gallows (in the West Field) fell to him. It was his 'constabularius ville'⁸ who was answerable for escape from the gaol.⁹ The accounts, too, throw further light on the arrangements of borough justice. Each year there is entered not only the profits of the annual view and leet, but also of a Friday court, held fortnightly or three-weekly, to which suit was due; the main business of this court was, no doubt, that of a court for the recovery of debts, and this court was the original of the dean and chapter's court for that purpose. Weekly on Saturdays there was a market-court for the speedy settlement of market disputes.

In the 15th century the relations of the soke and the borough to the central jurisdiction were somewhat remodelled. Abbot Ashton's register¹⁰ shows the king appointing certain justices to deliver the gaol, and the abbot, in his own name, making the same appointment. The later charters which granted the abbot power to appoint justices to deliver the gaol have been set out in detail in the history of the soke.¹¹ Although the right to appoint a coroner was formally given to the abbot by Henry VII, his duties must for long past have been performed by some officer of the abbot's nomination.

To the present day the criminal jurisdiction of Peterborough, as forming part of the liberty or soke, has remained under peculiar conditions. The Local Government Act of 1888 made the soke a separate administrative county, and it possesses its own magistrates, appointed, subject to the approval of the crown, by the Lord Paramount, Lord Exeter, who is Custos Rotulorum, and these magistrates act under a commission of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery as well as under the ordinary commission. On this bench of magistrates for the liberty the

mayor and ex-mayor of Peterborough sit *ex-officio*. They have the power of justices of assize, but they have not exercised their power to hang for murder since 1812. The high jurisdiction of the borough never having been separate from that of the soke, at the time of the dissolution the dean and chapter entered no claim to the same, although for this, as for other purposes, the borough might have been treated as distinct from the soke. Accordingly criminal jurisdiction over Peterborough passed with that over the hundred of Nassaburgh to the bishop of Peterborough, and how the hundred came to the present Lord Paramount is narrated above.

Traces of a distinction between the prisoners taken in the soke and those taken in the borough remained till the 19th century. There were two gaols, one for soke criminals and persons arrested by Lord Exeter's bailiff, which lay to the south of the bishop's palace, the other for the dean and chapter's prisoners arrested by their bailiff, which occupied a site in the minster West Gate. A town house of correction, the keeper of which was appointed by the justices of the peace, was in Cumbergate, and was the property of the feoffees, a body which acted as a kind of town council before the incorporation, as will be shown below. By an Act of 2-3, Victoria, the justices were empowered to make a new gaol, and Lord Exeter, in return for release from certain liabilities, gave up his rights.

Until the incorporation of the borough in 1874 the dean and chapter continued to exercise an inferior civil jurisdiction; their bailiff presided over a weekly court for all actions personal and mixed, but chiefly used for the recovery of small debts, and of this court of Common Pleas, as it was called, a long series of records exists. It was held at one time in the bailiff's house, afterwards in the minster West Gate. The court leet and court baron for the free tenants of the dean and chapter were held at the town hall, and the place originally occupied by the steward of the abbot was taken by the steward of the dean and chapter. But the quarter and petty sessions left little real jurisdictional work for these courts to do, and their existence was continued mainly because attendance was enforced by fines, a source of profit to the lords of the manor. All free copyholders were bound to attend the leet, and a roll of 1695 shows that the court was being used for the purpose of registering conveyances of property, and also for the issue of orders for the control of street nuisances and for the stint of common. Constables, pound-keepers, swineherds, and other officers were here elected, until the incorporation of the borough put an end to the last remnants of the old system.

But it is not to this manorial organization that we must look for the chief substitute for a municipal executive in the 17th and two following centuries, during which time the unincorporate borough remained an unrecognized administrative entity. Peterborough is one of the most interesting examples of the part

¹ Some Peterborough tenants were, in the 15th century, seeking the advantage of burgage tenure. A woman petitioned the council for interference on her behalf; she had been disseised of bequeathed land, and had failed to get a remedy at common law. *Rolls of Parl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 385b.

² Gunton, p. 146.

³ *London Gazette*, 17 May, 1878, p. 3107.

⁴ This was afterwards moved to 1 Aug.

⁵ Gunton, p. 165.

⁶ *Mon. Angl.* i, 398.

⁷ *London Gazette*, 17 May, 1878, p. 3107.

⁸ The abbey registers have much to say on the claims of Geoffrey de Mare to be hereditary 'constabularius ville.'

⁹ Add. MS. 25288, fol. 34.

¹⁰ 1438-71, under his seventeenth year. The register is in the Chapter Library.

¹¹ Above, p. 423.

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played by the law of trusts in the history of English institutions. The 'trust concept' had to serve the burgesses of Peterborough in lieu of the 'corporation concept',¹ and served them more or less in good stead.

At Peterborough the minute-books of certain 'feoffees' are the only MSS. which can be produced answering to that 'book of common halls,' of minutes of town council meetings, which every borough should be able to produce. Happily this body of trustees can be traced back to their origin.² They were originally trustees for the administration of certain gild properties, and gradually extended the sphere of their operations till much strictly municipal business was in their hands.

The dissolution of the monasteries was followed in 1546-7 by the dissolution of the religious gilds. There had been several religious gilds in Peterborough at least as early as the 15th century; for instance, in 1492 Richard Skirmet bequeathed lands in Combersgate (now Cumbergate) to the wardens or aldermen of the gilds of the Blessed Virgin, St. John the Baptist, St. James and St. George, in the parish church of Peterborough.³ Should the gilds decay, the lands were to pass to the churchwardens. The deed making this grant has passed into the possession of the Peterborough feoffees, a significant fact as will appear. There were bequests also in 1480 and 1525 to the Corpus Christi gild, and in 1544 a grant was made for the repair of the bridge and to the churchwardens for parochial purposes.⁴ Other 15th-century conveyances in which the name of no gild is mentioned, but in which a conveyance is made to a group of trustees—conveyances still in the hands of the Peterborough feoffees—are in all likelihood conveyances to religious gilds.⁵ There were cogent reasons for omitting to specify the purpose of such grants.⁶ These lands, or some of them, at least as early as 1572, became the property of a group of trustees charged to administer them for charitable and public purposes. Thomas Robinson *alias* Baker, who had received certain lands, late the property of the gilds in the town and church of Peterborough, by the gift of Queen Elizabeth, dated 26 June, 1572, gave them to fourteen persons whom he names and to their heirs for charitable uses. Reserving £25 for himself and his heirs, the donor gave the rest to help ten of the poorest inhabitants to pay any tax that might be imposed on the town, and the balance was to go to the parish church and the mending of the common ways on the north side of the river.

In the same year there is mention of the existence of a gildhall in the market-place, possibly the hall of one of the religious gilds; it was destined to pass through the hands of the trustees to the use of Peterborough burgesses. When next the feoffees are heard of they have become transformed into what may fairly be called the governing body of the municipality; they are the administrators of the 'common good,' of the town property. A gap had been left for them to fill, for the dean and chapter were interested in the town in so far as from it they derived large re-

ceipts, but not in any branch of municipal administration which would lead them to incur expenditure. The feoffees, as controllers of certain properties left to be administered for the public welfare, gradually magnified their sphere of influence till the whole of the expenditure for municipal purposes came under their control and their work became that of a town council.

Although it does not appear that there was any compulsion upon them to do so, the feoffees might and often did⁷ co-opt the dean or one of the canons to fill a vacancy. The feoffees were in no sense agents of the dean and chapter as a borough authority, neither were they hostile to this rival borough authority. All this appears from the rolls of their accounts extant from 1614 onward in the form of parchment rolls and paper-books,⁸ which contain less full and formal particulars than the rolls. These accounts were rendered yearly by two 'town-bailiffs' before the feoffees, who appointed these bailiffs until 1874. The bailiffs received the rents of the feoffees' lands and expended them as directed by the feoffees. There was also a beadle, a servant of the feoffees, whose duties were to see to the administration of the poor law. In 1660 the beadle wore the town cognizance.⁹

The feoffees' receipts amounted in the early 17th century to about £120, and were mainly derived from the rents of certain 'town-lands' or houses which had presumably been bequeathed to the town or to the gilds for charitable or public uses. A small income was derived from the rents of stalls at the market cross, over which the dean and chapter seem no longer to be exercising careful control such as the abbot exercised in mediaeval times.

There are receipts of money paid 'for the use of our parish church,' towards its repair, and payments for the wood sold from the steeple (1614). The feoffees were electing the churchwardens,¹⁰ and treated the parish church of the borough as if it were a part of the 'common good' for which they were trustees. They received and controlled the moneys levied under the poor law statutes, borrowing from the stock of the poor, with a note that the sum was to be repaid. In 1616 some 'inhabitants' were added to the meeting of the feoffees, probably to act more or less informally as representatives of the 'community' for which the feoffees were acting. In 1615 the 'inhabitants' are named who agreed that the collectors for the poor and the churchwardens should gather the poor people in the church to receive their weekly collection from the parishioners there.

The expenses incurred by the feoffees during the early 17th century covered such public matters as the provision of stalls in the market, of weights and measures, the repair of the gildhall, the protection of the town from fire, and from plague, the paving of streets, the repair of the bridge, the provision for maimed soldiers, for poor persons, and for the apprenticeship of orphans, and also for the maintenance of the parish church.

¹ Cf. Maitland, *Political Theories of the Middle Ages*, p. xxix.

² The documents belonging to the feoffees have been calendared by Mr. Noble.

³ The deed is in the possession of the feoffees. The same list of gilds in the parish church is made in a grant of

11 Hen. VIII, Chanc. Inq. p.m. 34-109.

⁴ These are noted in Sweeting's *Parish Churches in and around Peterborough*.

⁵ One of 19 Edw. IV is to the vicar (John Forman) and Richard Skirmet (see above) and others named.

⁶ To evade the mortmain acts, 15 Ric. II, c. 5, and 23 Hen. VIII, c. 10.

⁷ e.g. 1633.

⁸ They are called minute-books. They are in the custody of Mr. J. W. Buckle, clerk to the feoffees.

⁹ Sweeting, *Parish Churches*, p. 26.

¹⁰ Cf. the roll of 1651.

In the reign of Charles I the action of the feoffees seems to have excited criticism, and a 'commission of pious and charitable uses in Peterborough' sat in 1633. As a result the feoffees were directed to spend their funds on the maintenance of the parish church and on the highways to the north of the river. From the same period comes an undated order for the repayment by the feoffees or their heirs of certain sums misappropriated by the town bailiffs 1612-27. In 1635 the feoffees and other inhabitants got an opinion from Sir John Finch, Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas, favourable to the use of the trust funds for the repair of the bridge.

In 1655 Cromwell directed another commission of inquiry, by inquest, as to what moneys were spent on the poor, the sick, or scholars, on bridges, roads, etc. in Peterborough and Bainton,¹ to discover abuses and make order accordingly. In 1657 the commissioners ordered the feoffees (or governors, as they were called in the Cromwellian period), to offer the town lands publicly in an annual meeting at the gildhall, on the best and most beneficial leases. In 1683 a list of the feoffees' lands was made as the result of an inquest, and the lands are stated to be held for the relief of the poor, to put out apprentices (being fatherless children, as appears from another source), and to repair the church, bridges, streets, etc.

In 1668 the municipal character of the feoffees' powers is shown by the expenditure of £10 on a metal stamp, and the coinage of half-pence bearing two swords in saltire between four crosses pattée fitchée.²

Once more, in 1778, abuses were complained of, and the dean and chapter ordered the feoffees to show their papers, but the fact that the dean's bailiff was himself a feoffee seems generally to have secured harmonious relations.

By an Act of 30 George III, for the paving and improving of the city and township, the feoffees were relieved of their care of the paving and lighting in certain parts of the city on a payment of £500, and their duties devolved on a body of improvement commissioners, who were empowered to levy a rate and to appoint the watchmen. The Minster Close and the Boongate Ward, lying east of Swanspool, as also the Westgate, were not included in the sphere of the commissioners' power, these parts being reserved for the control of the dean and chapter. This Act was repealed 13-14 Victoria, c. 93, and improvement commissioners were again appointed, and excluded from operations only in Boongate and Boonfield, unless the inclusion of this area should be asked. The incorporation of the borough 17 March, 1874, brought this arrangement to an end. The government of the borough was vested in a mayor, six aldermen and eighteen councillors, and the town was divided into three wards, north, south and east. A west ward has since been added. The charter of incorporation was obtained 'after a long and costly opposition on the part of the lord paramount, the *custos rotulorum*, and the justices of the liberty.' The powers of the feoffees are now those of a charitable trust only; they control certain almshouses and charities, and share in the control of Deacon's School.

The corporation owns the electric lighting and the waterworks, and since 1892 has owned the cattle-market, till then in the hands of a company. In 1874 the town first obtained a borough seal and municipal insignia.³

From 1548 to 1885 the town returned two members of parliament. Before the Reform Bill (1832) the electors were all housekeepers in the town, paying scot and lot, and all inhabitants in the precincts of the minster.⁴ In 1727 a curious conflict arose owing to the fact that the writ had been addressed by the sheriff sometimes to the bailiff of the dean and chapter and sometimes to the bailiff of Lord Exeter. The dean and chapter having neglected to contest the matter, which was one of little importance to them, a conflict was postponed, till in 1727 each bailiff returned a different member, and the matter was decided in favour of the dean and chapter's bailiff.

The nature of the trades chiefly practised in Peterborough in mediaeval times is indicated by the names of the streets; Combersgate (now Cumbergate) was the quarter of the wool-combers. In Webster gate was a settlement of Brabant weavers in Richard II's time, as the early records show, and from the trades also come the names Saltersgate, Cook Row, and Souter Row (the shoemakers' quarter). In modern times the trade has been principally in agricultural stock, corn, malt, coal, timber and bricks, and latterly elastic web and boot and shoe factories have been established. There are two important fairs, one on the second Tuesday and Wednesday in July for wood, wool, cattle and horses, held in the market-place and the cattle-market, and the other on the first Tuesday to Thursday in October for stock and general goods. This fair is held on the south side of the river in the fields near the river, and represents the old St. Matthew's fair.

The town hall,⁵ on the west side of the market-place, is a pretty building of two stories, with a hipped roof of grey slates and an east gable, in which is a panel with the royal arms. It was built by the feoffees, aided by a grant from Lord Exeter in 1671. The ground story is open on three sides, with moulded semi-circular arches.

The church of St. John the Baptist stands due west of the west gateway of the cathedral precincts, separated from it by the market-place and town hall. The level of its floor is some feet below that of the adjoining streets, and the churchyard lies at some distance to the west.

It was built on a new site in 1402 as a successor to the former parish church of Peterborough, which stood to the east of the abbey, in an inconvenient position, as the town had in course of time grown up on the west side of the monastic precincts, and was consequently separated from its church. The materials of the old church, and those of the nave of the chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury, near the west gate of the abbey precinct, were used up in the new building. It has a chancel of three bays, with north and south chapels a little shorter than the chancel; a nave of seven bays, with north and south aisles and porches, and a west tower overlapped by the aisles on

¹ The reason of the association of Bainton with Peterborough in this connexion is unknown.

² Cf. Sweeting, loc. cit. p. 26, and Boyne-Williamson, *Tokens*, ii, 894, on the

overseer's halfpenny (octagonal) 1666, and the town bailiff's halfpenny, 1670.

³ For a full description, see Jewitt and Hope, *Corporation Plate*.

⁴ Bridges, *Northants*, ii, 539. Mere-

wether and Stephens' *History of Boroughs*, p. 1764.

⁵ The hall is figured by Loftie in *Archit. Rev.* (1903), xiii, 229.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

both sides. The walls are built of freestone rubble, with wrought dressings.

The plan is designed to give the maximum of floor space, the necessary supports for the walls and roofs being reduced to the smallest size consistent with stability. The overlapping of the west tower by the aisles, and its piercing on three sides with wide arches, so as to make the whole area a prolongation of the nave, has indeed been carried to excess, and the western bays of the aisles are now cut off by blocking walls inserted to support the tower.

The chancel has an east window of five cinquefoiled lights, with tracery, partly ancient. The east bay is blank on both north and south, except for a small doorway on the north side; the second and third bays open to the chapels with arches of two moulded orders on slender clustered piers of four engaged shafts, with moulded capitals and bases, the details and proportions being excellent. The chancel arch and the nave arcades are of the same design, and there is a continuous clearstory, with three windows a side in the chancel, and seven in the nave, each window being of three trefoiled lights under a flat head.

The chapels are of the same width as the aisles, and open to them by arches which die out at the springing, and serve as abutment to the chancel arch.

The north chapel is now used as vestry and organ chamber. All windows in the aisles and chapels are of four lights, but their original tracery has been replaced by poor stuff with intersecting mullions. Modern tracery of better style is gradually being substituted for this. The rear arches of the windows are original, and the internal jambs run down to the floor level with hollow-chamfered angles and stops of a design belonging rather to the 13th than the 15th century. There are small modern doorways in the east bays of both chapels, north and south doorways to the nave, and a west doorway under the tower.

The south doorway of the nave is the principal entrance, and has over it a vaulted porch of two bays, the outer bay, which comes nearly to the line of the street, being pierced with archways on the east and west to give room for a procession path round the church. The bosses of the vault in the outer bay are carved with the Crucifixion and the evangelistic symbols, and on the middle boss of the inner bay is the Annunciation. This bay is lighted on the east by a square-headed window of two lights, and has on the west a vice in a projecting turret, leading to a room over the porch lighted by windows on west, south, and east. On the apex of the south gable of the porch is a heraldic antelope.

The north doorway of the nave is covered by a very shallow porch with arched recesses in its east and west walls, and a wide outer arch, above which are two large gurgoyles.

The west tower is of three stages, with panelled and embattled parapets and octagonal angle turrets with crocketed pinnacles. The belfry windows are large, of four lights with tracery, and a transom at half height; below them a band of quatrefoils runs round the tower. The second stage has small square-headed windows of two trefoiled lights, and the west window of the ground story is of three trefoiled lights with intersecting tracery. It belongs to the beginning of the 14th century, and is probably a relic of the old parish church. The west doorway is plain, with a

four-centred head, the mouldings dying out at the springing, and at the south-west angle of the tower is a vice, with an external doorway. The north, south, and east sides of the ground story of the tower are pierced with wide arches, the east arch being abutted like the chancel arch by arches across the aisles, dying out at the springing. All three arches in the tower have responds and capitals like those of the nave arcades, but the arcades are composed of reused voussoirs of early 13th-century date. The supports being insufficient to carry the tower, the east arch has spread, and the abutting arches across the aisles have been strengthened, at first by the insertion of half arches beneath them, and afterwards by being completely blocked with masonry. The north and south arches of the tower are also built up, and the space under the tower panelled and ceiled in wood, forming a lobby to the church. The west ends of the aisles are used as vestries, and in the south-west vestry is a large painting of Charles I. In the north-west vestry the north window is built up, except for a small square-headed opening, and in the west wall is a second opening of the same kind.

The external appearance of the church has been injured by the loss of the original parapets and the pinnacles which sprang from the buttresses of the aisles.

The chancel has an embattled parapet, and on either side of the east window are canopied niches. The church was repaired in 1814, and underwent a thorough 'restoration' in 1882-3, and all its woodwork dates from that time, including the pulpit and quire seats. The screens on the north and south of the chancel were set up in 1904.

The font is of the 15th century, octagonal, with a bowl with quatrefoiled panels on a short panelled stem, which shows traces of having been cut down. There are no remains of ancient painting or glass.

There are eight bells of 1808, by Dobson of Downham, in Norfolk, and a small bell by Tobie Norris of Stamford 1675.

The plate consists of a silver flagon, bread-holder, and spoon of 1675, a flagon of 1703, a silver-gilt alms-dish of 1704, silver-gilt paten of 1711, silver patens of 1731 and 1734, two silver-gilt cups of 1799, and two plated and gilt cups, made to match the other two, and given in 1872.

The church possesses two pieces of old needlework, one of which, representing the Crucifixion, is now worked into an altar frontal.¹ The registers begin in 1558, and have only one gap, from 1644 to 1658. There are also exceedingly interesting churchwardens' accounts dating from 1467.

In the last century four new parishes were formed, St. Mary's, Boongate, by an order in council of September 1, 1857; St. Mark's, 1858; St. Paul's, 1868; All Saints', 1891.

The grammar school, now in Park Road, was for long held in the chancel of St. Thomas of Canterbury's chapel, a fine building of *circa* 1350. Another school-house is named in a roll of 3 Henry VIII, as existing in 'Deadman's Lane,' a site which has not been identified.

In the rolls of the abbey certain crosses are mentioned, one apparently in the Marketstead (where a pretty monument is now standing, built in 1898), and Barnard's cross in Westgate is repeatedly noticed.

¹ From notes by the late Mr. R. P. Brereton.



PETERBOROUGH : THE TOWN HALL AND ST. JOHN'S CHURCH



PETERBOROUGH : INTERIOR OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST'S CHURCH

The town has little to show of domestic architecture which needs mention here—there is a picturesque 17th century building in Midgate, and some of the houses in Long Causeway, Priestgate, Westgate and Bridge Street show traces of old work, notably those of Mr. Wm. Deacon and Mr. George Wyman in Priestgate, of Dr. H. Latham in Westgate, and of Mr. J. Coleman in Bridge Street; but with these exceptions there is little of interest. Two fine monastic barns known as the Sexton's and the Tithe Barn existed till recent years near the town, but are now swept away. Of modern houses some of the more noticeable are Westwood, the residence of Mr. Keeble, in Thorpe Road, and Dr. T. J. Walker's house in Westgate.

The early rolls mention a number of bridges and dykes whose situation cannot now be traced; Martins-bridge or Brunsbridge¹ in Howgate has been named above. The Nene bridge cannot be traced beyond the time of Abbot Godfrey, who built a bridge early in the reign of Edward II.² The present bridge was built in 1872 to replace a wooden structure. In an account-roll of Richard II a chapel on the bridge is named. 'Incambrig' and 'Wyfesbrig' are two bridges named in the records whose situation has not been determined. The two dykes most frequently named are Rattonrow dyke and Chapel-row dyke, both probably to the south of the minster.

Perhaps the oldest arrangement for the dispensing of charity was the collection made by a hereditary almoner in the hall of the abbey knights. In the abbey registers there are grants³ from the convent conveying certain hereditary rights with the duty of visiting the sick and attending on the poor. Abbot Ernulf, 1107–14, founded a hospital for lepers, and endowed it liberally.⁴ The site of it is marked by the name of Spitalfields. Later abbots contributed to the support of the prior, six brethren and their servant, the sum of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. each per week. The eight persons received 17s. 4d. a year, as appears regularly on the abbot's roll. The lepers received also a grant of diseased meat.⁵

There was another hospital, dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury; the chapel of St. Thomas at the minster gate was begun by Abbot William de Waterville in 1170–5, and the hospital was added by his successor Benedict, 1177–94.

Abbot Andrew, 1194–1199, made a grant of six marks to the infirmarer from 'our' oven of Burgh, for the use of the poor. A note at the side of the entry which records this, adds that later the pittance received this sum and the money had gone to the use of the convent.⁶

Abbot Acharius, 1200–10, made grants to the almonry for the use of the hospital of the chapel of St. Thomas at the gate and allowed those persons who were too ill to go to St. John's, the parish church, to make offerings on feast days conditionally. On ordinary days all the offerings made there 'for love' were to go to the hospital's uses, as also the alms of pilgrims and strangers.⁷

By an arrangement (1274–95), every poor person was allowed a farthing loaf and two herrings in alms on anniversary days, and the residue, if any, was to be distributed in the houses of the poor in the town, and those especially who were 'ashamed to beg' were to be served in the church in the tailory.⁸ Abbot Godfrey, 1299–1321, left 100s. for the poor people coming to the monastery at certain seasons.⁹ In the later abbots' accounts there is a record of certain annual 'prebendae of the lord's alms,' usually to fourteen persons of either sex, at 5s. 9d. each, but these lapse towards the close of the 15th century.

Modern Peterborough has a fine hospital, which in 1902 took in 612 patients and treated others to a total of 3,864. The hospital originated in a public dispensary and infirmary, which in 1815 was fitted up in a mansion of Lord Fitzwilliam's in Priestgate.

The almshouses are numerous, endowed either from the 'town estates' and under the management of the feoffees or from the Wortley trust. The feoffees control other general charities in money and kind. In the cathedral precincts there are almshouses, under the cathedral establishment.

PETERBOROUGH MINSTER

The foundation of the monastery of Medeshamstede¹⁰ dedicated in honour of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Andrew, is ascribed to Peada, king of the Mercians. The names of several of the early abbots are recorded, but of the buildings of the monastery nothing more is known until the year 870, when the Danish victories in East Anglia left the Fenslands at their mercy, and Medeshamstede was sacked and burnt, and all its inhabitants, from the Abbot Hedda downwards, were massacred. Abbot Godric, of Crowland, with those of his house who had escaped the Danes, came to Medeshamstede, and collecting the bodies of the slain monks, eighty-four in number, buried them with their abbot in a large grave to the east of their church, setting up over them a cross and a gravestone, the description of which, by the pseudo-Ingulf, is obviously taken from the stone now standing in the New Building at the east end of the present cathedral. No attempt was made to rebuild the monastery, and it lay waste for more than ninety years, until in the revival of monasticism in the reign of Edgar it was repaired and recolonized by the influence of St. Athelwold, bishop of Winchester. The date is given variously as 963 or 966.

A very important question here arises, in view of the remains of early work which still exist, as to what was the condition of the buildings of the destroyed monastery at this time. That the first church was of considerable size is probable, even after making due allowance for the fact that its history has been written



PETERBOROUGH ABBEY.
Gules a pair of crossed keys between four crosslets fitchy or.

¹ Built, according to Gunton, p. 302 (and the volume of ancient charters in the Cathedral Library fol. 221b), in 1308, but cf. *Mon. Ang.* i, 351.

² Bridges, *Northants*, ii, 539. An inquest of 2 Edw. III repudiated public responsibility for it, as the abbot had built it of his own accord in 4 Edw. II. Gunton, *Hist. of Peterborough*, fol. 44 and cf.

Cott. MS. Vesp. E. XXI, fol. 63b. In 1318 Abbot Godfrey seems to have rebuilt his bridge, Sparke, p. 163.

³ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 38, fol. 2b.

⁴ *Chronicon*, p. 161. Cf. *Pipe R.* 23 Hen. II, p. 105.

⁵ Cott. Vesp. E. XXII. p. 4. The almoner's accounts, Cott. Vesp. A. XXIV,

which are difficult to decipher, contain frequent allusions to the hospital.

⁶ Gunton, p. 289, and cf. vol. Anct. Charters, Cath. Lib. fol. 117b.

⁷ Gunton, p. 292, and cf. Swapham's Register, fol. 119.

⁸ Sparke, p. 147.

⁹ Ibid. p. 159.

¹⁰ For the history of the abbey see 'Religious Houses' section.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

for us by Peterborough chroniclers, and it may be that, even after ninety years of ruin, parts of it were sufficiently sound to be repaired without rebuilding.

If the church of Brixworth is that of the colony sent from Medeshamstede to 'Bricklesurtha' in the end of the 7th century, we may form some idea of the size of a mother church which, within the first half-century of her existence, could raise so large a building for a daughter house. The history of the two buildings must have been much the same; the marks of fire on the walls of Brixworth have always been attributed to the Danish ravages of 870, and the evidences of repair of the church at a time not later than the 11th century, and very possibly in the 10th, point in the same direction—so that in this case it may be fairly assumed that a Dane-destroyed 'minster' was left in sufficiently good condition to be repaired without rebuilding.

The words of the chroniclers are not decisive, but give some support to this idea. The Saxon Chronicle says that Athelwold found there nothing but 'old walls and wild woods.' But in the old walls, in that curiously opportune manner in which monastic houses now and again chanced on documents of vital importance at critical times in their histories, he found a record of the ancient privileges of Medeshamstede, written by abbot Hedda, and presumably stored up for the benefit of future generations at the time of the Danish attack.

Hugo Candidus is more detailed in his account. He says that St. Athelwold found cattle and horses stabled in the church (*in ipsa ecclesia*), and the whole place full of filth and uncleanness, but still showing clear evidence of its former size and splendour. And in his account of the building of the present church, after the fire of 1116, he mentions the discovery of the great foundation-stones (*immanissimi lapides*), of which eight yoke of oxen could scarcely draw one, which he considers to be part of Peada's church. 'Quos et nos vidimus,' he says, 'ut domus dei firmiter staret supra firmam Petram aedificata.'¹ But, later on, he speaks of the rebuilding and refurnishing of the church, and says of the new abbot, Adulf, and his monks, that they built (*construxerunt*) the church of God. At any rate, it is possible to speak with some certainty about the condition of the church after the work of restoration or rebuilding undertaken by St. Athelwold, because what are undoubtedly the remains of its eastern end may be seen to this day below the floor of the south transept of the present church, and it has left other traces of its existence which will be noted in due course.

No record has been preserved of the monastic buildings which were contemporary with the Saxon church, and the only notice that occurs in the tenth century relates to the enclosing of the monastic precincts with a wall by Abbot Kenulf, 992–1005. This was in itself an important work, but its most interesting result was that it changed the name of the monastery from Medeshamstede to Burgh, the walled or fortified place, afterwards from its wealth called for a time Gildenburgh, and finally Peterburgh.

In the sack of Burgh by Hereward, about 1070, the abbey buildings except the church are said to have been destroyed, and shortly afterwards the church itself set on fire and completely burnt through the carelessness of the brethren. But if this were so, the

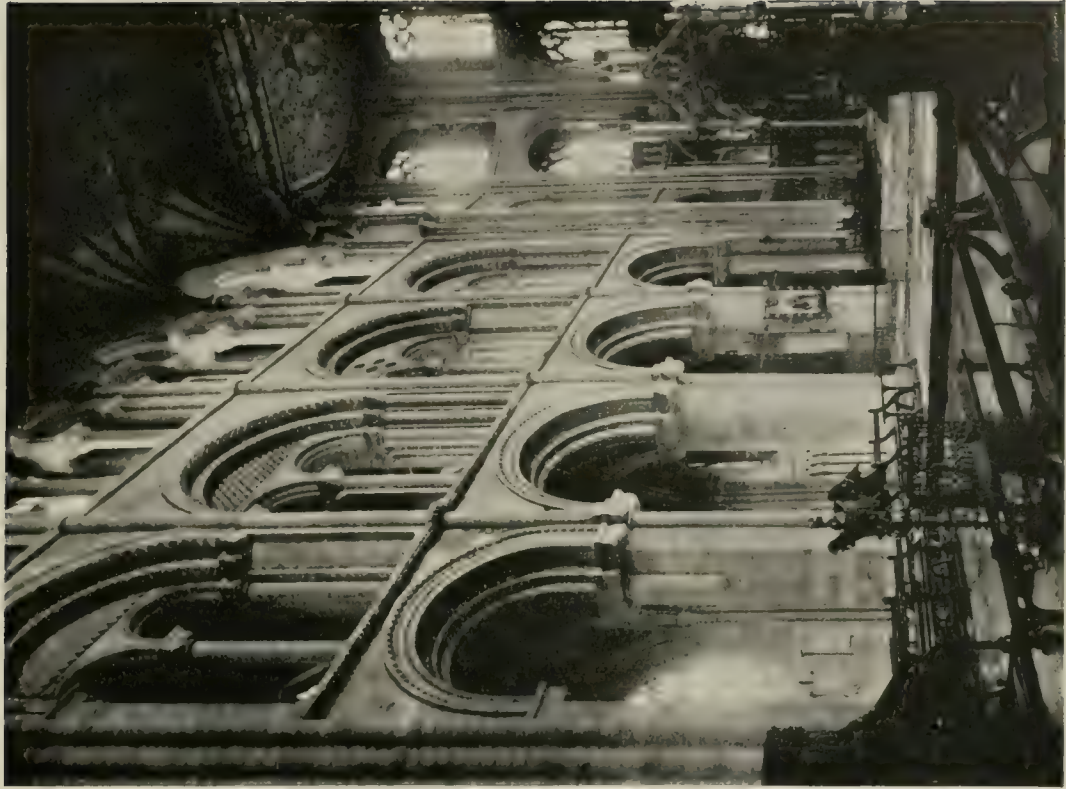
damage cannot have been as great as is recorded, for it is clear that in Ernulf's days, 1107–14, the condition of the church was satisfactory, and what work was done immediately before and during his time was connected with the claustral buildings. The only parts of the church mentioned by Hugo are the *porticus* of St. Andrew and the tower, and no actual description of the building is left to us. But it must have been of considerable size and importance, as several facts, beyond the architectural evidence, tend to show. It survived the Norman Conquest for fifty years, and then perished in a great fire, and there is no evidence that any scheme for rebuilding it was at the time in contemplation. Abbot Thorold, 1069–98, indeed, might have been expected to make it his first business to destroy the works of his Saxon predecessors; but his tenure of the abbacy, though long, was also stormy, and it is probable that he found no time to devote to anything so peaceful as the rebuilding of his abbey church. The only mark he has left on Peterborough is the earthen mount on the north of the cathedral, now called Tout Hill, but formerly Mount Thorold—the strong place made by him to overawe his rebellious monastery. After his time Abbots Godric, 1098–99, and Matthias, 1103–4, ruled for too short a time to undertake any work of importance, and from 1099 to 1103, and 1104 to 1107, the abbey was in the king's hands. In 1107, however, a great builder, Ernulf, prior of Christ Church at Canterbury, came as abbot to Peterborough, and it is unlikely that he would have left the church unaltered if it had been unworthy of the great and wealthy house to which it belonged. But instead of touching it he turned his attention to the monastic buildings, and beginning on the east side of the cloister built a new dormer and reredorter, finished the chapter-house, which he found incomplete, and was in course of building the frater when in 1114 he was translated to the bishopric of Rochester. None of his work now remains in any of these buildings, but it is probable that he set about an entire renewal of the claustral buildings, as the west wall of the cloister is certainly earlier than the fire of 1116, and not improbably a part of his work.

His successor, John de Séz, 1114–25, continued his work, as we are told that in 1116 the new frater was just finished. But in this year a great fire, which began in the bakehouse, spread through the whole monastery and adjacent buildings and burnt everything except the new chapter-house, dormer, and frater, in which last the convent had dined together for three days only.

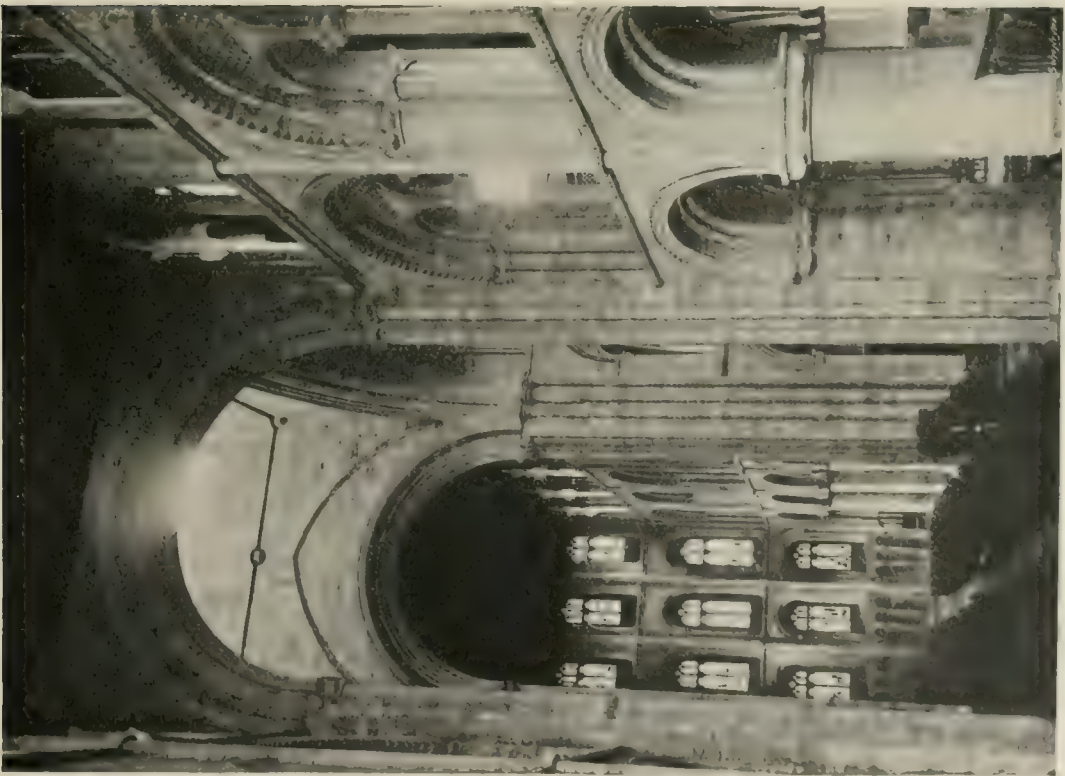
The fire lasted nine days in the tower of the church, and on the ninth day a strong wind arose and scattered fire and live coals from the tower on to the abbot's lodgings, and all that had hitherto escaped seemed to be in danger of burning. The chronicler more than hints that the disaster was due to an unfortunate speech of the abbot, who lost his temper about some trifling matter, and 'rashly consigned the house to the enemy,' with the result that a servant who had some difficulty in lighting a fire that day, and called on the Devil to help matters, found his appeal only too readily answered, with disastrous results.

The rebuilding of the church having now become necessary, the work was undertaken the next year, though according to Hugo the foundation stone was not laid till 8 March, 1118. The site was east and

¹ Sparke, 17.



PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL : NORTH SIDE OF PRESBYTERY



PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL : THE CROSSING, LOOKING NORTH

north of the old church, and the first work to be undertaken, the eastern arm, was set out so that it could be built without interfering with the Saxon building, which must have been temporarily repaired and used for service. John de Séez died in 1125, leaving the work unfinished, and his successor, Henry de Angeli, 1128-33, wasted the goods of his abbey and did nothing for the building. Martin de Bec, 1133-55, carried on the work, and in 1140 or 1143 (the date is variously given) the new eastern arm was sufficiently advanced for the holding of services, and the monks entered it, and the relics were brought from the old church and honourably installed in their new places. A temporary quire was doubtless fitted up, as it is clear that the final position of the quire, with the pulpitum level with the second bay of the nave west of the crossing, was not taken up till the time of Benedict, 1177-94.

At Martin's death in 1155 the transepts were some way advanced, and some work in the nave, especially on the cloister side, had been done.

William of Waterville, 1155-75, finished both transepts, built three stages of the central tower (*magistra turris*), and went on with the nave, completing two bays of the main arcade and triforium, and one bay of the clearstory, to give the necessary abutment to the central tower, besides a good deal of the lower parts of the nave arcades, etc., west of this point. His work was not confined to the church, as he built the infirmary, with a cloister and houses of office; a chamber, a chapel and offices in the curia, probably the great inner court, and also began the chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury in the outer court west of the church. The progress of the work of the church can be estimated by the fact that he arranged the quire—that is, the permanent quire as distinct from the temporary one set up in the presbytery about 1140—and covered the cloister with lead.

Benedict, 1177-94, 'built the whole of the nave of the church in stone and wood (i.e., with its walls and roofs) from the tower of the quire (the central tower) up to the front' ¹ (*usque ad frontem*). He also set up the pulpitum at the west end of the quire. The actual extent of his work in the church will be discussed later.

In the outer court he continued and finished the chapel and hospital of St. Thomas of Canterbury, begun by his predecessor, and near it built the great outer gate, with a chapel of St. Nicholas over it. He also built the great hall with all its guest chambers, and at the time of his death was working at 'that magnificent work next the brewhouse,' which has been supposed by some writers to be the western transepts of the church.² It is a curious fact, but one which can be paralleled from the histories of other great monastic houses, that some of the largest and most important works, in this case the building of the west front of the church, are passed over in silence by the chroniclers. Andrew, 1194-99, and Acharius, 1200-10, must from the evidence of the church

itself have carried on the work of the west front, but nothing is recorded of this.

Of Robert of Lindsey, 1214-22, much building is recorded, but only two items refer to the church, the substitution of glass for straw and twigs—probably osier rods—in thirty and more windows, and the whitewashing of the vaults in the retroquire; and these seem to have been done before his election as abbot.

Alexander of Holderness, 1222-26, and Martin of Ramsey, 1226-33, have nothing attributed to them as regards the church; but the final completion of the building is marked in the time of Walter of Bury St. Edmunds, 1233-45,³ by the solemn dedication of the church on 6 October, 1238, by Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, and William Brewer, bishop of Exeter.

It seems that new stalls were set up at this time, as the abbot gave ten marks to the work of the stalls and the greater part of the timber.

In 1272, in the time of Robert of Sutton, 1262-73, the Lady chapel of the church, on the east side of the north transept, was begun by William Parys the prior, and finished by him with the glass, the lead, the images and paintings, before his death in 1286. It was consecrated by Oliver Sutton, bishop of Lincoln, in 1290. A chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury⁴ was built between the church and the Lady chapel by Godfrey of Crowland, abbot 1299-1321, while cellarer.

From this time onwards there are no more records of the architectural history of the church, beyond those supplied by the building itself, which are fortunately sufficient, as the only alterations in the structure since the end of the 13th century have been either matters of detail, such as the replacement of the 12th-century lights by later windows, or the filling of them with tracery; or matters of necessity, as the rebuilding of the central tower in the 14th century (and its total rebuilding at the end of the 19th), and the insertion of the chapel in the west front. The latest part of the church, the square-ended building at the east, known as the New Building, is due to Abbot Robert Kirton, 1496-1528, and is the only enlargement of the eastern arm which has taken place. The site has, no doubt, a good deal to do with this, as the Lady chapel would probably have been built at the east of the presbytery if there had been sufficient space; but the boundary of the monastic cemetery, probably preserving the lines of an arrangement which existed before the laying out of the present church in 1117, comes too close to the apse to allow of this.

Valuable evidence as to the extent and arrangement of the buildings is given in the late 14th-century *Custumal*⁵ preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library, Lambeth; in the inventory drawn up at the suppression of the monastery, dated 30 November, 1539;⁶ in the grant of 4 September, 1541,⁷ detailing the extent of the buildings and grounds of the episcopal palace of the newly formed see; and in the report of a com-

¹ Sparke, *Scriptores*, 99.

² But the position of the brewhouse, known approximately from the survey of 1629, makes the suggestion impossible.

³ *Chron. Ang. Petriburgense* (Caxton Soc. 1845), 134.

⁴ Not to be confused with the chapel of the same dedication in the outer court.

⁵ In two volumes, one including the period from Advent to Easter, the other that from Whitsuntide to Advent. A third volume, Easter to Whitsuntide, is unfortunately lost. The directions for processions afford the most valuable evidence as to the relative positions of the monastic buildings and the arrangements of the church. The Sunday procession,

unfortunately, is nowhere given in detail, but the particulars of the procession on the vigils of principal feasts are minutely set forth, as are those of the Palm Sunday procession.

⁶ Printed in Gunton, *History of the Church of Peterburgh*, p. 58.

⁷ Printed in *Foedera*, O, xiv, 731.

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mission sent by Archbishop Abbot, 4 November, 1629, also dealing with the palace.¹

The detailed description of the buildings may fittingly begin with the Saxon church, the lower parts of the walls of which are yet to be seen under the floor of the south transept, built of roughly squared Barnack stone, and meant to be plastered inside and out, a good deal of the internal plaster still remaining. The plan shows a presbytery 23 ft. wide by 22 ft. with transepts 34 ft. east to west by 31 ft. north to south, the responds at the west end of the presbytery being destroyed. At the east end are the foundations of the east arcade of the 12th-century transept, and no remains of an apsidal end to the Saxon church have been found, though such may have existed.²

Of the nave nothing certain is known, though a small piece of wall found under the east walk of the cloister may have been part of it. Traces of two walls were found running southwards from the south transept, which must have belonged to the eastern range of the Saxon cloister. The plan, as far as it is allowable to base an argument on what remains, seems to point rather to an early Saxon date than a late one, as it is not suitable for a central tower, which, on the analogy of other large churches of the 10th and 11th centuries, should have been found here, if the existing remains were part of a new building of 970 or thereabout. If the transepts had eastern aisles a case might be made out for the later date, as the plan would adapt itself to a central tower; but there are no traces of such aisles, and what historical evidence we possess goes to show that the tower, which certainly existed, was at the west end of the church. It seems to have been an addition of the 11th century and cannot have formed part of the first church.³ The dimensions of the nave and its aisles, if it had any, are unknown, and Mr. Micklethwaite's excavations in the cloister in 1894 revealed nothing decisive.⁴

Along the east wall of the north transept runs a low plastered stone bench, and in the south transept is a short length of what may be a similar bench—so short, however, that it has been taken for the base of an altar. Towards the east end of the presbytery are traces of the foundations of two steps.

Two floors were found in the building, the lower of plaster, the upper of clay, and it is to be noted that the stone seat of an abbot's chair⁵ was found in the presbytery embedded in the upper floor, and resting on the lower.⁶ It is tempting to connect these two floors with the first and second churches, but proof of this is not obtainable.

The great 12th-century church, as first designed, had an eastern arm of four bays with north and south aisles, the main span ending at the east in an apse, while the aisles were apsidal inside and square outside; north and south transepts with eastern aisles, central tower, and nave of nine bays with north and south aisles, and western towers over the last bays of the aisles. The existing west side of the cloister was

built before the present church was begun, and its position would no doubt to some extent influence the setting out of the building.

Apart from the documentary records there are many evidences in the building itself that its growth was both slow and intermittent. It was necessary not to encroach at first on the site of the old church, as the daily services had still to be carried on there, and the position of the new church was influenced by this, while at the same time its plan had to be made to suit the cloister buildings which were then nearly new. This work was begun in 1117 or 1118, under Abbot John de Sééz. On his death in 1125 the monastery remained in the king's hands till 1128, when Henry de Angeli was elected, and of him it is recorded that he did nothing for the building. Consequently a break in the work probably took place after it had been in progress for seven or eight years, and it may have been of some length, as Abbot Henry was in office till 1133.

Martin de Bec, 1133–55, took up the work again, and by 1140 or 1143 the eastern arm was far enough advanced to be used. So that, taking the least number of years, the history of the beginning of the church falls into three periods of seven years each, during the second of which nothing was done. It must be remembered, however, that the end of the third period only marks a stage in the building, and not a pause in the work, which went on for another fifteen years without interruption. After 1140 (or 1143), when the new church was fit for services, there would be no reason to keep the remains of the old church standing any longer; and as the cloister was on the south side of the church, this side would naturally be undertaken before the north, to avoid the inconvenience of having the cloister in an unfinished state any longer than necessary.

Turning to the church itself, it is clear that the general design, as set out in 1117 by John de Sééz, was carried out as far as the second bay of the nave, the only variations from it being in matters of detail.

The eastern arm or presbytery is of four bays, with a slightly stilted apse at the east. The main arcades have semicircular arches of two orders with rolls at the angles and a torus on the soffit of the inner order, and labels with the billet moulding. The three piers on each side are sixteen-sided, circular, and octagonal respectively. Each has an attached half-shaft on the inner face, i.e. towards the main span, and the capitals, which are simple cushions, or in a few cases scalloped, are subdivided to take the two orders of the arches, the shaft on the inner face, and the transverse and diagonal ribs of the aisle vaults. Above the main arcade runs a string with a double row of zigzag. The shaft on the inner face starts anew from a base resting on the abacus of the capital of the main arcade, and is carried up to the roof.

The logical use of these shafts is to take the transverse arches of a vault over the main span, but they occur here, as elsewhere in England, in a building

¹ Cott. Vesp. A. xxiv contains accounts with incidental references to the monastic buildings, and would be well worth careful transcribing. The accounts run from 1448 to 1465.

² Graves said to be of Saxon date were found by Mr. Irvine just east of the arcade, but their date seems open to doubt, and they cannot be taken as decisive evidence against an apsidal end.

³ A.S. Chron. D. (Tib. B, iv), 1059. In this year was the steeple hallowed at Burh on 16 Kal. Nov.

⁴ For a conjectural restoration of the plan of the nave of this church, see a paper by Mr. Micklethwaite in *Arch. Journ.* liii, 303. An excavation in the south aisle of the present nave would most likely reveal the Saxon north wall.

⁵ So identified by Mr. Micklethwaite.

⁶ There are a few pieces of architectural detail belonging to the Saxon church in the south triforium of the presbytery and in the New Building, among them pieces of door or window heads with a rib worked on them, and a capital, apparently belonging to a midwall shaft.

which in its earlier parts shows no evidence of any attempt actually to construct such a vault.

The triforium openings have main arches of two orders, with a line of horizontal zigzag on the outer order, and two moulded sub-arches with a central shaft, the tympanum over the arches being ornamented with an imbricated pattern, or in the first two bays on the north side with sunk circles, of which there are four in the second bay and one in the first. The arrangement of the piers of the triforium, unlike that of the main arcade below, is symmetrical, the central pier and the responds having half-shafts at the cardinal points and recessed quarter-cylinders on the oblique faces, while the other two piers have pairs of nook-shafts in place of the cylinders. Above the triforium is a string which in the original design was to have been worked with zigzag, but only a short length at the south springing of the arch which formerly spanned the chord of the apse, and another at the north-east angle of the crossing, remain in evidence, and it is clear that when this point was reached there was a pause in the work, and when it was again taken up the string was worked with a plain roll and no zigzag. The triforium galleries are wide, and roofed with lean-to timber roofs of flat pitch. Originally lighted by single round-headed windows in the outer walls, they now have three-light 14th-century windows, and the walls have been slightly heightened and parapets added. The clearstories have a round-headed light in each bay, and on the inner face of the wall three round-arched openings with monolithic circular shafts and scalloped capitals, the central opening being taller than the others, and having at the level of the springing of its arched head a chamfered string which is continued horizontally along the wall face, stopping against the half-round shafts which run up to the top of the wall. All the original clearstory windows have been filled with poor two-light tracery of the 15th century. In each bay of the clearstory holes are left in the masonry a little above the level of the floor of the clearstory passages, apparently to take the ends of timbers. The holes vary in size, some being as small as 7 in. by 2 in., and these probably took the ends of the timbers used in raising stones to this height, rather than the beams of the temporary roof, which must undoubtedly have existed here during the pause in the building.¹

The apse of the presbytery is slightly stilted in plan, and is divided into five bays by compound shafts running up to the ceiling, and consisting of a half-round on a rectangular pilaster, flanked by engaged shafts. At the west of the apse was an arch of about 32 feet span, with its springing at the level of the clearstory string, and flanked by turrets containing vices connecting the triforium and clearstory passages, and leading up to the roof. The ground story of the apse, ranging with the main arcades of the presbytery,

had a window in each bay, with a string of zigzag above, and probably wall arcades below, with intersecting arches like those in the aisles of the presbytery. The windows were replaced in the 14th century by three-light windows² with flowing tracery, two of which still remain entire in the north-west and south-west bays, while the other three have lost their tracery, their sills having been cut down to the floor level when the New Building was added by Abbot Kirton. The wall arcading has disappeared for the same reason in the three eastern bays. In the north-west bay two lockers under gabled heads were inserted at some time in the 13th century,³ now either destroyed or masked by the modern Gothic canopies which fill all the bays of the apse, and are relics of the elaborate quire fittings set up about 1820.

The triforium of the apse has single arched openings in each bay with horizontal zigzag in the heads, and in the western bays, which are wider than the others, a blank arcade to fill the space between the opening and the responds of the west arch of the apse. The original windows of this stage have been replaced by three-light 14th-century windows with flowing tracery, those in the west bays being somewhat narrower than the others. Under the windows in the three east bays is a modern wall-arcade of intersecting arches.

The string above the triforium was designed, like that in the presbytery, to be worked with zigzag, but here also the work was interrupted, and the existing string has a plain roll only. The clearstory here has been much altered, the compound shafts between the bays being probably of 13th-century date, while the inner arches, which may at first have been like those of the presbytery, have been altered to a single wide arch in each bay, probably at the date of the insertion in the three central bays of the present wide three-light tracery windows in the 14th century. The windows of the other two bays have remained unaltered, save for the insertion of 15th-century tracery like that in the clearstory. The great arch which spanned the west end of the apse has been destroyed, though at what date is not clear; its jambs are surmounted with 15th-century niches, running up to the beam which carries the west end of the present flat wooden ceiling of the apse. The many alterations to the clearstory here, especially in the case of the compound shafts, suggest that the original design was to vault this part of the church in stone, and this may actually have been done and afterwards destroyed through the failure of the walls to resist the thrust of the vault. When the vault was taken away⁴ the shafts would be continued upward to the flat ceiling, and the west arch might well be taken down at the same time, as being no longer constructionally necessary.

¹ These beamholes do not occur at all in the north transept, and there are only two in the south transept—in the second bay from the tower—having nothing to correspond with them on the west side of the transept. They occur in every bay of the nave, being larger and more numerous at the east end, and are always arranged to avoid the shafts of the clearstory arcades. In some cases they seem to have been blocked by the rubble masonry inserted in the passage to abut the proposed vault of the nave.

² The windows have feathered rear arches with pierced spandrels under square heads with ball flower ornament, the interval between the rear arches and the window tracery being ceiled with horizontal stone slabs, supported by arched ribs springing diagonally from the jambs of the opening. In the heads of the three east windows open quatrefoiled tracery of the date of the New Building has been inserted in place of the original tracery.

³ These arcades are shown in a drawing of the interior of the presbytery made in 1721, and now in the British Museum (Add. MS. 32467, fol. 203).

⁴ See the parallel case in the nave, p. 439. Mr. J. T. Irvine noted that the upper parts of the walls of the apse had been slightly thrust outwards, and the parapet here has been built in the 13th century, while elsewhere in the church the parapets are of 14th-century date.

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The aisles of the presbytery originally ended at the east with apses, though externally their east ends were square. These internal apses were both taken down late in the 13th century, and replaced by square ends with quadripartite ribbed vaults, and at a later date, when the New Building was added, the east walls were pierced with tall panelled arches, giving access to the eastern chapels. In the north aisle the bases of the shafts which carried the arch at the springing of the apse remain, and serve as bases to the western pair of 13th-century vaulting-shafts, and in the south wall is a beautiful double piscina, with geometrical trefoil tracery and clustered shafts and responds. It has two projecting drains with fluted corbels and a moulded stone shelf above. It belongs to the time of the 13th-century alterations, *c.* 1280, and there are several others exactly like it in other parts of the church.

The east end of the south aisle has been altered in the same way and at the same date as the north aisle, but the record of its apse has been perpetuated in the modern pavement by a step following its curve, as disclosed by excavations some years since.

In the south wall here is a piscina like that in the north aisle, and in the north wall a large double recess, now glazed and used to contain a number of small antiquities found in the cathedral precincts.

The aisles are vaulted with quadripartite ribbed vaults with stilted transverse arches, and diagonal ribs which have a slightly segmental curve. The transverse arches are moulded with a wide fillet between two rolls, and the diagonals have a half-round on the soffit. The latter are somewhat awkwardly fitted to the capitals from which they spring, but are clearly part of the original work, and the vault is contemporary with the aisle. Each bay of the aisles was lighted by a single round-headed window with jamb-shafts and moulded rear-arch, but only that in the first bay of the north aisle west of the line of the apse now remains. It owes its preservation to the fact that it was blocked in the end of the 13th century by the upper story of the chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury, built against the outside of this bay. In the 15th century it was filled with two-light tracery of the same type as that in the clearstory windows. Below the window is a hatched string and a wall arcade of intersecting arches with plain cushion capitals and moulded bases. The two western bays of the north aisle have lost their original arcades and windows, having been pierced with tall arches leading to the Lady chapel, which formerly stood to the north of the presbytery; one of the arches is of the date of the Lady chapel, 1272-86, and the other is of the 15th century, and is evidence of an enlargement of the Lady chapel at that time. Both arches are blocked, the blocking dating from the destruction of the chapel in 1661, and in the blocking in each arch is inserted a three-light 15th-century window, old work re-used.

In the south aisle the original windows have been replaced by wide five-light windows with segmental heads and geometrical tracery, *c.* 1300, the vault-cells next the windows having been rebuilt to accommodate them, but the intersecting arcades remain intact in each bay.

The external elevation of the eastern arm of the church has been altered chiefly by the insertion of tracery windows in place of the original lights, but the general outlines of the first design have been preserved. At the eastern angles of the aisles are flat clasping buttresses with angle rolls, and between the windows are pilaster buttresses of the same detail. At the base of the walls is a moulded plinth 2 ft. high, and of 1½ in. projection, which is continued with the same section through all the succeeding work as far as the staircase towers flanking the west front of the nave.

At the level of the sills of the aisle windows is a string with zigzag, and the windows have zigzag in the heads and billet-moulded labels.

Above the windows and at the level of the triforium floor runs a second string with zigzag,¹ and the triforium was originally lighted by single windows which were set in a continuous wall arcade spaced to give five arches to each bay, the window² occupying a central arch wider and taller than the others. Over these again came the corbel-table of the aisle roofs with a line of round arches on variously carved corbels. In the apse and the gable ends and west sides of the transepts, where there were no aisles, this part of the wall was ornamented with an arcade of round arches, intersecting on the apse but not elsewhere. The bays of the clearstory were marked off by half-round shafts instead of buttresses, with cushion capitals ranging with the upper corbel-table, which was of the same detail as that of the aisles. In each bay was an arcade of three arches, that in the centre being wider and higher, and containing a window. The main roofs were of rather flatter pitch than at present, and had no parapets. The treatment of the apse varied only in the substitution of large engaged shafts for the pilaster buttresses between the bays on all three stages.

A parapet with quatrefoil panelling was built over the corbel-table of the clearstory in the second half of the 14th century, while in the apse the parapet is of the 13th century, and has seven circular medallions containing half-length figures.

The stair turrets at the west end of the apse are finished with an octagonal stage with tall and narrow round-headed openings in each face, capped by an octagonal stone spirelet springing from a cornice of round arches like the corbel-table of the clearstory.

At the east of the presbytery is a one-story building known as the New Building, five bays wide from north to south, and three bays deep, the eastern bay being half as wide again as the two others. Its external measurements are in round numbers 80 ft. north to south by 58 ft. east to west, and it is lighted by five four-light tracery windows on the east and four windows on each of the north and south sides, two of four lights in the western bays, and two of three lights in the wide eastern bay. The jambs of the windows are carried down below the sills to a stone bench table, the backs of the recesses thus formed being panelled with stone tracery. It is vaulted with a panelled fan vault, and between the windows are buttresses projecting 6 ft. at the base, with two sets-off in the height and finishing at the

¹ Of these zigzag strings the upper stops at the north-east angle of the north transept, and continues with a plain roll, and the lower at the west of the third bay of the north aisle.

² This arrangement may be seen best on the east side of the north transept, at the point where it abutted against the west end of the Lady chapel. Everywhere else in the presbytery and transepts

the original windows were replaced *c.* 1340 by three-light tracery windows, and the wall arcades destroyed. The walls were heightened and plain parapets added at the same time.



PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL : INTERIOR OF THE 'NEW BUILDING'



PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL : THE NAVE, LOOKING EAST

level of the top of the parapet with flat heads, on which are large seated figures, which appear to represent our Lord and eleven apostles, those that may be identified being St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Andrew, St. Thomas, St. Philip, and St. Jude. The parapet is like that of King's College chapel at Cambridge, with pierced and cusped openings and triangular-headed battlements. There were originally five entrances to the New Building from the presbytery, one from each aisle, and three from the three eastern bays of the apse, the 14th-century windowsills in which were cut down to the floor level for the purpose, and their jamb-mouldings continued down the sides of the openings thus formed.

The builder of this work was Abbot Robert Kirton, 1496-1528, and his name and device occur on it in many places. Under the windowsills are a series of carved paterae on which are to be seen the initials A R (Abbas Robertus) followed by a church (Kirk) and a bird on a tun (for Kirkton or Kirton), though the meaning of the bird is not clear. In one case his name is given in ribbon letters ARKTON (Abbas Robertus Kirton), and other devices are a portcullis, the arms of the abbey, a vernicle, a mitre, croziers in saltire, etc., and two rebuses which are difficult to guess, a bird on a branch and a flower (? rose) springing from a tun. The arches opening to the aisles of the presbytery have large paterae with, in the case of that on the north side, Kirton's rebus—a church on a ton—a mitre, and other devices, and on that on the south the inscription 'Omnis spiritus laudet dominum,' the abbey arms, etc. On the bosses of the roof, beginning from the south side, are shields with a saltire for St. Andrew, two swords in saltire between four crosslets, two keys in saltire between four crosslets,¹ a cross flosy between four lions for St. Oswald, the emblems of the Passion, the arms of St. Edmund of East Anglia, the arms of St. Edward the Confessor, the leopards of England and a cross between four devices, three of which are a tilting spear on a bend, a church or gateway, and a chained animal, the fourth being indistinct.

On the cornice, below the external parapet, the abbot's name occurs several times as IAR (church) TON, the meaning of the first letter not being clear, and in another case the R and church seem to be combined. In the parapet a carved device occurs in the opening beneath each battlement, of which there are three in a bay. The central device in each bay is a sacred monogram, and the other two are foliage patterns, except in one instance where Kirton's rebus occurs.

The transepts have eastern aisles and arcades of four bays, the central columns being octagonal and the others circular. The arches have the same section as those in the presbytery, and the same billet label over them. Above is a string with zigzag, which stops at the north-east and south-east angles respectively, being continued round the transepts with a plain roll; this change of detail marking here, as in the presbytery, a pause in the work. The triforium, like that of the presbytery, is set out symmetrically in four bays, but the arrangement is different, the middle pier and the north and south responds in each transept, having two engaged shafts on either side of the

central half-column, instead of the quarter cylinders which occur in the other two piers. The tympana over the sub-arches have the masonry set in a lozenge pattern in three of the bays in the north transept, and the imbricated masonry pattern, as in the presbytery, in the fourth bay and in all the bays of the south transept except the southern bay, where the tympanum is plain. Of the zigzag string above the triforium only a small piece at the south end of the north transept exists, the rest having a plain roll. The clearstory is like that of the presbytery, with the same inserted tracery, and the half-round shafts between the bays start from bases set on the abaci of the capitals of the main arches, and run up to plain scalloped capitals at the level of the wooden ceilings.

There are vices in the eastern angles of the gables in both transepts, entered from the eastern aisles. That in the north transept has a tympanum ornamented with a scale pattern and cable border; while the head of that in the south transept has been rebuilt. In the south transept there is a second doorway, west of the south respond of the east arcade, externally of four moulded orders with nook-shafts and a plain tympanum, which shows traces of radiating lines meant either as false joints or guides for setting out some ornament which was never executed. The doorway originally led to the monastic cemetery, and probably to the infirmary by a passage east of the chapter-house.

The vaults of the aisles have the same details as those of the presbytery, but in neither transept is the original arrangement of the east wall of the aisles preserved. In the north transept an original window remains in the north wall of the aisle, with the usual inserted 15th-century tracery, and a hatched string at the sill level, but the two northern bays of the east wall are pierced with late 13th-century arches formerly opening to the Lady chapel, and now blocked, with 15th-century windows inserted in the blocking, their history being the same as that of the windows in the north aisle of the presbytery. Under the window in the second of these bays from the north is a plain arched doorway, of the date of the blocking. The third bay is filled with a window of c. 1275, with three uncusped lights and three cinquefoiled circles in the head, inserted to lighten the aisle when the Lady chapel was built against its two northern bays.

In the south transept there is a window of this kind in the east wall of each bay, while an original window remains in the south wall, with inserted 15th-century tracery, and below it a wall arcade of three arches.

In neither transept are there any remains of a wall arcade below the east windows. Both aisles were divided into chapels, in the north transept by wooden screens, and in the south by thin stone walls. The latter, which still remain, are but little later in date than the aisles. In that between the south aisle of the presbytery and the north chapel of the transept aisle is a 12th-century recess with a moulded semi-circular arch, a label with billet moulding, and short engaged shafts in the jambs. It now contains the effigy of an abbot and a 'restored'² inscription which calls it the burial place of three abbots, John de Sééz, 1125, Martin de Bec, 1155, and Andrew, 1201. Above it is a hatched string, and in style it belongs to

¹ This and the preceding coat refer to the abbey, but their precise attribution is unknown.

² Except the third arch from the north in the south transept, which has no torus on the soffit of its inner order.

³ Gunton, *op. cit.* 27, 'late in ancient Saxon letters, but now in the ordinary, renewed.'

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the work which must be dated before the death of Abbot Martin in 1155. To the west of it is a stone vice, entered from the north chapel, which probably led to a wooden loft over the western bay of the south aisle of the presbytery, the use of which is suggested below, p. 445, note 3.

The gable and west walls of the transepts have wall arcades on the ground story below the windows, with three arches to a bay in the gable walls and five in the west walls. The arcades do not intersect as in the presbytery aisles, and their section is slightly different. The walls are divided into bays by half-round shafts running up to the ceiling, and horizontally by strings at the level of the clearstory and triforium passages and the sills of the windows of the ground story. The two upper strings have plain roll mouldings, and the third is hatched, as in the presbytery. Each bay is lighted by a round-headed window in each story, the whole remaining much as it was first built, except that 15th-century tracery has been inserted in all the windows. A change in the section of the window-jambs in the ground story of the gable wall of the north transept marks a pause in the work, the older work being as high as the springing of the window arch in the east window, and not halfway up the jambs in the west window, while in the west wall only the wall arcades belong to this date.

The south transept was rather more advanced at the time of the change in detail, as the three ground story windows in its west wall and the arch to the south aisle of the nave all belong to the older work.

The external elevations of the transept follow the design of the presbytery, but the extra height in the gable ends is taken up by a wall arcade over the clear-story windows, and above it a single window in the middle of the gable flanked by half-round shafts carrying up the line of the pilaster buttresses, which stop at a string just above the wall arcade. The upper part of the original gable having been replaced by a gable of steeper pitch in the 14th century, it is not clear how the shafts were finished at the top. The 14th-century gables have crockets on the coping and tall slender gable crosses, and the quatrefoiled parapets on the east and west walls are probably contemporary with them. The gables are flanked by tall octagonal turrets, with blank arcading on their lower stages, and eight tall, round-headed lights in the upper. Originally they were capped with stone spirelets, but these have given way to battlements, the arched corbel-tables at the base of the spirelets being preserved.

On the east of the north transept stood the Lady chapel, begun by Prior William Parys in 1272, finished before 1286, and consecrated in 1290. It stood till 1661, when it was destroyed for the sake of its materials.¹ Its north elevation is shown in a drawing by Daniel King,² where it appears as a building of five bays with three-light windows like those still remaining in the eastern aisles of the south transept and in one bay of the eastern aisle in the north transept. Its width can be recovered from the abutment of its walls against the north transept, and it seems to have had an internal arcade round the walls below the windows, a fragment of which remains at its north-west angle. It opened to the north transept with tall arches in the two northern bays of the east aisle of the

transept, and also to the north aisle of the presbytery through a similar arch. The latter entrance was connected with the chapel by a wide vestibule, to the east of which was a small vaulted chapel, dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury, with a chamber over it which seems at one time at least to have served as an anker-hold.³ In the 15th century the space in the angle of the presbytery and north transept was roofed over and thrown into the area of the Lady chapel, a new entrance being provided to it in the west bay of the north aisle of the presbytery. The usual entrance to the chapel seems to have been from the presbytery.

From the description of the chapel in Whittlesey's continuation of the chronicle of Hugo Candidus,⁴ it appears that the building was not vaulted in stone, and the buttresses shown in King's drawing do not seem calculated to take the thrust of such a vault. It had an image of our Lady and a Jesse, and round the walls were statues of the kings of England with short accounts of their lives.

The details of the blocked archways which once gave access to it from the church are exceedingly good, and make its destruction at so comparatively recent a date the more to be regretted. The small chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury, on its south side, was probably contemporary with it, and was vaulted in two bays with a central pillar, the wall ribs of the vault remaining on the south side, with a double piscina like those in the aisles of the presbytery.

William Parys, builder of the Lady chapel, was buried in 1286, 'in the church before the image of our Lady and Child on a column before the west "caput" of the Lady Chapel.'⁵ It is interesting to note that in the west side of the base of the north pillar of the arcade in the north transept, a 13th-century triple base is inserted, perhaps belonging to the pedestal of the image mentioned.

On the west side of the south transept is a vaulted building of three and a half bays, entered from the transept by a 14th-century doorway in the middle bay. Its unusual position between transept and cloister is due to the fact that the line of the eastern range of claustral buildings (chapter-house and dorter) was fixed by that of the south transept of the Saxon church, which was standing when they were built, and as they were quite new at the time of its destruction by a fire in 1116, they were not altered at the building of the present church, whose transepts, for reasons already explained, were set further east than those of the Saxon church. This left a space between the east wall of the cloister and the west wall of the south transept, and it was filled up by the building in question. It has a ribbed vault of three bays with pointed transverse arches and diagonal and wall ribs, and an extra rib on the centre line of the north compartment of each bay. The capitals of the responds are scalloped, with square abaci, and it is lighted from the west by three round-headed windows, each of two trefoiled lights with a plain tympanum over, set high in the wall to clear the cloister roof, the weathering for which runs at the level of their sills. Each window was set in a small gable, with a half gable against the church at the north end, and the lines of these are still to be seen, although the wall has been raised and now ends with a level coping. The transverse arch

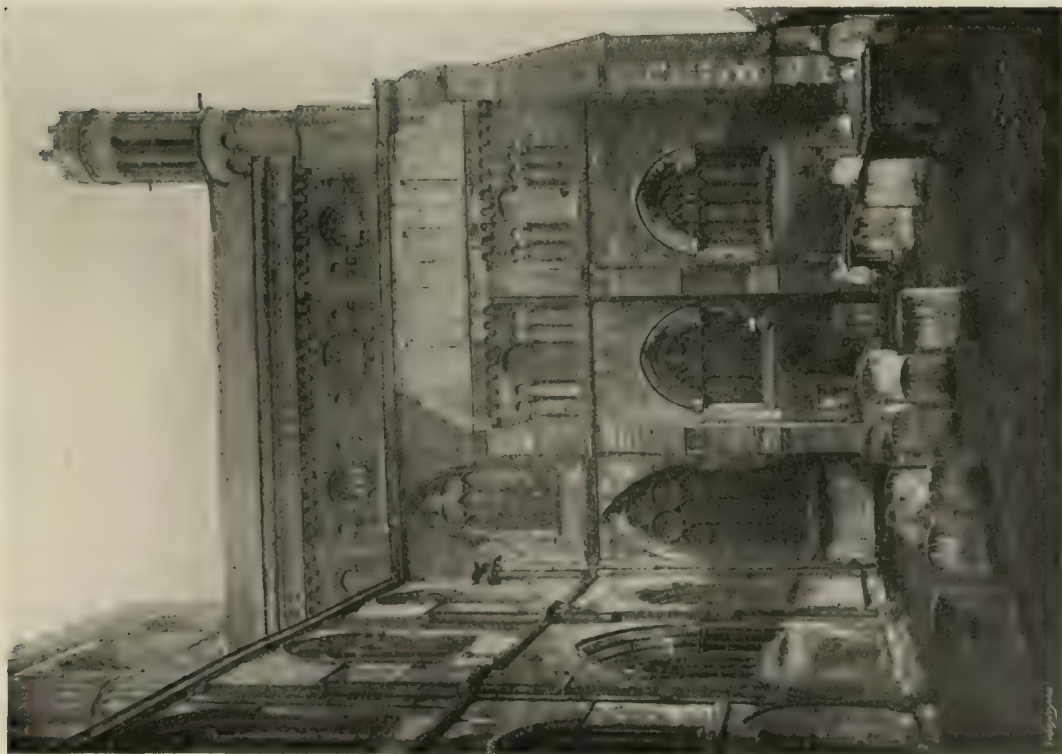
¹ In the accounts of 1669 is a payment for 'four new buttresses where the Ladies Chappel stood, making all that handsome.'

² Gunton, *History of the Church of Peterburgh*, facing p. 65.

³ *Op. cit.* 99.

⁴ Sparke, *Scriptores*, 149.

⁵ *Op. cit.* 149.



PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL : EAST SIDE OF THE NORTH TRANSEPT



PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL : NORTH TRANSEPT, FROM THE WEST

at the south end of the building is blocked by a thin 13th-century wall, forming the north side of the passage to the cemetery, and it seems that before this wall existed the building opened southwards to a former passage, or possibly to the vestibule of the chapter-house. It has a small west doorway, opening to the north bay of the east walk of the cloister. In the middle bay of the west wall of the south transept, just north of the 14th-century doorway already noted, is an original round-headed doorway, blocked on the west side by the respond of one of the transverse arches. It is clear that the lower part of the transept wall, which belongs to the time of Martin de Bec (ob. 1155), was built before the vaulted room to the west was designed; but since the cloister was finished and roofed in before 1175, the date of the latter must fall between 1155 and 1175.

The central tower was completely rebuilt with the old material in 1884, after having been a source of trouble and danger for many years. The first tower here was finished by William of Waterville between 1155 and 1175, and his work, recorded as 'three stories of the great tower,' probably included the arches¹ of the crossing and all above them. Like many other central towers, it seems to have been too heavy for its supports, and in the 14th century the whole of the upper part, including the east and west arches of the crossing, was taken down, and a lantern of a single story substituted for it, surmounted by a wooden embattled octagon, covered with lead.²

The octagon was removed by Dean Kipling, 1798-1822, who built on the four corners of the lantern the tall octagonal turrets [Dean Kipling's chimneys], which perished unregretted at the rebuilding of 1884.

The tower piers measure 11 ft. 4 in. east to west, by 7 ft. 6 in. north to south, exclusive of the attached shafts, their faces towards the quire being flat, with three half-round shafts which run from the floor to the capitals of the east and west crossing arches. Any evidence which may have existed on the question of the eastern limit of the quire stalls, as shown by the cutting away of these shafts, has disappeared in the rebuilding.

The north and south crossing arches are of three moulded orders with a label, the outer order having a line of horizontal zigzag, while the label is without the billet moulding characteristic of the earliest work in the church.

The east and west arches are also of three orders, pointed, with 14th-century detail, and over all four arches are moulded wall ribs of the same character, as if a vault had been designed at this level at the first rebuilding of the tower. The upper stage, which takes the form of an open lantern, has two three-light windows on each side with tracery and transoms and a wooden vault springing from stone vaulting-shafts in the centres and angles of each side. The central boss of the vault has a half-figure of Christ holding an orb in the left hand, the right being broken away, while on the four surrounding bosses are the evangelistic symbols, and on eight others the symbols of the Passion.

Externally this stage has arcades with blank tracery

between the windows, and panelled octagonal staircase turrets, which are finished with flat copings at the level of the embattled parapets of the tower.

The nave is of ten bays, from the west arch of the crossing to the east arch of the western transept. Its two eastern bays are taken up by the modern quire, which after various moves has returned to its original position, as set out by William of Waterville before 1175.

In these two bays the main arcades and the triforium, and in the eastern bay the clearstory also, carry on, with slight differences in detail, the design of the presbytery and transepts, the second piers of the nave having the additional shafts already noted as alternating with the quarter-cylinder plan in the triforium piers of the eastern part of the church, and it is probable that it was intended to continue this alternation throughout the nave. The tympana also of the triforium in these two bays have the imbricated masonry pattern. But from this point the detail changes, and the nave is continued westward with plain tympana, and with main arcade piers of the quarter-cylinder plan only. The billet label does not occur at all in the nave, and the later date of the work is clearly shown by the more elaborate detail of the capitals.³ But the most important variation is the preparation for a stone vault. That this was not intended when the first bay of the nave clearstory was built is shown by the way in which the pointed wall ribs are inserted, cutting into the strings at the springing of the arched openings, while in all the other bays the strings stop against the ribs. The transverse arches of the vault were designed to spring from the usual half-round shaft between the bays, and the diagonal ribs from corbels on either side of it, just below the string at the level of the clearstory floor, and it is probable that the vault was actually constructed for some courses above the springing, abutment of a sort being provided by blocks of rough masonry built up in the clearstory passages behind each pier, and still remaining. But the design was not constructionally suitable for vaulting, and the idea was abandoned, all traces of the vault, except the wall ribs and the blocking in the clearstory passages, being removed, and the vaulting-shafts continued up the wall to the then level of the ceiling, while the corbels were carefully chiselled away, and the wall-face which would have been covered by the vault faced with ashlar.

In the aisles there are several changes of detail. In the arcading below the windows the intersecting arches used in the earlier work reappear, after having been discontinued in the transepts. The section of the arches in the first bay of the north aisle, and in the first seven bays of the south aisle, is the same as that in the transepts, and the same plain bases and cushion capitals are employed. But from the second bay of the north aisle the arch section changes, and the capitals are fluted or scalloped. The aisles are vaulted, as in the eastern part of the church, and the section of the diagonal ribs is continued unchanged, but the transverse arches have an arris between two rolls instead of the wide fillet which occurs in the presbytery. Externally the zigzag string below the sills of the aisle windows stops at the west side of the

¹ Though the eastern arch may have been built with the first work, before the rest.

² The probable date of this alteration is c. 1330, or much about the time that the

octagon at Ely was being built to replace the central tower which fell in 1322.

³ In the north triforium the third pier from the east and the central shaft of the eighth bay have foliate capitals of 13th-

century type, and noticeably French in treatment. In the clearstory also is a capital with curled leaves of transitional style, and another with a plain bell.

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third bay of the north aisle, continuing as a plain roll, and just east of the north doorway of the nave in the sixth bay is a break in the masonry, accompanied by a change¹ in the section of the pilaster buttresses, the small rolls on their angles being enlarged so as to take up the full projection of the buttress.

All the windows in both aisles belong to the type already noted as inserted in the south aisle of the presbytery, and the outer vault cells have been altered to accommodate them. The string above the wall arcades has been cut away and replaced by one contemporary with the inserted windows, except in the eighth and ninth bays of the south aisle, where it remains, of a like section with that in the transepts, but plain, without the hatched ornament.

The north doorway of the nave is in the sixth bay, and has a round arch of four orders with a moulded label, the three outer orders being ornamented with horizontal and vertical zigzag. The jambs have three nook-shafts a side, with fluted and scalloped capitals, the inner pair having small volutes at the salient angles.

In the south aisle are two doorways opening to the cloister, and forming the eastern and western procession doors. The first, called in the Custumal the door next the book-cupboard, is in the second bay of the aisle, and has a round arch of four orders with a billeted label, the outer order being ornamented with zigzag, and the inner with a foliage pattern divided by a zigzag band with pellets, while the two intermediate orders are moulded with a roll and hollow. The jambs have four nook-shafts a side, with plain cushion capitals. The other doorway, the St. Paul's door of the Custumal, is of 13th-century style, with a pointed arch of four moulded orders and nook-shafts with moulded capitals, and three lines of dogtooth ornament in the jambs. All the stonework in this doorway is modern.

The eighth pier of the nave arcade on both sides is much more massive than the rest, and the transverse arches in the aisles at this point are of two orders instead of one. In the bay of which this pier forms the eastern respond the aisle wall is a foot thicker than elsewhere, and in the south triforium there remains against the south side of the main pier, on the line of the wide transverse arch in the aisle below, the responds and springing of a second arch, designed to span the triforium passage, and the buttress in the outer wall at this point is 6 ft. wide instead of 4 ft. 3 in., the normal width elsewhere. The arch has evidently been built, and the wall over it carried up for a considerable height, though both are now destroyed, for on the east side of the block of rubble, which is all that remains of the southern respond of this arch, is a roughly built stone staircase leading to the leads over the triforium, which shows clear traces of having been built against a vertical face on its west side, or, in other words, against the now destroyed wall which crossed the triforium at this point. In the north triforium nothing of the sort is to be seen.

The ninth pair of piers of the nave arcade are of the normal plan on the west side, but the arches between them and the eighth piers are 5 ft. wider than the rest, and the responds have engaged shafts instead of the quarter-cylinders as elsewhere in the nave.

¹ A like change in the buttress-section above the first string-course takes place in the north transept at the north-west angle, here also coinciding with a pause in the work.

There are traces also in the base of the ninth pier of the south arcade of the start of a wall crossing the aisle at this point.

All these features clearly point to the fact that these bays were to have been occupied by towers, that on the south side having been actually built to a considerable height. The scheme was, however, abandoned before the work was complete, and the nave, which was at first designed to end at this point, was prolonged westward for two more bays, the west walls of the towers being destroyed and the westward piers altered to suit the change of design.

This new or second west front was to have had towers over the aisles of the nave, flanked on the north and south by shallow transepts. Of the design of the west wall of this scheme it is impossible to speak, as nothing of it remains above ground, but the arrangement of its inner face, as far as regards the responds in it, must have been that which exists.

It is probable that this design was stopped by the death of Abbot Benedict in 1194, and the evidences of the stoppage are very clear. At the time it took place the ninth bay was complete to the top of the clearstory, and the tenth bay to the sills of the clearstory windows. At the junction with the transepts the work had reached the floor of the clearstory passages, and at the eastern angles of the transepts it was some 6 ft. below that point. In the gable ends of the transepts the wall was only as high as the springing of the large north and south windows, and at the west angles of the transepts had sunk to the level of their sills, while, as before noted, there is no masonry belonging to this work in the west walls of the transepts.

The details of the bases in the nave are of value in showing the order of building.

In the main arcades the base A used in the two eastern bays also occurs in the third and fourth piers of the north arcade, and again in a few cases in the eighth, while in the south arcade it is used exclusively in all piers up to the eighth. A second and later type, B, begins in the fifth pier of the north arcade, and is used in all piers up to the tenth, while in the south arcade it first occurs on the west side of the eighth pier, and is used in the ninth and tenth.

In both aisle walls base A is used for the responds as far as the west side of the eighth bay, and base B in the two west of this point in the south aisle, and in one only in the north. The remaining respond in the north aisle, that at the south-east angle of the north-west transept, has a third base, C, of still more advanced section, and this occurs also, in conjunction with B, in the tenth pier of the north arcade, and there is one example of it, whether in position or reused, in the respond in the west wall opposite the tenth pier. The capitals show a less regular development, as the general design of the nave follows the old lines throughout, but the scallops and flutes become more numerous as the work proceeds, and the wall arcade in the last bay of the north aisle has bell capitals and foliage.

The east windows in the western transepts are tall and narrow, as the triforium passages stop at the west ends of the aisles, and are not continued round the east and gable walls of the transepts, thus leaving the wall space from the clearstory string downwards to be treated as one stage. The heads of these windows are pointed, but that in the north transept appears to have been round, and was perhaps altered when the

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N.B.—Modern Buildings are for the most part omitted.

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SCALE = 40 feet to 1 inch.



-  = Post-Suppression
and Modern



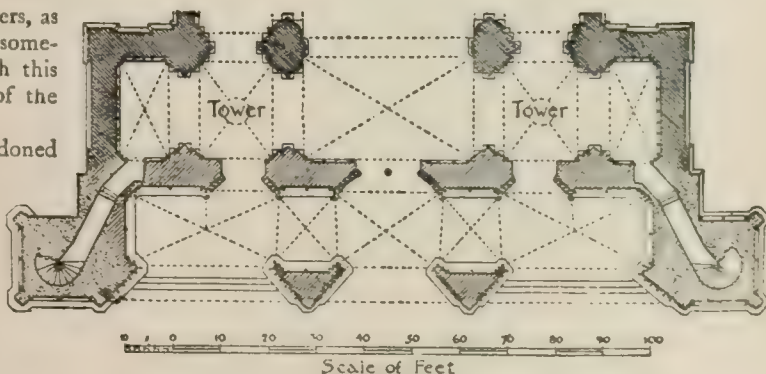
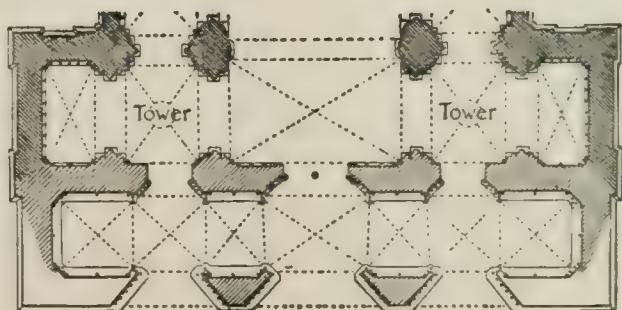
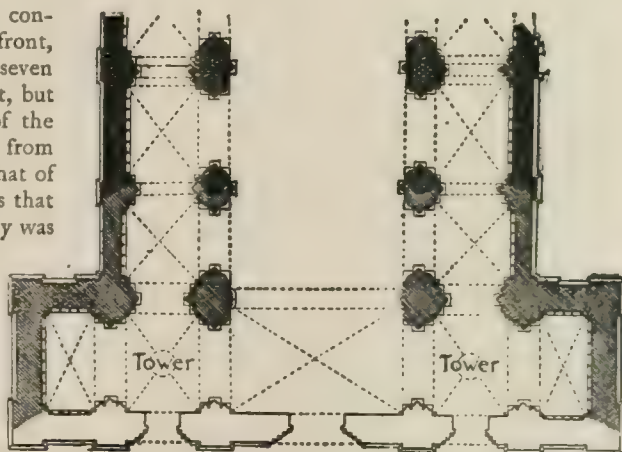
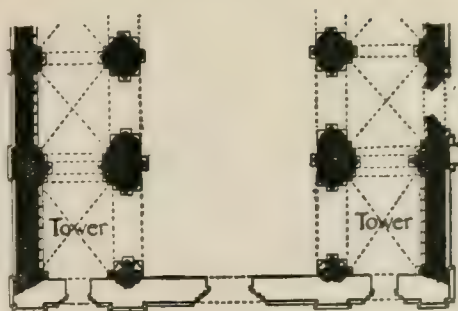
present 15th-century tracery was inserted. The intersecting wall arcades of the ground story were continued round the transept as far as the end of the work in the north-west and south-west angles of the transepts.

The tall three-light windows in the gable walls of the west transepts are best taken with the third stage in the history of the west front, which now comes under consideration.

The builders who resumed the work after the break just described carried it on, as far as regards the two towers and the transepts, on the lines already laid down. But they were in no way tied as regards the external west elevation, and it was set out without regard to the position of the responds on the east face of the west wall.

The gable walls of the two transepts were continued westwards to the line of the present west front, and the space thus bounded was divided into seven bays, the middle bay being wider than the rest, but the unit of setting-out was the width of one of the two outer bays at either end, as may be seen from the fact that the width of the middle bay, *plus* that of the narrow bays on each side of it, is three times that of each of the other four bays. In the middle bay was set the main doorway, and lesser doorways in the second bays from either end. From the still existing bases of vaulting shafts, it is clear that it was proposed to have a portico or narthex vaulted in seven bays corresponding with the seven divisions of the wall surface. Two triangular piers were therefore set out on either side of the large central bay with their apices to the west and bases to the east, the bases being equal in width to one of the narrow bays on either side of the central doorway. By this means the vaulting shafts at each end of the bases of the triangular piers were set opposite the shafts at each side of the narrow bays, and it is a reasonable deduction that the shafts whose bases still remain at the north jamb of the north doorway and the south jamb of the south doorway had similar shafts set opposite them on the west, attached to jambs corresponding to the splayed sides of the triangular piers. The plan thus obtained results in a west front with three openings, as at present, but with a central opening of greater width than the side openings instead of being narrower, and with sufficient length of wall at either end of the front to give abutment to the arches. The central arch would no doubt be taller than the others, as at Lincoln, where an arrangement of somewhat the same kind still remains; with this difference, that it is in the west wall of the nave, and not in a porch.

But this design in its turn was abandoned before it had gone very far. The triangular piers were carried to some height, and the west wall of the nave built probably as high as the string over the heads of the doorways. The break in the masonry shows in the north and south walls of the porch, and slopes down from the eastern angles, the work of this date being only two courses above the level of the old bases at the western angles.



PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL. DIAGRAMS SHOWING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESENT WEST FRONT.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Inside the church the work is easily distinguished from what preceded it by the difference in the tooling, which is diagonal in the old work and vertical in this. The design of the old clearstory is carried on,¹ the only changes being that the shafts of the arcade, which are monoliths in the older work, are now built in courses of masonry, and the external corbel-table has pointed arches and mask corbels instead of round arches.

The rest of the internal work, however, including the west jambs of the three-light windows in the ends of the transepts, is more advanced in style, retaining nothing of Romanesque detail or design except the semicircular rear arches of the three doorways and the plan of the four responds of the tower arches.

The tracery of the three-light windows in the transepts cannot be earlier than the last quarter of the 13th century. In the original design there may have been three lancets side by side under the main arch, afterwards altered to the present arrangement to give more light in the transepts.

The intersecting wall arcades in the ground story of the transepts have been cut away to give a little more space. This seems to have been done *c.* 1280, as a double piscina like those in the presbytery aisles has been inserted in the south wall of the south transept, in the wall face exposed by the cutting away of the arches.

The point at which this third work stopped in the transepts was at the string over the clearstory windows, but the line on the inner face of the west wall of the nave is not easy to define, the alteration in design consequent on the fourth and final arrangement of the west end having probably entailed the destruction of the upper parts of this wall.

If the design had been completed the west end of the nave would have been very badly lighted, and it is probable that it was abandoned chiefly for this reason, one object of the fourth and final arrangement being to throw as much light as possible on the west wall of the nave. The narrow side arches of the third design were therefore superseded by arches as wide as the dimensions of the front would allow, their responds being set against the west ends of the side walls of the porch, so that they were wider than the central arch, which retained its original plan. The three arches were carried to the same height, and the porch vaulted in five bays, the three in the middle arranged as in the former design, and the other two each covering two bays of the old arrangement.

The necessary abutment to the widened arches was given by building staircase towers at either end of the front, and the final development was thus reached.

The western transepts, towers, and main span are vaulted with quadripartite ribbed vaults, those under the towers having bell-ways in the crown. The springing of a vault in the tenth bay of the nave shows that a second scheme for vaulting the nave was under consideration at this time, but like the first it was abandoned. The pointed arches carrying the north and south walls of the western towers are richly moulded, with details retaining marked Romanesque feeling, and it is probable that the first

few stones of the arches on the east side belong to Benedict's work, and were copied when the arches were completed.

The method of providing abutment to the projected nave vaults by rough masses of rubble masonry in the clearstory passages is in the west transepts improved on by treating the masses as steps.

The three great arches of the front are of six orders, with six banded marble shafts in each jamb, having foliate capitals and moulded bases on a tall moulded plinth. In the jambs of the central arch foliate crockets are set between the shafts, and a line of large dogtooth in the inner order, while in the side arches the jambs are plain. The alternate orders of the arches—the inner, third, and fifth—are enriched with dogtooth, leaf ornament, and the Romanesque double cone respectively, while the second, fourth, and outer orders are moulded. The labels have a line of leaf ornament.

Above the arches a string with a line of foliate crockets runs across the west front and is returned round the towers and the transept gables. In each of the six spandrels thus formed over the arches are two trefoiled niches containing figures, with two trefoiled recesses and a quatrefoil below them, and a cinquefoil with a central boss in the upper corner of the spandrel.

Between the arches and at all the angles of the turrets are clustered shafts of rounded or keeled section, stopping at the ornamented string, or in the case of the towers running up to the parapets and continued upwards as shafts to the later angle pinnacles.

These clustered shafts belong to the final design, and have been added to the triangular piers of the central arch. They finish somewhat awkwardly below the main string, as the octagonal pinnacles flanking the central gable are not set directly over them, but slightly outside their lines.²

Each of the three gables over the great arches has at the base an arcade of seven trefoiled arches with half arches at either end,³ three of the arches in each gable containing figures. Over the arcades are circular windows with wheel tracery, that in the central gable of eight divisions, and the others of six. On either side of each window is a trefoiled niche, and there is a third and wider niche in the apex of the gable above, all three containing figures. On each side of the central gable is a tall octagonal pinnacle rising from a square base; the octagonal shaft has a string at half height, with a blank arcade below and eight pointed openings above, with a line of dogtooth in the heads and jambs, and is capped by a plain octagonal spirelet.

The stair towers have four tiers of blank arcading below the main string course, the lowest of two plain pointed arches, the second of four small trefoiled arches on the north tower and two between two half arches on the south tower, the third of two tall arches intersecting above, and sub-divided by a secondary arcade, the heads of the main arcade being treated as niches for statues, which no longer exist; and the fourth of two plain arches. Above the string is a trefoiled arcade of four arches, ranging with the

¹ The clearstories in the gable walls of the transept, though of different proportions, are built to harmonize with those of the nave, with scalloped capitals and square abaci.

² The reason for this is evident. It was an attempt to avoid the unpleasant effect of having a narrow central gable between two wider ones, and the pinnacles are therefore set as far apart as the conditions will allow.

³ The half arches suggested to Mr. J. T. Irvine that the gables had been altered, the arcade having at first been continuous. See his paper in *Journ. Brit. Arch. Ass.* xlix, 138-150.



PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL : THE NORTH-WEST TRANSEPT AND TOWER

arcade at the base of the gables, and surmounted by a taller arcade with plain arched heads. The parapets, pinnacles, and spires which crown the turrets are later additions, and belong to the 14th century. Those of the south tower are the more elaborate, having (in addition to the gabled and crocketed angle pinnacles common to both towers) tall triangular crocketed spirelets carried on open cinquefoiled arches at the base of the spire. In the cardinal faces of both spires are tall, gabled spirelights with two trefoiled lights, and a blank quatrefoil in the head, and above them on the alternate faces smaller gabled spirelets, but the details of the south spire are better than those of the north, and of earlier date; the spire also is somewhat the taller.

The towers contain wide stone vices, entered from the angles of the west transept by oblique passages. At the west ends of the gable walls of the transepts the passages come so near the original outer wall-face that blocks of masonry have been added for strength.

The inner wall of the porch has blank arcades subdivided and ranging with the doorways, each arcade being designed to hold three figures, the brackets for which remain.¹ Above is a band of trefoiled arches, and over these a lofty stage containing the windows, with blank arcading between them. In the central bay is a large five-light tracery window of the 15th century, which probably replaces two narrower windows, and in each of the side bays two wide lancets, with inserted 15th-century tracery of three lights. The central doorway has a tall arched head of five moulded orders, and five large and four smaller nook-shafts in each jamb, but the outer shafts and orders are hidden by the east end of the vaulted porch which fills the lower part of the middle arch of the front. It is 13 ft. 4 in. wide at the line of the doors, and this span is sub-divided by two arches springing from a central shaft, which has a tall marble base carved with three devils tormenting a bearded layman who wears a long gown tied at the waist with a girdle.

The side doorways have moulded arches of four orders and five jambshafts, with details like those of the central doorway. All the capitals of the doorways and arcades have had trefoiled foliage in separate heads on long stalks, but the foliate heads have been nearly all broken away. The sub-bases in all the work of this date, except in the central doorway and the east angles of the triangular piers, are octagonal, while the bases are circular. A characteristic detail of the front is the ornamental string like a row of inverted crescents which runs above the heads of the doorways, and also beneath the copings and round tops of the circular windows in the gables.

The transept gables, though of similar design, are less elaborate than those of the west front, the circular windows having a cusped inner order but no wheel tracery, and instead of the three niches there are two small quatrefoils flanking the window. The trefoiled arcades below are of five bays, while the flanking pinnacles rise from octagonal arcaded bases, instead of square bases as on the front. Of the two western towers the southern only rises to the level of the ridge of the transept roof, while the northern has an upper stage, and is the bell-tower of the cathedral. It has tall octagonal angle pinnacles of two stages above the

plain parapet of the tower, their upper stage having eight open arches, capped by a stone spirelet. Round the upper story of the tower runs an arcade of pointed arches, the three in the middle of each face being pierced for windows, and the lower story of the tower has a similar arcade.

Whether the south-west tower was ever built to its full height is difficult to say, and no old views give any evidence in favour of the idea; but in the inventory of 30 November, 1539, it is stated that there were ten bells 'in the two steeples of the monastery at the front,' which might be taken to imply something of the sort.²

In King's³ view the north-west tower has a tall leaded wooden spire, while the lower story of the south-west tower is capped by a flat leaded cupola.

The imagery of the front remains perfect, as far as the three west gables are concerned. In each gable are six figures, one at the apex, one on each side of the circular window, and three in the arcade at the base. The uppermost figure in each gable represents one of the patron saints, St. Peter being in the central gable. In the spandrels of the great arches are twelve figures, two in each spandrel. No others remain elsewhere on the front, but corbels showing their former position are to be seen in many places, and the Trinity chapel seems to have had at least 35.

The Trinity chapel, now used as the chapter library, built between the piers of the central arch, is of two stories, the lower part forming a vestibule to the principal doorway of the nave.

The west arch is segmental, of three moulded orders, with engaged shafts in the jambs, and is flanked by slender buttresses running to the full height of the chapel. Over the arch is a horizontal string, and the spandrels are panelled. The chapel above has a segmental-headed west window of six lights with tracery, and similar windows on the north and south, which are now blocked up on the inside. Above the west window is an embattled gable of low pitch with a canopied niche in the apex and a band of flowing tracery below the battlements. On either side of the west window are two canopied niches, and the buttresses on the north and south have three niches each in their western faces.

On either side are staircase turrets, three sides of an octagon in plan, embattled at the top and divided into two stages by a string ranging with that over the west arch. In each stage are three shallow recesses with crocketed gabled heads containing a niche for an image with canopy and pedestal, between two narrow square-headed loops. The stairs are entered through doorways set diagonally in the north and south walls of the lower stage of the chapel. This stage is vaulted in two bays, with carved bosses at the crowns and intersections of the ribs. In the eastern bay is the Holy Trinity on the central boss, surrounded by the four evangelistic symbols. At the crowns of the wall ribs and transverse arches are an angel with a trumpet, a lion and shield, two doves, and a pelican in piety. In the western bay is our Lady letting fall her girdle, with four angels on the surrounding bosses holding a shield, a palm, a dulcimer, and a harp. The drip-stones of the outer arch are an angel with a viol and another with a bagpipe.⁴

¹ Or possibly five, as in old views of the front pedestals are shown at the base of the arcades.

² Gunton, *op. cit.* 65.

³ *Ibid.* 64.

⁴ Freemasons will notice a remarkable

symbol among the carvings of the porch, and many other marks of interest on the masonry of the church.

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The chapel dates from the last third of the 14th century, and was dedicated in honour of the Holy Trinity. It was used in the Palm Sunday procession, which made a station in the Galilee, and was decked 'in modum castelli' with white banners bearing red crosses. The whole ceremony is fully described in the *Custumal*, and must have been exceedingly picturesque in such a setting.

The sequence of building in the church may be summarized thus:—

First work, 1118–55. This really should fall under two heads, 1118–25, and 1133 onwards, but as the distinction between the two can not be clearly made, it is better to take the two periods together, while noting that the wall arcades in the presbytery have a different section to those in the transept, and that most of the lower part of the apse and eastern arm must belong to the earlier division. By 1155 the state of the building was this:—*Eastern arm*: Completely built to its full height. *North transept*: Eastern aisle with main arcade and triforium. North front, lowest range of windows built to a little above the springing at the east end, a little above the sill at the west end. West wall, as high as the string over the wall arcades on the ground stage. East arch of north aisle of nave built. *Tower*: East piers to full height, and eastern arch probably built. West piers to about half height. *South transept*: East aisle as high as floor of triforium; Main arcade and three north bays of triforium; South wall, windows of lowest stage complete. West wall, windows of lowest stage complete, save that the billet moulding¹ of two of the labels was not worked; east arch of south aisle of nave. *Nave*: The whole length of the south wall of the aisle, as high as the string under the windows, as far as the east side of the bay containing the western procession doorway (St. Paul's door); first bay of north aisle, to string over wall-arcade. *West towers*: Perhaps begun, the abbot's chamber and hall being taken in hand at the same time; the interval between the old north-west angle of the cloister (built while the Saxon church was standing) and the south wall of the new church was filled by a new outer parlour, the east arch of which still stands.

Second work, 1155–75. *North and south transepts*: Completely built to their full height; central tower, probably the same; nave—main span—first bay built to its full height; second bay to top of triforium; lower parts of next two bays on north and of all bays on south as far as the west towers. *North aisle*: First and second bays complete; third to fifth built to string below windows. *South aisle*: Some bays of aisle vault probably built. *Western towers*: Work continued, especially in south tower. *Vestry* west of south transept built.

Third work, 1177–93. *Nave*: Main arcades and triforium completed for full length of ten bays, the western towers being abandoned; second to ninth bays of clearstory finished, and prepared for vaulting. *North aisle*: Built from sixth bay to tenth and vault completed. *South aisle*: Tenth bay built and vault completed. *New western towers*: East piers built to springing. *North-west transept*: east wall up to floor of clearstory passage at south end, some feet lower at

north end. North wall up to springing of large window at east, sloping down to sill of the same at west. *South-west transept*: Same stage as north-west. *West wall*: foundations only.

Fourth work (?1195–1200). Last bay of *nave clearstory* finished, *transepts* finished to base of gables. *West wall* to passage over doorways. *West porch*: Side walls from springing of wall arcades at east to a few courses above bases at west; lower parts of central and two narrow side openings.

Fifth work (?1200–38). *West front*: Completed as it now exists with wide side openings, gables over, and flanking stair towers. Transept gables built and western towers begun. This work may have been ready for consecration some years before 1238. The north-west tower was probably finished soon afterwards.

Sixth work, 1272–86. Lady chapel built, with St. Thomas's chapel on south. Apse at east ends of presbytery aisles replaced by square ends. Three windows in east aisle of south transept, and one in that of north transept.

Seventh work, 14th century. Tracery inserted in large windows in gable walls of western transepts, windows in the south aisle of presbytery and in all bays of nave aisles (c. 1300). Windows in all bays of two lower stages and in three middle bays of clearstory of apse (c. 1340). Outer walls of triforium throughout the church² heightened, and new parapets and windows added. Transept gables heightened, and parapets added to clearstory throughout the church. Galilee chapel built c. 1370.

Eighth work, 15th century. Two-light tracery inserted in all remaining 12th-century windows. A second opening made in the south aisle of the presbytery, to an enlargement of the Lady chapel.

Ninth work, 1496–1528. The New Building at the east end of the church.

The subsequent history of the building cannot be further dealt with here, beyond making mention of the great works of the rebuilding of the central tower and the repair of the west front in our own time. Of the latter it may be noted that it was not the first, as Bishop Laney, 1660–63, 'gave an hundred pound toward the repairing one of the great Arches of the Church Porch, which was fafn down in the late times.'³

A good deal of information about the ritual arrangements of the church is to be gathered from the *Custumal* and the later notices in Gunton's History.

In the New Building⁴ were three altars, each having a retable with an image of the Passion in 1539, but their dedications are nowhere given.

Before the New Building was added there must have been altars at the east ends of the aisles of the presbytery, and it is likely that one of these was the old Lady altar mentioned in the *Custumal*. The dedication of the other is doubtful, but it seems that there was an altar of the Trinity somewhere near the high altar.⁵

The high altar stood on the line of the arch at the west of the apse, having a tall stone screen behind it. This was destroyed in 1643, but a drawing and a

¹ The section is clearly designed for billet moulding, differing in this from the later work.

² Except where covered by west end of Lady chapel. ³ Gunton, op. cit. 332.

⁴ This part of the church was converted into a library at some time late in the 17th century. Gunton, op. cit. 335.

⁵ Gunton (p. 102) says that there was a Trinity Chapel in the south transept, at

the north end next the quire. If this statement is correct (and all of his statements are not) this chapel must have been set against the back of the quire stalls, under the south arch of the crossing.

description of it are given by Gunton,¹ showing its appearance just before that time. He says it was 'ascended unto by about a dozen steps, and from its basis reared after the manner of a comely wall some six foot high, upon which were several curious pilasters supporting a fair arched roof whereon were three goodly spires reaching almost to the top of the church, the whole frame dilating itself to each side, all gilded and painted, saving some void plain places.' On the south side of the altar was the abbot's chair of stone, and there were doorways on north and south to the space behind the screen. The many niches in the screen were doubtless filled with images, but only that of St. Peter, who with St. Paul and St. Andrew was patron of the church, is mentioned. The space behind the altar screen seems to have been used as a feretory, and contained the shrines of St. Kyneburgha, St. Kyneswitha, and St. Tibba,² and in recesses in the back of the screen itself the relics of St. Elfric and St. Kynsig.

In the Sunday and other processions an antiphon was sung at the altar of St. Andrew before leaving the quire. This altar must have stood in the third bay of the presbytery, and the upper entrances to the quire (*ostia presbyterii*) must have been in the bay immediately west of this—that is, just east of the crossing. The south entrance was called St. Andrew's door, and the north St. Paul's door. The other arches of the presbytery, east of the doors, were filled with screens. In the east aisle of the north transept were three altars, that of St. John Baptist at the north end, of St. James in the middle, and of St. Paul at the south, opposite St. Paul's door. The chief entrance to the Lady chapel seems to have been by the arch from the presbytery aisle. Whether there were other altars than the Lady altar in the chapel is nowhere stated. In the south transept the three altars in the east aisle, from north to south, were those of St. Oswald,³ St. Benedict, and St. Kyneburgha. The dedication of the last also included St. Kyneswitha and St. Tibba, and in front of this altar hung a canopy called 'Kynburghys Kelle.'⁴

The building west of the south transept was probably the vestry, and part of it seems to have been called 'le bay.'⁵ After the destruction of the chapter-house it was used for chapter meetings. Gunton wrongly says that it was the hostry chapel.

The quire stalls occupied their present position, as far as their west end is concerned, with a stone pulpitum at the west end, on which was an altar. Their eastern limit is not to be fixed, but it must have been somewhere under the crossing. The abbot's stall was on the south, at the east end of the quire, near St. Andrew's door, and there were seats for seculars east of the stall and near the door.

The first quire fittings were set up temporarily in the new presbytery about 1140, and when the church was sufficiently far advanced the present position was taken up, in the time of William of Waterville,

1155-75; and Benedict, 1177-94, built the first pulpitum.

A new set of stalls seems to have been made in the time of Walter of Bury St. Edmunds, 1233-45, and these probably remained till the Puritan fanatics wrecked them in 1643. The panelling beneath the canopies was painted with subjects from the Old and New Testaments, having Latin couplets under each.

After the Restoration these stalls were repaired, and the destroyed panelling replaced by painted boards from the ceiling of the Lady chapel. A drawing of the quire dated 1721 shows that they had crowned M's and the leopards of England in alternate lozenges.

This repaired quire gave way in 1828 to an elaborate rearrangement, in the Gothic style of the time, which was set further to the east, its west end being under the crossing. This in its turn has disappeared, leaving only the canopies in the apse behind the high altar, and the present stalls, which were practically completed by 1894, occupy the place of their mediaeval predecessors, some of the old seats being retained. A stone screen, to be set up at the west of the quire, is as yet but little advanced.

In the east aisle of the north transept are placed two stalls from the quire as repaired at the Restoration, after the damages of 1643, with plain arched heads and panelled backs. The twin shafts dividing the stalls, with finely cut foliate capitals, are of great interest, as they clearly belong to Abbot Walter's quire fittings, set up between 1233 and 1245.

The brass eagle lectern is a fine specimen of the 15th century, having been given by Abbot William Ramsey (1471-1496) and Prior Maldon. It still shows the remains of an inscription given in full by Gunton:

HAEC TIBI LECTRINA DANT PETRE METALLICA BINA
JOHES MALDON PRIOR ET WILLS DE RAMISEYA

The great rood stood over a screen one bay west of the pulpitum, with the rood altar in the middle of its west face, and doors on either side leading into the space between the screen and the pulpitum, through which the quire was entered.⁶

The evidence for chapels in the nave is not very clear, but in 1539 there was an altar of our Lady's Lamentation, which may be connected with the image bracket on the west face of the fourth pier of the north arcade. There are traces of the former existence of screens across the aisles on the line of the rood loft, and others in the south aisle at the sixth pier, and in the fifth bay of the south arcade.

The remains of red paint on the east half of the third pier of the north arcade probably give the level of the rood-loft floor, and an altar probably stood on either side of the pulpitum door. On the north-west face of the fifth pier in the north arcade are traces which may be those of a holy-water stone. In

¹ Gunton, op. cit. pp. 65, 97.

² In the Custumal St. Tibba's shrine is said to be on the north side, and on the left of St. Kyneburgha. At their festival four candles were to be placed on the high altar 'ex opposito feretrorum dictarum virginum.' In the west end of the north aisle of the New Building is a 15th-century stone structure, known as the shrine of St. Tibba. It is 7 ft. 9 in. long, rectangular, with a cresting and enriched cornice, and three arched recesses on the

face, each enclosing a canopied niche. The heads of the recesses have poor modern Gothic detail, apparently of early 19th-century date, and there is a projecting panelled base. It seems that three canopies have been removed from the front, the bare places left by their removal being worked as described.

³ The stone vice in the south-west angle of St. Oswald's Chapel probably led to a chamber over the presbytery aisle, used by the 'horuspex,' as he is called

in the Custumal, who slept in the church.

⁴ Kell = a cloak, or a cap.

⁵ The new fire was made here on Easter Eve.

⁶ The bases of the triforium piers in the fourth bay on the north side, just west of the line of the rood screen, are cut away, and there are chases in the abaci of the outer capitals which point to the former existence of a loft in this position. It may have contained an organ.

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the south-west transept, where the font now stands, is a piscina of late 13th-century style, like others in the church, and the altar here may have been that of the Holy Ghost, mentioned in 1539. In the Galilee chapel in the west front was an altar of the Holy Trinity.

The position in the nave of the mediaeval font is not certain, but a new one was consecrated in 1615 by Bishop Dove. An illustration in Bridges' History shows a font in a tall wooden octagonal case with a domed top, standing against the west side of the ninth pier of the north arcade of the nave. The remains of this font are now in the south triforium of the presbytery. The present font has a marble bowl of the 13th century on a modern stem; it was recovered from one of the prebendal gardens, and now stands in the south-west transept.

The most notable modern works in the church are the marble pavement of the presbytery, the alabaster canopy of the high altar, and the quire stalls.

The north and south transept chapels are enclosed by 15th-century wooden screens,¹ but it is to be noted that those on the west of the chapels in the north transept are not designed for their present position. The doors in the three west doorways of the church are contemporary with the doorways and good specimens of early woodwork.

The roofs of the transepts and nave preserve their original 12th-century boarded ceilings, the boarding being arranged in lozenge patterns. In the transepts the ceilings are flat, and only retain faint traces of their former decoration; but the nave ceiling, reset at a slightly higher level in the 14th century, when the western arch of the crossing was rebuilt, retains its original canted form and painted decorations, though the latter were much injured by repainting in 1834. The enclosing borders are in black and brown, following the lines of the boarding, the most interesting pattern being a stepped chevron, which occurs as a masonry detail at Tickencote church in Rutland and elsewhere in late 12th-century work. The scheme of subjects in the centre of the lozenges is obscure, comprising figures of kings, queens, and saints,² grotesque or allegorical subjects such as a monkey riding a goat, a janiform head, an animal playing a harp, and the like, and a few more obvious symbols, such as an Agnus.

The presbytery had at first a flat ceiling, whose lines may still be seen in places, but in the end of the 14th century it was replaced by the present panelled roof with moulded ribs and bosses at the intersections, and wooden half-vaults springing from the 12th-century vaulting shafts on either side. On the principal bosses are the Crucifixion, the Assumption, a Majesty, the Resurrection, the Annunciation, etc., and the arms of the abbey; the Crucifixion emblems and some masonic devices also occur.

The ceiling of the apse, painted with a figure of Christ surrounded by medallions of the apostles among the branches of a vine, is at a slightly lower level, the vertical face between the two ceilings being panelled with cinquefoiled arches. A former painting of a majesty on this ceiling was destroyed in 1643.

The traces of painted wall decoration in the church are unimportant. Around the ground story of the

apse are remains of shields with a background of a dark green colour powdered with crescents, and the same decoration is to be seen above the east respond of the south arcade of the presbytery. The only charges now visible are silver a fesse and three scallops gu., and gu (?) two bars silver, in chief three mullets. This painting is earlier than the 14th-century windows inserted in the apse, which have partly destroyed it, and is probably contemporary with the alterations of c. 1280 in the presbytery aisles.³ In the south aisle of the nave some of the vaults have been painted with a masonry pattern, probably coeval with the five-light windows inserted c. 1300.

What little ancient glass remains in the church has been collected and set in the eastern windows of the apse. These are pieces of 14th- and 15th-century date, many of which come from a series representing the history of St. Peter. Of the famous windows of the cloister nothing survives, and the 'Paschal Pickerel of Peterburgh' is a memory only.⁴

All the more important monuments were destroyed in 1643, and the church is in consequence rather ill-furnished in this respect. The earliest, however, are of unusual interest, as they are of pre-Conquest date, and, as regards one group, in their original position. The largest is the shrine-shaped stone with gabled top, known as Hedda's Stone or the Monks' Stone. On each side is an arcade of six round arches, with a figure under each arch, the chief being those of Christ between our Lady and St. Peter, and the rest are probably apostles. The top of the stone has panels of interlacing ornament, and the ends are rough and blank, except for the date 870 cut in modern Arabic numerals. Above the arcades on each side are some round holes about 2 inches deep. Gunton⁵ says of them 'the stone . . . is now amongst some known by the name of Peterburgh, and there being certain little holes in the sides of the stone, it was lately a merry custom for strangers to put their fingers into one of these holes, that they might say they had been at Peterburgh.' It has been suggested that the stone is a shrine of St. Kyneburgha and her companions, made when they were brought from Castor in the 11th century, and Gunton's words are curiously suggestive of the survival of some such tradition, the small holes corresponding to the recesses in the sides of a shrine. In his time, and probably for a long time before, the stone stood in the monks' cemetery, and the parallel between it and St. Cuthbert's monument in the cloister garth at Durham is worthy of note.

In the north transept are several pre-Conquest grave-slabs lying close together and apparently in their original positions, one having the stump of its upright footstone still remaining. They are decorated with cruciform patterns and panels of interlacing work. Several other early gravestones lie in the north transept and the New Building, and in the west wall of the south transept is a stone with two standing figures of pre-Conquest date.

There are five marble slabs with effigies of abbots ranging from the end of the 12th century to c. 1250. Of these, four are in the south aisle of the presbytery and one in the north. That at the east end of the south aisle rests on a marble

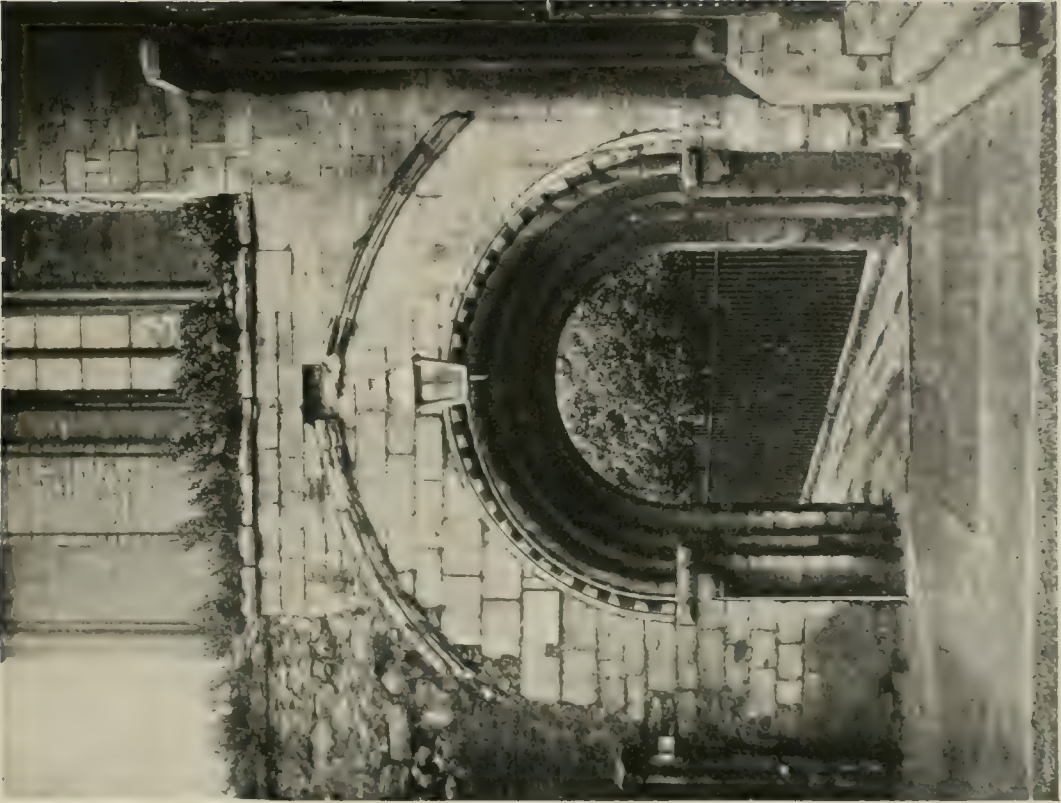
¹ Fifteenth-century screens behind the quire stalls under the tower are shown in Bridges' illustration of the quire.

² There is a regular alternation of kings and bishops in the central panels for some distance.

³ The arms may be those of the abbey knights.

⁴ See Gunton, op. cit. 337.

⁵ Op. cit. 8.



PETERBOROUGH : ARCHWAY AT NORTH-WEST OF CLOISTER



PETERBOROUGH : BLOCKED ARCH IN WEST WALL OF CLOISTER

coffin with quatrefoiled circles and engaged shafts on its vertical sides; the end panel has been lost, and a stone with a sunk circle containing foliage takes its place. It is very like those still in position above the arcade on the north wall of the frater, and may have come thence. In the coffin was found the body of Abbot Alexander, ob. 1227. The effigies follow a general type, with minor variations. All are in mass vestments, and hold a crosier in the right hand and a book in the left. The crosier staff sometimes goes diagonally across the body, its lower point entering the mouth of a dragon at the feet of the effigy.

In the New Building is a much damaged stone effigy of 16th-century date, also in mass vestments, and mitred. It is said to be that of John Chambers, last abbot and first bishop, who died in 1556, but the work is earlier than the date of his death.

There are several indents of brasses in the church, the most important being that of Abbot Godfrey of Crowland, ob. 1321, while of later monuments the mutilated mural monument of Sir Humphrey Orme, in the south aisle of the New Building, is worthy of notice, if only as a relic of the Puritan excesses of 1643. In the Galilee are a number of stones with indents of brasses, and this part of the church was at one time the usual burial place for minor canons.

Old Scarlett's picture, at the west end of the nave, north of the central doorway, deserves a passing mention. How far it represents the original painting made after his death in 1594 is doubtful; but there are records of its repainting in 1665 and 1747, and a drawing of 1721¹ shows a very different picture from that now existing. The two most famous monuments in the church, those of Queen Katharine of Aragon and Mary Queen of Scots, have left but little trace. They stood in the east bays of the presbytery arcades, Queen Katharine's tomb on the north, Queen Mary's on the south. The former, erected about 1535, was enclosed by screens or grates, and from the fragments which remain seems to have been a simple altar tomb of grey marble with lozenge-shaped panels of a stereotyped pattern made in large quantities in London. It was covered with a hearse and black velvet pall, and may have had an altar at the head of the tomb. The whole was completely destroyed in 1643, and a modern black marble slab now marks its site. Of Queen Mary's tomb, made shortly after her execution in 1587, nothing remains. Her body was removed to Westminster by James I, and nothing was left to destroy in 1643 but an achievement of her arms hung on a pillar close by.

Of modern monuments those to Archbishop Magee and Bishop Creighton are the most conspicuous.

The cathedral possesses a fine set of silver-gilt plate, including a large cup and cover paten of 1569, a paten of 1634, a cup and cover paten and two large flagons of 1638, an alms dish with embossed floral patterns on the rim of about 1650, three cups of 1836, 1852, and 1868, and a paten of 1871.

Before 1831 there were ten bells, and in 1541 the number was the same, with four others 'in other several places of the houses.' Five were sold in 1831, all being by Henry Penn, 1709. Of the remaining five one was recast in 1831, and the rest are of 1709, with Bishop Cumberland's name on the tenor. The Custumal mentions that there were formerly—i.e.,

before the date of its compilation—nine bells *infra chorum*, which probably means that they were in the 12th-century central tower, and were removed at its destruction in the 14th century. There was, at any rate, one bell in the lantern which took its place.

The registers begin in 1615, the second book dating from 1756, and the third from 1784.

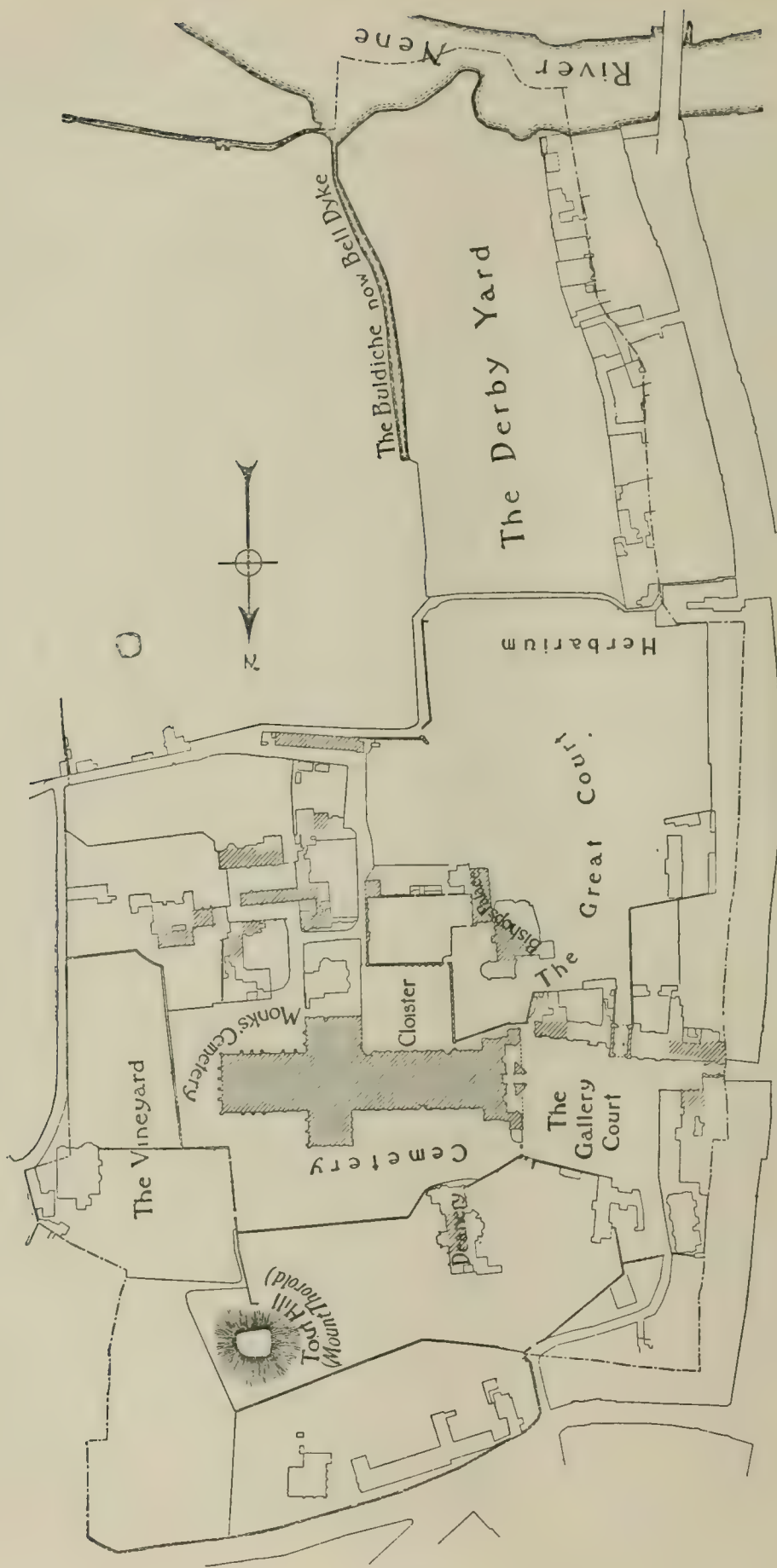
The account books, beginning in the latter years of the 16th century, are of considerable interest, but cannot be further noted here.

In the library there is a most interesting chartulary of Peterborough Abbey known as the Swapham book. From this volume the chronicles of Peterborough, printed by Sparke, were taken, and from it Gunton obtained much of the information embodied in his *History of Peterborough*. There is also a small chartulary and a collection of accounts and court rolls of the abbey manors.

Nothing definite is known of the buildings other than the church in the Saxon monastery, but it seems that the Saxon cloister and its surrounding buildings must have been left standing till the beginning of the 12th century. When Ernulf came to Peterborough in 1107 he found a new chapter-house in the process of building, probably the first work undertaken in a general renewal of the offices of the house. By 1114, when he was unwillingly translated to the see of Rochester, he had finished the new chapter-house, dorter and reredorter, and had begun building the frater.² This was just finished by 1116, the date of the great fire which destroyed the Saxon church, as we are told that the monks had then only dined in it for three days. The east and south sides of the cloister had thus been renewed, and they fortunately escaped being burnt, though all the rest of the house is said to have been destroyed. This seems to have been an overstatement, such as often occurs in the case of fires, for immediately afterwards, in the account of the burning of the tower of the church, the chronicler says that live coals were blown from the tower on to the abbot's house, so that all that was left seemed in danger of being burnt. The abbot's house was therefore not completely destroyed, and as the tower was almost certainly at the west of the church, the house may have been in the same relative position as the later abbot's house—on the west of the cloister. Nothing in the records would justify the idea that Ernulf had done anything to the west side of the cloister, but the wall now standing in this position contains features which are older than any other work above ground at Peterborough, and cannot be later than his time, or on the other hand many years earlier. These are three blocked round-headed doorways, two near the south end of the wall and one near the north end. The southernmost has lost whatever detail it may have had, but the second doorway has a plain round arch, with a label ornamented with alternating segments of circles set at right angles to the wall face. The jambs are square, with a chamfered abacus at the springing of the arch, and below it on each jamb a deeply-cut cross. The third doorway, near the north end, has lost its label, but retains a plain round arch and recessed jambs with shafts and fluted capitals, nearly hidden by blocking. This may have been the entrance to the outer parlour before the cloister was enlarged on the north.

¹ Add. MS. 32467, f. 213.

² Sparke, *Scriptores*, 66.



PLAN OF THE MONASTIC PRECINCTS. Scale 1000



PETERBOROUGH : SOUTH-EAST ANGLE OF CLOISTER



PETERBOROUGH : CLOISTER LAVATORIES AND FRATER DOOR

The west side of the wall has been refaced and its story obliterated, so that nothing can be said of the arrangement of the building into which they led.

The cloister had at first a pent roof, which probably rested at the lower end on rows of open arches. Before the fire of 1116, and indeed until after the opening of the new presbytery in 1140, the nave of the Saxon church stood on the site of the north walk of the cloister, but it is probable that the other walks were rebuilt with the rebuilding of the claustral buildings. The date of the completion of the cloister is given by the notice of its covering with lead by William of Waterville, 1155-75. The south wall of the church and the building west of the south transept must have been built when this was done.

There is no record of further work to the cloister, but from existing evidence it is clear that it was completely rebuilt in the 15th century, the east, west, and south walks being vaulted in stone, and probably the north walk also, though no evidence remains here, as on the other three sides, of the wall ribs and shafts of the vault.

This cloister had nine bays on the east and west, and ten on the north and south, each bay containing a four-light window. All were glazed, those in the west walk having the history of the foundation of the church, with verses, preserved by Gunton,¹ below each scene, while in the other three walks were the story of the Old Testament (south), that of the New (east), and pictures of the kings of England from Saxon times (north). These windows were smashed by the Puritan soldiery in 1643, and the cloister pulled down a few years later, in 1651.²

The chapter-house (capitulum) on the east side of the cloister is not mentioned again in the records after its completion by Ernulf, except that Abbot Robert, 1214-22, glazed a window in it 'on the prior's side.' In the survey of 1539 its dimensions are given as 28 yds. by 11 yds. It was destroyed in the time of the Commonwealth, and the house built on its site and now used as a school belongs to the latter part of the 17th century.

Between the chapter-house and the south transept was a passage leading to the monks' cemetery, about 40 ft. long, and vaulted in three bays. The springers of the vault on the north side and the wall face in which they are set date from c. 1230.

On the south of the chapter-house was the inner or monks' parlour (locutorium), a narrow passage-room opening to the cemetery on the east. Close to it, on the east side of the dormer range, was the novices' chapel, or chapel of the Holy Cross, entered doubtless from the ground story of the dormer range, part of which, as at St. Albans, may have been used as a day-room for the novices.

The dormer range (dormitorium) has been entirely destroyed, with the exception of a small piece of its west wall at the south-east angle of the cloister. The range was of two stories standing north and south, and its dimensions are given in 1539 as 64 yds. by 13 yds. Along its west side ran a vaulted passage, called in the Custumal the passage to the hostry, the west wall of

which still remains. The south end of the dormer may have been in line with a vaulted building, probably the 'little dormer' of the survey of 1539, still standing at the south-west of the passage, but this point can not be settled without excavation. Over the western of the three south windows in the ground story of the south transept are marks of the roof of a small building, probably of wood, which must have stood over the cemetery passage, and has a close parallel at Westminster. It implies that the dormer stopped short of the transept, but in spite of this there may have been a night stair from it to the church, and the plan in Bridges' *History* seems to show a stair in the required position, though no traces of it now remain.

A dormer was built by Ernulf, 1107-14, and escaped the fire two years later. Abbot Robert, 1214-22, glazed nine windows in the dormer, and also enlarged it and divided it into separate cubicles. Abbot Godfrey of Crowland, 1299-1321, 'gave the timber for the great dormer,' but it is not said whether this was for a new roof or new fittings.³

The Custumal mentions the great dormer and the new dormer (the context shows that the latter is not to be confused with the reredorter), and the great and little dormer of the suppression survey are probably identical with these. The procession on the vigils of the principal feasts entered at the north end of the great dormer, and went round the new dormer and then round the great dormer, finishing at the prior's bed, which was therefore probably at the south end of the great dormer.

Of the little dormer, if such it be, a good deal remains, and the dimensions given in 1539 (33 yds. by 12 yds.) agree fairly well with its width at the east end, if the small vaulted passage on the north be included; its west end is destroyed, but the addition of two bays to what remains would exactly give the required length. It contains work of several dates, the eastern part of its north wall being of the latter part of the 12th century, and it is probable that the south, east, and west walls of its two eastern bays are of the same time.⁴ The building was of two stories, vaulted beneath; the two eastern bays of the vault remaining perfect, while the north wall and springers of 3½ more bays exist to the west.⁵ The vault and all the remains west of the two perfect bays belong approximately to the second quarter of the 14th century, a date which would well agree with the Custumal, which calls this the new dormer. It seems that it is an addition to the dormer, in which some older work was included and adapted to a new use. This earlier building may have been a misericord, on the analogy of Westminster, where the arrangements of this part of the monastery are very like those at Peterborough, and it may have continued to be so used after the alterations. It is to be noted that before the time of Robert of Lindsey, 1214-22, there was a building specially assigned for this purpose.⁶

In its eastern bay is a small doorway to the passage, and on the south side of this and the next bay are two-light windows with transoms of 14th-century date.

and the minuti, is mentioned in 1431 in a way which suggests that it was entered from the cloister. It may, therefore, have been at that time under the great dormer, as was the case in other Benedictine houses, as Evesham and St. Albans

¹ Op. cit. 104.

² Thorpe Hall is said to have been built of its materials.

³ Sparke, *Scriptores*, 170.

⁴ The remains of a fireplace in the north side of the second bay are of post-suppression date.

⁵ The length given in the survey of 1539, 33 yds., suggests that the western part had five bays in all, as shown on the plan.

⁶ The misericord, also called 'le seyny,' i.e., the room for the use of the infirm

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Of the vaulted passage on the north little remains beyond the traces of the vault on the 12th-century wall, and the east jamb of a doorway opening northwards from its east bay. It is about contemporary with the 14th-century work in the little dorter, and had four bays, opening on the east to the hostry passage, and at the south-west to the third bay of the misericord.

The hostry passage leading southwards from the south-east angle of the cloister has a close parallel in the 'Dark Entry' at Westminster. It has been vaulted in fourteen bays, the shafts and springers remaining in its west wall, while its east wall is entirely destroyed, except at the north-east angle. It is entered from the cloister by a 13th-century arch coeval with the frater, and the first six bays of the passage are of the same date, set against the east wall of the frater. The next five bays have been open to the space between the frater and the little dorter, and, though now built up with later masonry, have in

the east of the south end of the dorter range, its axis being east and west, but not parallel to that of the church, being inclined to the north. The first mention of an infirmary is in the time of Abbot William of Waterville, 1155-75, who built an infirmary with a cloister and the necessary offices.³ This was superseded by the building, of which part still remains, built by Abbot John de Caux, 1250-62, at his own expense, 'adjoining the chapel of St. Lawrence.'⁴

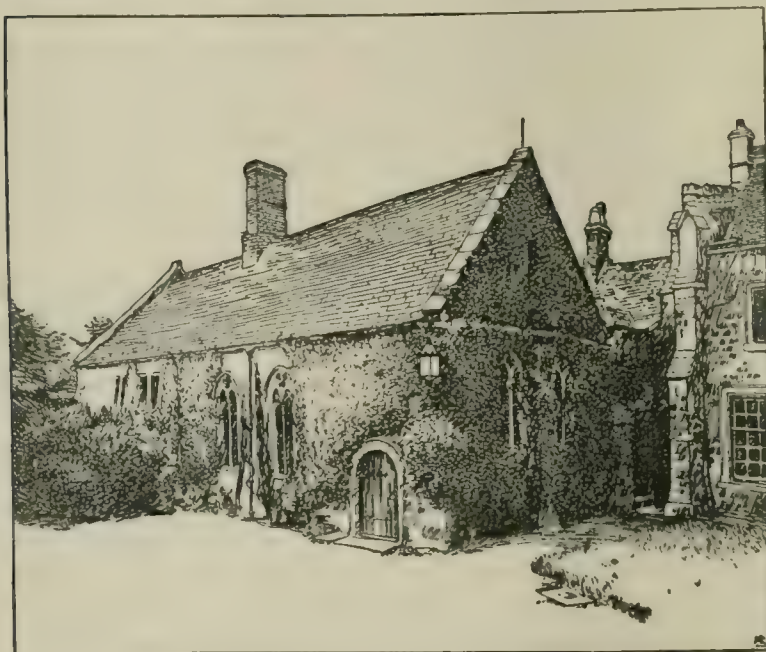
It consists of a hall of seven bays, 115 ft. long and 56 ft. wide inside,⁴ with north and south aisles, having to the east a chapel with chancel and nave, whose total internal length from east to west is 70 ft.

The chapel, which was dedicated in honour of St. Lawrence, retains its chancel of two bays, now divided into two stories, and serving as the west wing of a house at present occupied by Bishop Clayton. It has an east window of four lights, an insertion of the 14th century, at which time a good deal of alteration took place. Over this window is a row of 13th-century mask corbels, re-used below a gabled string of low pitch, the original pitch of the roof having been lowered. In the south wall the jambs of the original windows remain in both bays, but the heads have been altered in the 14th century,⁵ and the buttresses refaced or rebuilt at the same date.

The north wall has been entirely refaced in modern times, and preserves nothing ancient beyond parts of its buttresses. In the west wall is the blocked chancel arch of the chapel, flanked on the west face by a narrow blank arcade on each side. The jambs have detached marble shafts, and the details of the arch mouldings are exceedingly good. The nave of the chapel is destroyed, except for its south-east angle, where the lower part of the east jamb

of a window remains, appearing from its detail to be an insertion of the 14th century. The existence of this angle suggests that the chapel was aisleless, at any rate on the south side, but from the Customal we know that there were three altars in the chapel, the principal being that of St. Lawrence, while that of St. Edmund was on the north and that of St. Stephen on the south, an arrangement which, in view of the narrowness of the space on either side of the chancel arch, suggests that north and south aisles may have existed, and the position of the 15th-century building at the north-east angle of the hall points in the same direction.

The west end of the nave is marked by the bonding of its wall just east of the responds of the arcades of the hall. If the drawing of 1721 in the British Museum represents the original arrangement, it seems



INFIRMARY'S LODGING, PETERBOROUGH.

three cases been unblocked on the east side, showing the 14th-century transomed windows with which they were filled. The twelfth bay contains the arch to the vaulted passage on the north side of the little dorter, and the remaining two bays were under the little dorter, having a small doorway from its sub-vault in the fourteenth bay.

The reredorter (necessarium) was probably at the south end of the dorter, but nothing of it remains.

In a drawing of 1721¹ in the British Museum a building of two stories is shown standing a little south of the south end of the hostry passage. Its long axis appears to be north and south, and it has an entrance in its north end reached by a flight of steps from the ground level. The prior's chapel must have been somewhere in this direction.

The infirmary (infirmary) still stands in part to

¹ Add. MS. 32467, fol. 205.

² From other sources it is known that its chapel was dedicated in honour of St. Lawrence.

³ Sparke, *Scriptores*, 132.

⁴ The dimensions are given in 1539 as 65 yds. by 10 yds. which is accurate as regards the length, including the east and

west walls, but the breadth seems to ignore the aisles of the hall.

⁵ And afterwards cut off by the lowering of the walls.



PETERBOROUGH : BUILDING SOUTH OF INFIRMARY, POSSIBLY THE HOSTRY



PETERBOROUGH : WEST SIDE OF HOSTRY PASSAGE

that there was here a central doorway in a solid wall separating the chapel entirely from the hall, as at Canterbury and Ely, unless its upper part, which was ruined by 1721, had other openings in it.

The hall has north and south arcades of seven bays with deeply moulded arches of two orders, and piers of four engaged shafts with moulded capitals and bases. These, with the walls above them, remain perfect, with slender corbel shafts between each bay running up to the level of the wall plate. Of the north aisle of the hall the eastern and western bays alone remain, forming parts of dwelling houses, the arcades being built up with thin walls. The north-east angle of this aisle is well preserved and shows that in the east wall was a two-light window (its tracery now destroyed and its arched head used as a doorway to an upper room), and in the north wall of this bay a second two-light window, with wide lancets under an arched head pierced with a quatrefoil. The jambs have nook-shafts within and without, and the arch is moulded in two orders. Above is a cornice with mask corbels at the level of the eaves of the roof. The jamb of a second window remains more to the west in this wall, and seems to be of the 14th century. East of it is a small doorway of 15th-century date, with an inserted square head above it filled with two 15th-century cinquefoiled lights. The wall from about this point has been rebuilt, and from the jamb of the second window is destroyed. In the west bay of the aisle are remains of two windows in the north wall, with details like that at the east end of the same wall, but single lights, and in the north-west angle is a small projecting vice.

The whole length of the south aisle remains standing though much altered, and is used as a dwelling house, the arcade being built up with thin walls. The east wall of the aisle is modern, but in the two first bays from the east on the south side are tall blocked windows, whose jambs are perhaps original, but the heads have been altered in the 15th century. Further west are several inserted windows, perhaps of the 15th century, at two levels, and in the sixth bay is an original doorway, with marble nook-shafts, which is set to open outwards from the hall into a passage or pentice long since destroyed. The west wall of the aisle has a wall arcade of three arches with two moulded orders, and at its north end, adjoining the western respond of the south arcade of the hall, is the base of a stone vice, contained in a rectangular turret projecting from the west wall of the hall. Some traces of a corresponding turret remain at the west of the north arcade.

On the inner face of the west wall of the hall is a wall arcade of four bays with clustered shafts; above it the wall is broken away, but evidently contained one or more windows set in the gable end between the staircase turrets.

The hall had an open timber roof, which may have continued unbroken over the aisles, as there has never been a clearstory. The walls blocking the arcades may be in part of pre-suppression date, and from the Custumal it is clear that the division of the aisles into separate chambers was already in existence in the latter part of the 14th century.

Monastic infirmaries, starting as open halls, were, as early as the 14th century, commonly divided into sets of separate chambers by walls between each of the bays, and the chambers were often fitted with fireplaces. In this instance no ancient fireplaces exist, and in the Custumal one only is mentioned, which may have been in the middle of the hall after the ancient fashion.¹ The division of the aisles into stories is undoubtedly ancient and probably dates from monastic times, though later alterations have obscured the evidence for this. The greater part of the outer wall of the north aisle having perished, the evidence is not so clear on this side, but the north arcade is shown built up like the south, with doors and mullioned windows at two levels, in a drawing made in 1721.² There is little evidence as to the date of the removal of the roof of the nave of the hall, but Gunton³ speaks of 'that goodly building called the Infirmary (commonly the Farmery) lately pulled down.' As so much of the hall still stands, this can only refer to the roof and west gable of the hall, or the nave of the chapel.

Two buildings adjoining the infirmary must now be noticed. The first is an early 13th-century hall, at the north-east of the chapel, but not quite touching it. It is 30 ft. long by 15 ft. 6 in. wide inside, and is lighted by two windows in each of the north, south, and west walls, these being of two narrow lancet lights separated by a shaft with capital and base and having a pierced quatrefoil or trefoil in the head. They are widely splayed within and must originally have been closed with shutters only. In the north wall near the west end is an original doorway, and opposite it in the south wall a modern opening. At the east of the hall is a large fireplace, not of original date, and beyond it the building is of two stories, with a passage on the ground floor running north and south, and two chambers east of it. In the north wall the original doorway to the passage remains, but the south-east angle of the building is destroyed, later work being added at this point. The upper rooms have been lighted by small two-light square-headed windows. The second building is of the 15th century, of two stories adjoining the north-east angle of the north aisle of the infirmary hall. At the north end it has a thick stone wall with fireplaces on both stories, and the east wall is also of stone, but thinner. The west wall is of timber only, setting out on the upper floor, and the south wall, which seems to have been built against an existing building, perhaps a north aisle of the infirmary chapel, was of the same material.

The ground floor consists of a single room with two two-light windows on the east, partly destroyed by a modern recess, and has moulded wall-plates and ceiling beams, while the rooms above are attics, and retain no ancient features except the roof timbers.

As this building is of later date than the Custumal, its purpose cannot be identified from that source, but in the 14th century the infirmary's chamber seems to have opened into the infirmary, and this may possibly be its successor. Its position is almost identical with a similar room adjoining the Infirmary Hall at Canterbury, which is called the Mensa Magistri Infirmarii—or shortly, the Table Hall.⁴ Later buildings have been set against the north end of this

¹ This is Mr. W. H. St. John Hope's suggestion, though the word used, 'Camini,' rather implies a fireplace with a chimney, and the fireplace in question

may have been in the infirmary's chamber. See below.

² Add. MS. 32467, fol. 208.

³ Op. cit. 34.

⁴ For its use see Willis's *Monastery of Christ Church in Canterbury*, 55.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

room, and from them a wing runs west, enclosing a small garden and lawn on the north of the hall.¹

South of the infirmary, and lying parallel with it, is an interesting building consisting of a 13th-century hall with a 12th-century kitchen and offices adjoining it on the west. The hall is on a larger scale than that to the north-east of the infirmary chapel, being 44 ft. long by 24 ft. 6 in. wide inside, and has at the north-west a doorway with moulded arch and engaged shafts, formerly leading into the screens. Just east of the doorway is an inserted chimney-breast and four-centred fireplace of the late 16th century, and beyond it two tall two-light windows with quatrefoils in the heads and nook shafts in the jambs, of original date. Both have embattled transoms at half height, inserted in the 15th century. What windows may have been in the other walls have been destroyed by later alterations, but there are clasping buttresses at all four angles, and on each of the north and south sides were two narrow chamfered buttresses spaced evenly between the angle buttresses. One of these on the north side has been destroyed by the inserted chimney-breast, but the other three still exist. The building is now divided into two stories, a staircase being added at the east end, and has been otherwise much altered and repaired. In its west wall are two arched doorways opening to the kitchen buildings, and it seems that there were never more than two, instead of the normal triple arrangement for the buttery, pantry, and kitchen passage.

The kitchen dates from the last quarter of the 12th century, and has a tall round-arched fireplace in its north wall, and on the south side a wide arch of two orders springing from carved half-capitals. No other features appear to be ancient except a doorway some height from the ground level, just west of the entrance doorway of the hall, which has a round-arched head, now serving as a window.

Some distance west of the kitchen is the south-west angle of an aisled hall of somewhat later date, perhaps c. 1200. The respond of the south arcade, with a half-round shaft and moulded bell capital, remains, with a few stones of a chamfered arch springing from it, and there are small blocked round-headed doorways in the west and south walls adjoining. The respond is not in line with the arch on the south of the kitchen, but there is probably some connexion between the two buildings.

With the exception of some minor buildings to be noticed later, the group just described are all that remain near the site of the infirmary. The earlier infirmary built by William of Waterville before 1175 had a cloister, but there seems to be no provision for one in connexion with the present building. It is to be noted that Abbot Acharius 1200-10 gave a part of his vineyard, which lay to the east of the church, to the infirmary, because its inmates had no place to take the air—so that it seems that the 12th-century cloister was not large.

The hall and kitchen to the south of the infirmary hall and the smaller hall at the north-east of the chapel are both older than the main block of buildings, and must have been built while the older infirmary was standing. There is no documentary evidence of

their original purpose, but it is possible that the smaller hall may have been the infirmary's lodging belonging to the old infirmary, and that the kitchen may have served the infirmary, while the hall east of it belonged to a guest-house or hostry (*hostillaria*) for visitors of the better class, who would be served from the infirmary kitchen, where the fare was of a more varied kind than that in the monks' kitchen. There was a hostry chapel in connexion with this group of buildings, which had an altar of All Saints, but nothing more is known of it.

South-west of the hostry buildings is one of the prebendal houses, which contains the remains of a small square 15th-century building of two stories, of which the old roof-timbers may yet be seen. East of this, in a wall dividing the garden of this house from another, is the lower part of the east wall of a small 14th-century building, with a blocked central window-opening. Too little remains of these two buildings to make it possible to suggest their former use. On the line of the boundary wall of the precinct, to the south of the buildings just noted, is a long 14th-century building, having two tall trefoiled windows with transoms and a doorway of two moulded orders about the middle of its north side. It is now cut up into several tenements, and modern windows and doorways have been inserted, but it was probably an out-building, perhaps a stable, belonging to the hostry.

The prior's chapel mentioned in the Customal—its dedication was in honour of St. Dionysius, St. Rusticus, and St. Eleutherius—was, from the evidence of the procession route, somewhere in this quarter, and was probably a distinct building from the hostry chapel, though this, in view of the frequent use of the prior's quarters as guest-chambers, is by no means certain.

The first notice of the monks' frater (*refectory*) is that of its commencement by Ernulf, 1107-14, and its completion just before the fire of 1116. It was replaced in the time of Abbot Walter of Bury St. Edmunds, 1233-45, by the building whose ruins are still to be seen, consisting of the lower parts of the east and south walls, with the entrance doorway from the cloister. It was left to decay after the suppression, and in the report of a commission² sent by Archbishop Abbot, 23 October, 1629, it is said to be 'now decayed for 50 years and upwards.' The west gable was then standing in a ruinous condition, and was ordered to be taken down to the bottom of the windows, and not lower, and a drawing of 1721³ shows it in this condition.

Its internal measurements may have been about 145 ft. by 37 ft. 6 in. and the figures of the survey of 1539, 54 yds. by 14 yds. being external, agree in the matter of width, but the excess of 17 feet in the length clearly points to the fact that another building, at the west end of the frater, was included in the measurement. This building was in line with the Abbot's Hall on the west side of the cloister, and formed part of the grant to the bishop on the establishment of the bishopric in 1541. The report of 1629 speaks of the great stairs of the old hall called the Monks' Hall, evidently in this position; they may have led to a loft at the west of the frater, as at

¹ In the 14th century there was a garden (*bortus*) belonging to the infirmary; most probably it lay to the east of the chapel.

² Reg. Abbot, iii, 101.

³ Add. MS. 32467, fol. 205. From this drawing it seems that the west wall

of the frater was not in line with that of the cloister, but further west, as at Westminster.



PETERBOROUGH : ENTRANCE HALL OF THE BISHOP'S PALACE



PETERBOROUGH : SOUTH WING OF THE BISHOP'S PALACE

Durham, where it was commonly used as the monks' dining-room.¹

The use of the lower story of this building may be explained by the entry in the chronicle² that Abbot Robert of Lindsey, 1214–22, made a larder next the kitchen for the use of the cellarer.

From the Custumal it may be gathered that the frater had tables running along its north and south sides, and a high table across its east end—the abbot's place being at one end of the table and the prior's at the other. The bell which was rung before meals, etc., hung on the east wall at the prior's end of the table, and on the same wall was painted a Majesty, to which all bowed on leaving the frater.

Of the east wall the lower part remains, having at either end of its west face the springings of an arcade of nine bays of two moulded orders with nook-shafts and moulded capitals and bases. The arcades are gone, but the tympana at the backs of the arched heads still remain, and show that at each end were three bays with plain pointed arches,³ and in the middle three with trefoiled arches. A number of pinholes for securing hangings or panelling are to be seen in the tympana and the wall below them. In the north wall a similar wall-arcade remains, originally of thirty bays. It is in part blocked with masonry, hidden by green-houses, and otherwise mutilated, but enough remains to show the beauty of its details. Above the arches are sunk roundels with geometrical and foliate designs. At the west end of this wall is the entrance doorway from the cloister, of four orders with jambshafts, the inner order having a round arch, while the others are pointed, the tympanum thus formed being enriched with a sunk trefoil between two dragons in scrolls of foliage. It is now known as Heaven's Gate, taking the name from a gateway which formerly stood to the south-west of the frater. The west and south walls of the frater were doubtless arcaded like the others, the drawing of 1721 proving this as regards the former, and the pulpit for the reader was no doubt in the south wall.

Towards the cloister the north wall of the frater had a wall-arcade of eleven bays, with two pointed arches under a containing arch in each bay. Six bays of this arcade remain towards the east, and have had marble shafts; the five bays west of them, up to the frater door, having been destroyed in the 15th century, and replaced by deeply-recessed arcades intended to contain the troughs for the cloister lavatory and the towel-cupboards. A marble lavatory which may have been the predecessor of this was made by Abbot Robert of Lindsey, 1214–22, but nothing more is known of it, unless it is to be connected with a large circular basin of blue marble now in the north triforium of the presbytery, belonging apparently to the early part of the 13th century, and having formed part of a circular lavatory with a central pillar. It is made up of fragments taken from the foundations of the Galilee at the late repairs, and if broken up to form foundations at the time of building must have been quite new when so used;⁴ but it probably belongs to a later underpinning. This circular lavatory must have stood in the cloister garth, on the south side, near the frater door.

The monks' kitchen adjoined the south-west angle of the frater. In 1539 it is said vaguely to be 25 yds. long, and no other reference is made to it in the records, unless it is what is called in 1629 the abbot's kitchen. This is said to have been in ruins for fifty years, but as it adjoined other buildings its walls were to be kept and coped at the top. At the same time it is noted that there was a large kitchen in use in the bishop's palace.

Robert of Lindsey made a larder for the cellarer's use adjoining the kitchen, and it has already been suggested that this larder was the building at the west end of the frater. The abbot's kitchen, a distinct building, was made by Walter of Bury St. Edmunds, 1233–45, but nothing more is known of it.

At the north-east end of the south wing of the present palace is the massive west wall of a late 12th-century building, with a blocked pointed doorway and a large buttress to the south of it. It has been vaulted, as a late 13th-century vaulting shaft remains on its east face south of the doorway. Against this wall on the west side is Abbot Kirton's two-story building known as Heaven's Gate Chamber. The wall in question must belong either to the monks' kitchen or to the gate, and from the comparative narrowness of the doorway, and the height of the springing of the vault, it is probably part of the former.

To the west of the cloister stood a two-story range of buildings, the ground story containing the outer parlour, the cellarer's storerooms, etc., and the upper the abbot's hall and part of his great chamber. The abbot's house is first mentioned as existing in 1116, when it was nearly set on fire by the burning west tower of the church. Abbot Martin, 1133–55, rebuilt the abbot's chamber and his hall (*aula ad familiam*), and to his time belongs the arch at the north end of the west wall of the cloister, next to the church, which formed the east end of the outer parlour.

West of this range lay the great court of the monastery, called *forum Abbathiae* in the Custumal, divided by a range of buildings on the north from the outer or great Gallery (Galilee) court, as it afterwards came to be called.

An idea of the general arrangement of the abbot's buildings and the court is best obtained by comparing the references in Swapham with the surveys of 1539, 1541, and 1629, and the descriptions in Gunton's History. The references, omitting minor details, are as follows:—

William of Waterville, 1155–75, built a chamber, a chapel, and offices in the curia, probably the inner court, but it is not possible to identify the position of these buildings.

Benedict, 1177–94, who built the great church *usque ad frontem*, built a great hall with all its guest chambers (*diversoria*), and began, but had not finished at the time of his death, 'that magnificent work next the brewhouse.'

Robert of Lindsey, 1214–22, covered the abbot's hall with lead on the side next the cloister, and set up the great house over the bakery and brewhouse. He also built the new inner gate and the new stable for the abbot's horses.

¹ It must be noted that the drawing of 1721 shows an archway west of the frater door which may have belonged to these stairs.

² Sparke, *Scriptores*, 108.

³ This does not agree with the drawing of 1721, but the evidence can not be mistaken.

⁴ In this connexion it may be noted

that a small marble figure of good 13th-century style was found in the same way at the late repairs. It is now in the Chapter Library in the Galilee.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Alexander, 1222-26, built the great solar at the door of the abbot's chamber, with a cellar beneath it.

Richard of London, 1274-95, built the granary of the convent.

William of Woodford, 1295-99, renewed the abbot's chapel.

Godfrey of Crowland, 1299-1321, built in 1299 a garderobe *fortem et pulcherrimam* between the great church and the abbot's chapel, with very beautiful cupboards at the end of the chapel.

Gunton¹ tells us that Robert Kirton, 1496-1528, made a bow window in his great hall overlooking the cloister, and a chamber in his dwelling house, calling it Heaven's Gate Chamber.

The abbot's hall was therefore over the western range of claustral buildings, and its dimensions are given in 1539 as 32 yds. by 12 yds., the great chamber adjoining being 33 yds. by 10 yds.

In the survey of the site made in 1541 on the establishment of the bishopric, the range of buildings abutting on the cloister on the west is said to be 180 ft. long. This dimension is about the actual distance between the south wall of the church and

derneath were very fair vaults and goodly cellars for several uses. The great hall, a magnificent room, held at the upper end in the wall, very high above the ground, three stately thrones, wherein were placed sitting the three royal founders, carved curiously of wood, painted and gilt, which in the year 1644 were pulled down and broken in pieces.' In the west wall of the cloister, beside the three early doorways already mentioned, are three others; one of the 14th century with pierced tracery above its head, in the fourth bay from the north; a second, with a round arch and moulded capitals, c. 1200,² in the eighth and ninth bays; and a third, of the 16th century, with a straight-sided four centred head, in the tenth bay.

The abbot's chapel projected westward from the hall, and was renewed between 1295 and 1299 by William of Woodford, while his successor, Godfrey of Crowland, built in 1299 a garderobe between it and the great church as noted above. The cupboards mentioned were probably in the garderobe, in a wall abutting against the west part of the chapel.

The chapel, the position of which is suggested on the coloured plan, is probably that referred to in

1539 as the Abbot's Gallery Chapel, as being close to the great west front or Galilee of the church. It seems to have been dedicated in honour of St. Mary Magdalen, as the route of the procession on the vigils of principal feasts suggests. This, after leaving the frater, passed by the sub-cellarer's door, evidently near the south end of the west wall of the cloister, and entered the door of the abbot's chamber, a little further north. It then went to the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen, and returning from it entered the chamber, and went straight to a second chapel. The way must therefore have been to turn to the right at the head of the stairs leading up from the cloister to the first floor, where the hall and chamber were, and to go through the hall to the chapel. Returning then through the hall, the procession went westward through the great chamber to the second chapel, called the small or private chapel.

This is evidently that referred to in 1539

as the 'other chapel' in the abbot's house, but nothing more is known of it. It may have been over the north end of the solar.

Of all these, the principal buildings of the abbot's house, nothing remains but the solar. Its upper story (the solar itself) is cut up into rooms, and no original features are to be seen,⁴ but the ground stage, which as already said serves as the entrance hall to the present bishop's palace, is vaulted in two spans with five bays of ribbed vaulting, springing from circular pillars and corbels in the walls. The three middle bays are much in their original condition, but the southern bay is entirely modern, as far as regards the vaulting. The northern bay is wider than the rest, its east half being cut off by solid walls and used as a cellar, while the west half forms the vestibule to the modern chapel. The cellar is lighted by a single narrow lancet on the east, and on its north and west sides are parts of an



HEAVEN'S GATE CHAMBER, THE PALACE, PETERBOROUGH.

that of the frater, and clearly includes the building at the west end of the latter. The length of the great chamber makes it clear that it did not stand in the same line as the hall, but east and west, and if its width be added to the length of the hall, the combined measurement reaches from the church to the north wall of the frater. The great chamber therefore ran westwards from this point over the site now occupied by the modern chapel of the bishop's palace, and the vaulted building now forming the entrance hall of the palace abutted on its south side. This seems to be the great solar at the door of the abbot's chamber, with a cellar beneath it, built between 1222 and 1226 by Abbot Alexander. That all these buildings were fine of their kind is witnessed by Gunton.³ 'A building very large and stately,' he says, 'as this present age can testify; all the rooms of common habitation being built above stairs, and un-

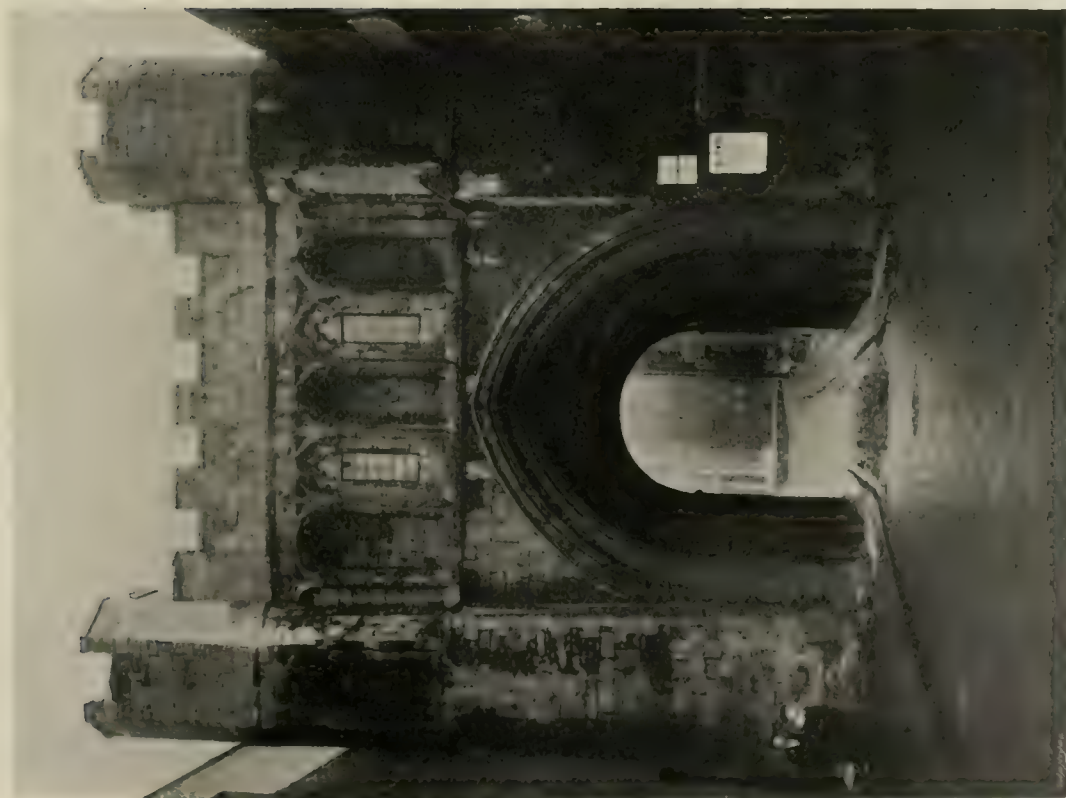
¹ Op. cit. p. 56.

² Ibid. p. 4.

³ The date points to its having been in-

serted as the entrance to the vaulted space below the great chamber, or to stairs to the chamber itself.

⁴ Some 13th-century windows were lately found in its west wall, but have been again covered up.



PETERBOROUGH : WEST GATEWAY OF THE PRECINCTS



PETERBOROUGH : THE ABBOT'S GATEWAY, NOW THE BISHOP'S GATEWAY

earlier building belonging to the latter part of the 12th century; on the west a wide semi-circular arch, and on the north a plain round-headed doorway, both blocked. The buttress and part of the walling at the south-east angle of the hall are also of late 12th-century date. South and west of the solar are the modern buildings of the palace, containing some remains of ancient masonry, whose extent can only be conjectured at the present time.

The south wing of the palace has at its north end Abbot Kirton's two-story building, known as Heaven's Gate Chamber. In the upper story are two oriel windows on the north side, below one of which is Kirton's rebus, and on the south side, at the west, is a third, larger and more elaborate, with stone panelled sides and ceiling. A staircase formerly leading to this room was destroyed when the modern rooms at the south-west of the palace were built. The lower part, which had open arches on the north, is probably the successor of a former gateway known as Heaven's Gate, and seems to have retained the name and use, as it is spoken of as a gate in 1541 and 1629. It is divided by a wall running north and south, which has a late 12th-century string on its west face, either re-used or *in situ*, and the room east of this wall contains on the south a low 13th-century recess abutting at the west on the wall, and broken through at the back to form a doorway. The west half of the ground story is used as a lobby leading from the hall to the south wing. Its south wall is of 14th-century date, and in it a doorway opens to a long passage to the present kitchen, originally open to the west, but now enclosed with a 17th-century arcade, filled in at a still later date. Along the east wall of the passage is a long stone seat with moulded ends of the 15th century. East of the passage are rooms retaining no ancient features, and at the south end is the kitchen, with a 14th-century square-headed window of three lights on the west side, its inner splay ornamented with a band of quatrefoils, and in the south wall a contemporary three-light window of plain detail, and without ornament. There are no ancient fittings in the kitchen or anything to show whether it is that mentioned as being in use in the palace in 1629. The upper story of this part of the range is of the 16th century, and the whole has been so much altered at various dates that its arrangement and use in monastic times is doubtful. Its position near the abbot's house points to the probability that it was for the use of guests of high rank, and it may even be the *aula regis* mentioned in the records.

The measurements given in the survey of 1541 make it possible, with the help of the report of 1629, to determine the general arrangements of the great court. It was bounded on the north by the church and the Gallery Court, on the west by the precinct wall, on the south by the Derby Yard, and on the east by a line running southward from the west range of the cloister to the gates known as the 'Redde Gates.' On the west of the court, and probably near the north-west angle, was the granary. On the north of the court was a range of buildings having the abbot's gallery chapel at the east and the outer gateway at the west. Until the last century they stood without material alteration, but now the greater part has been rebuilt. The western jamb of a 15th-century gateway remains near the southern stair tower of the west front of the church, the gateway having been built against the tower; it must have

given access to the outer parlour at the west of the cloister, and probably also to the east end of the great court. Over the gateway was a room lighted by two windows on the north, of which drawings are extant. At its north-west angle is a projecting turret, now much modernized, but interesting from being in all probability that on which the 'loud-voiced clerk' of the Custumal stood on Palm Sunday, to be answered by his brethren from the roof of the Trinity chapel in the Galilee. Adjoining the gateway on the west is a two-story 14th-century building, its lower story vaulted, and retaining in the upper story two two-light windows and a cornice with ballflowers below the parapet. On the west again is a room with 15th-century ceiling-joists, now the registrar's office, but from this point as far as the abbot's gateway all has been refaced or rebuilt.

This gateway,¹ built by Robert of Lindsey between 1214 and 1222, is vaulted in three sexpartite bays, the doors being hung, with a side entrance for foot passengers, between the first and second bays from the north end. At either end is a pointed arch with clustered responds, flanked by rectangular angle turrets, which are finished above with tall battlements. Over the gateway is a large room, reached by a staircase on the south side, and known as the knights' chamber, from having formerly been adorned with the portraits and arms of the abbey knights. Its original windows have been replaced by Jacobean mullioned and transomed windows with square heads, but the moulded stone string at the ceiling level is original. Each end of the gateway is gabled, with a large niche in the gable, and one in each of the angle turrets, all retaining their original statues.

A range of buildings runs westward from this gateway, formerly ancient, but now entirely refaced. The western end of this range was formerly the abbot's prison, and old engravings show it to have been a plain 12th-century building with pilaster buttresses. A cellar of this date still remains, with a semi-circular rubble vault having a small arched opening at the south end 4 ft. deep, which has given rise to the usual secret passage story. West of the cellar, but on the ground-floor level, is a room with a 13th-century vault, and beyond this again a large vaulted room, now of two bays, but formerly larger, of late 12th-century date, its west wall being the boundary wall of the abbey precincts. Its south end has been rebuilt, and on the north it is divided from the western gateway of the precincts by a dark and narrow room, with a blocked 12th-century window in its west wall, known as the 'Condemned Cell.' Through the jambs of the window runs the bar-hole of the gate.

The western gateway was built by Abbot Benedict, 1177-94, and has a semi-circular ribbed vault of one bay, with moulded semi-circular arches on the east and west. There are wall arcades on the north and south, and in the south wall a doorway leading up to the chapel of St. Nicholas over the gate. This with all the upper part of the gateway was rebuilt in 1302-7, and old drawings show that there was another story, now destroyed, over the chapel. The chief remains of the 14th-century alterations are to be seen on the west side towards the market-place, where a pointed arch has been built in front of the semi-circular arch and flanking turrets added to the

¹ Its proportions are injured by the present level of the ground, which is 2 ft. 6 in. above the 13th-century level, burying the bases and part of the shafts.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

angles, while above the arch is a wall arcade with cinquefoiled arches. The record of the building of this addition to the gateway gives a note of the great depth to which the foundations were taken, but in spite of the care of the builders their work has settled badly, and this may be due to the existence of an ancient boundary ditch. After finishing his work on the gate, Godfrey of Crowland went on to build chambers adjoining it 'towards the church.' Of these nothing can now be said. Of the buildings on the south and west of the great court little can be said. The great brewhouse, near which Benedict began his 'magnificent work'—finished, perhaps, by Robert of Lindsey, as 'the great house over the bakery and brewhouse' may be the same as that described in 1629 as 'a great building heretofore called the 'Abbot's Brewhouse within the courtyard on the south.' In the south-east angle of the court was the Water Gate or Fengate, otherwise known as the Bulgate, apparently at the head of the Buldiche, a narrow waterway running northward from the river, and still existing as the Bell Dyke.

Another gate, the 'Redde Gates' mentioned in 1541, was near this point, and the remains of a gate on the south boundary of the palace grounds may be part of it. The pittance office was close by, but has left no traces.

The open space between the gateway and the west front of the church formed the outer court of the monastery, and was called the Great Gallery or Galilee Court. The buildings on its south side have been noticed, and on the north nothing of presupposition date exists, except the deanery gateway at the north-east corner, and the chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury at the north-west, near the entrance gateway. Of the chapel the chancel only remains, of three bays with three-light net-tracery windows on north and south, and a five-light window of like design on the east. It belongs to c. 1340, and takes the place of a chapel finished by Abbot Benedict,¹ a chamfered string course from which has been re-used below the east window of the later buildings. The nave of this chapel was destroyed in 1402, its materials being granted to the townsfolk of Peterborough for use in the building of their parish church.

The deanery gateway is the work of Abbot Kirton, and his rebus occurs on it. It has a wide archway, flanked by a smaller one for foot passengers, and over these a line of carved panels, containing the arms of St. Oswald, St. Edmund, and St. Edward, with the Trinity shield, the portcullis and the feathers of the Prince of Wales. In the spandrels of the large arch are the arms with cross-keys and crosslets, and crossed swords and crosslets, now used by the see and chapter respectively, but it is not clear how they were assigned anciently. At its east angle is a second archway opening to the graveyard north of the church, and from this point a wall formerly ran to the north angle of the west front of the church, forming the western boundary of the cemetery.

The deanery was the prior's house at the time of the suppression, and this part of the precincts was known as the prior's side, as distinct from the abbot's side, south-west of the church.²

The nucleus of the deanery is a 13th-century hall,

¹ To which a hospital was attached.

² The Prior's chapel was however near the hosty in the 14th century, and at first his lodging was in all probability in the same part of the monastery.

but the whole building has undergone so much alteration and repair that nothing can be said of its early arrangements.

East of it is Tout Hill, the mound raised by Abbot Thorold, 1069–98, as a defence against his own monks, and dismantled by Martin de Bec. It bears no traces of masonry, and probably never had anything beyond wooden defences. The area of the precinct east of the cemetery is occupied by the house and garden called the Vineyard, now occupied by Miss Argles, the position being closely parallel to that of the vineyard at St. Alban's. The house contains no masonry of ancient date. The vineyard was planted by Martin de Bec.

The line of the precinct wall is shown on the block plan on p. 448. Much of it is probably as old as the 14th century at any rate, and there are remains of gateways to the south of the infirmary buildings and at the point where the wall turns southward on the south boundary of the palace grounds. The latter point may be the site of the 'Red Gates' mentioned in 1541. A shed or wharf for the housing of boats was built 'at Bolehithe gate,' by Godfrey of Crowland, in 1301. A wall between the Derby yard and the herbarium was built by Abbot Godfrey in 1307.

LONGTHORPE (Thorpe until 16th century). Longthorpe, which was not an integral part of the 'vill of Burgh' like the other hamlets, is now a separate ecclesiastical parish, though part of the civil parish of Peterborough Without. Most of the population are engaged in dairy farming. There are 490½ acres of arable land, 594½ of pasture, and 77 of wood. The village is situated about a mile west of Peterborough; it is small and built irregularly of grey stone, which gives it a picturesque appearance. Thorpe Hall, a fine 17th-century house in a small park, is occupied by Colonel C. I. Strong. It lies between the village and Peterborough, and near the church on the south side of the road is Longthorpe Tower, the manor-house of the new manor of Longthorpe.³ The old manor-house near the western boundary of the park is now a farmhouse. Close beside it is a holy well where according to tradition a hermit once lived.

Longthorpe Tower is a very interesting and uncommon example of a small house of the late 13th century. Originally it consisted in all probability of a hall and tower, the former occupying the space now covered by the entrance and parlour, but the only ornamental feature left of this apartment is the two-light window over the front door. There is another two-light window (now built up) at the further end, but it dates from the early 16th century. The wing to the west is of 17th-century date, and at one time extended still further westward. The rooms to the south of the tower are comparatively modern. The kitchens of the original building have disappeared and cannot be located; they may possibly have been constructed of wood. The tower is the most interesting part of the building, both in regard to its arrangement and its state of preservation. It resembles on a small scale one of the peel towers of the north of England which, however, generally had five floors, whereas this only has three. Of these the two lower are vaulted, while the uppermost is covered with a comparatively modern roof. The room on the

³ Close R. 1650, pt. xx, No. 24.



PETERBOROUGH : WEST GATE OF PRECINCTS AND ST. THOMAS'S CHAPEL



PETERBOROUGH : THE DEANERY GATEWAY

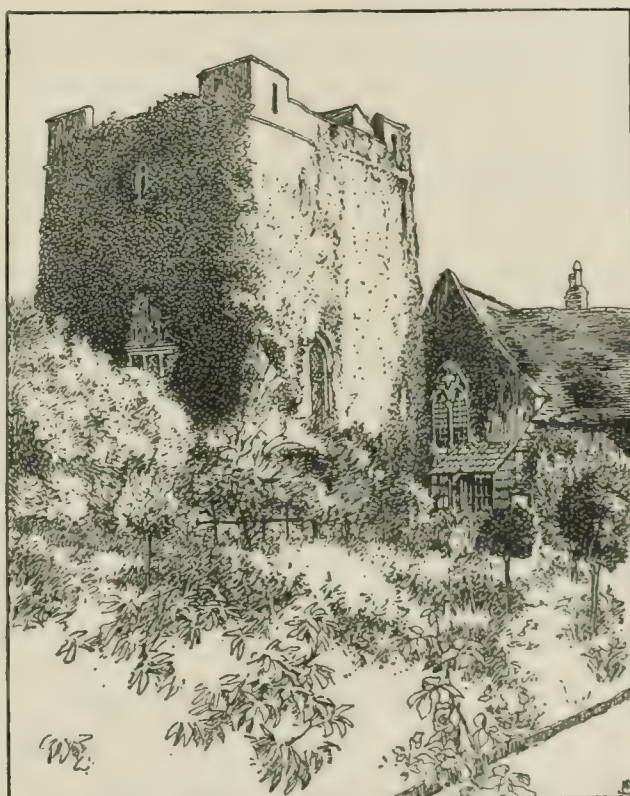
ground floor, being most liable to attack, is only furnished with two small windows, and was probably a cellar or store-place. The room above it has a fire-place (modernized) and is much better lighted, although the actual windows are of later date than the walls. Each of these floors was approached from the hall-wing, but there are no traces of the original staircase which led to the upper floor of the wing. The tower itself has no stairs leading from the ground floor, but it has a narrow flight, contrived in the thickness of the wall, giving access from the first floor to the room over it, and a circular newel-stair from the top floor on to the battlements of the roof.

The top floor has an enclosure in the thickness of the wall for a garderobe, but the shoot is filled up, and the stone seat lies about in the large room. The windows of this floor have never been glazed, but the jambs and mullions are rebated in the usual way on the inside to receive wooden shutters. The present condition of this room closely resembles what it was in its early days, and the narrow stairs, the rough floor, the unglazed windows, and the bare walls convey a vivid idea of the amount of comfort which was expected in the days when it was built. There was no fire-place here, but the single octagonal shaft of the flue from below still remains behind the battlements.

Longthorpe was the only hamlet *MANOR* of Peterborough which was a separate manor with its own court. 'Thorpe' is mentioned in the spurious charter of Wulfhere as an appurtenance of Peterborough,¹ and a 'Thorpe' is also mentioned in the charter of Edgar,² which may have been Longthorpe or one of the other possessions of Peterborough of that name. In Domesday Longthorpe is rated at two hides,³ and about 1125 at two hides and one virgate.⁴ William son of Anseredus, who will be referred to again, held a quarter part of three virgates for military service; and William son of Odard, the cook, held a quarter of two virgates by service of cooking for the abbot. Godric, who held a quarter part of three virgates, for which he and his horse did service for the abbot, is the only other tenant named. Either Henry I or Henry II granted to the abbot of Peterborough that he should hold his 'land of Thorp' for 8*s.* as his predecessors had held it of the king's ancestors.⁵ Richard I confirmed to Peterborough 'Thorp,' as an appurtenance of Peterborough, with its chapel.⁶ The 'court' of Longthorpe is mentioned in the valuation of the abbey's lands in 1291,⁷ and again in the description taken on the death of Abbot Godfrey in 1321, when a capital messuage and a dovecote which had been rebuilt by Godfrey are also mentioned.⁸ Free warren was granted to the abbot and convent in their demesne lands of Longthorpe by Edward I in 1293.⁹ At the beginning of the 14th century the series of Court Rolls at Peterborough

begins. The first for Longthorpe is dated 1320-1, the latest 1695, but there are not more than a dozen in all for the manor, scattered fairly regularly over that period.¹⁰

In a list of manors of the monastery dated 1535-6 two manors in Longthorpe are mentioned—John Villers is stated to hold a lease of the 'old' manor for 40 years, Thomas Philip for 21 years of the 'new' manor.¹¹ This 'new' manor probably developed from the holding of Anseredus, father of the William in the 12th-century description. In another part of the same document Guy de Waterville is said to hold one knight in Overton and Thorp. This is annotated by a 13th-century scribe, 'Primus Anseredus de Waterville. Robert de Waterville holds in Northamptonshire—that is to say, in Torpe, and in Huntingdonshire—that is to say, in Overton half a knight's fee and a quarter, and thence makes service.' This



LONGTHORPE TOWER.

note is corroborated by the bull of Pope Eugenius in 1146, which confirmed to Peterborough the fee of Anseredus in Overton and Thorpe.¹² Guy was perhaps the son of Anseredus and William, possibly a younger brother who may have held the land in Thorpe of the elder as well as holding directly of the abbey. It did not, however, long remain in his hands, unless he dropped his surname and was called instead from the village which had become his home, for in 1199 Robert de Waterville, the successor of Guy, was dealing with Thurstan of Thorpe about land in

¹ Birch, *Cart. Sax.* No. 22.

² *A. S. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 220.

³ *V.C.H. Northants*, i, 313a.

⁴ *Chronicon*, p. 158.

⁵ Swapham, fol. 43b, as in the Edgar

charter. This is no evidence to show that Longthorpe is referred to here.

⁶ *Cart. Antiq. DD.* 17.

⁷ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), p. 53.

⁸ Sparke, *Scriptores*, pp. 163, 177.

⁹ *Chart. R.* 22 Edw. I, m. 15, No. 44.

¹⁰ Doc. in custody of dean and chapter of Peterborough.

¹¹ Doc. at Peterborough.

¹² Sparke, *Scriptores*, p. 79.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Longthorpe,¹ and it appears from a later document that the ancestors of Thurstan had held land in Longthorpe of the Watervilles from 'time immemorial.'² The father of Thurstan and his son were both named William,³ and in 1227 Guy, son of Robert de Waterville, released all right in the teneement held from him in Longthorpe by the latter to the abbot and convent of Peterborough.⁴ During the 13th century William son of Thurstan not only held the land of the Waterville fee, but also that which had belonged to Godric.⁵

In 1321 Robert of Thorpe did homage to the abbot of Peterborough for his estate in Marholm, and also for one-third part of all the land he held in Longthorpe. More, he said, he could not do because of an agreement made with Alexander, abbot of Peterborough, and his ancestor, William son of Thurstan, when his homage and service was transferred from Guy de Waterville to the abbey. By his agreement it was arranged that the Thorpes should pay 6s. 8d. for all services from the land they held of the Watervilles. On investigation of the abbey's records it was found that Robert's statement was correct.⁶ From this date until the reign of Henry VII the descent of this land in Longthorpe follows that of the manors of Marholm and Milton, except that it does not appear to have come at all into the hands of the Suttons in the 15th century, but to have remained in the possession of the Wittleburys and their relatives the Plesyngtons.⁷ In 1503 Robert Wittlebury and Anne, his wife, sold the manor of Longthorpe to Thomas Montague and others,⁸ who, according to Bridges, transferred it almost immediately to Abbot Kirkton,⁹ thus probably accounting for the existence of two manors in Longthorpe among the abbey's possessions in the reign of Henry VIII.

The dean and chapter of Peterborough, to whom Longthorpe was granted by Henry VIII in 1541,¹⁰ leased both manors. About 1550 John Vyllers still occupied the old manor, and Antony Bartholomew farmed the new.¹¹ A family of the name of Robinson afterwards leased one manor for many years, and were in occupation when the commissioners for the sale of church lands took possession of it about 1650, but on payment of a fine their estate was discharged.¹²

About 1653 Oliver St. John, who also had a lease of the old manor of Longthorpe from the dean and chapter, bought an estate at Longthorpe from them and built upon it, largely with stone from the cloisters at Peterborough, his magnificent house of Thorpe Hall. Oliver St. John is one of the greatest names connected with the county. He was prominent among the opponents of the court in the reign of Charles I, and was counsel for Hampden in the trial of the validity of

ship-money, in which he gained great distinction by his speech. As a leader of the opposition he ranks with Hampden, Pym, and Lord Bedford, and was the fiercest of all the persecutors of Strafford. He was in close alliance with Cromwell, whose cousin he married, from 1644 to 1648. As Chief Justice of Common Pleas he held aloof from the king's trial, opposed Cromwell's protectorate, and afterwards assisted Monk in the Restoration. An orator, statesman, judge, and diplomatist, he is only just below the very greatest men of the age. After the Restoration he spent some years of his retirement at Longthorpe, which afterwards passed to his son and grandson, both named Francis.¹³ Mary, the daughter and co-heir of the second Francis, married Sir John Bernard, of Brampton, in Huntingdon. They made Longthorpe their home, and Mary survived her son, Sir Robert Bernard, who died without children in 1789, by about six years.¹⁴ The estate then passed to the Fitzwilliams of Milton Hall, who sold it in July, 1850, to the Rev. William Strong, father of the present proprietor.¹⁵

Thorpe Hall was built at an interesting period in the development of architectural design, and in its plan and ornamental detail occupies an intermediate position between the free treatment of the Elizabethan designers and the formal and sometimes mechanical handling of the 18th century. It was the work of John Webb, nephew and pupil of Inigo Jones, and was finished in 1656. The plan is an oblong without any considerable break in the straightness of its lines. There are no wings, and the formality of the treatment precludes the introduction of any device for obtaining niceties of planning—the small rooms and the large have to be equally lofty and lighted with equally large windows. The closer imitation of Italian models which was becoming prevalent was taking much of the elasticity out of house designing, but no doubt it was thought that sufficient compensation was afforded by the more monumental effect obtained by a stricter adherence to rules and to symmetry. Nevertheless, there is still a considerable amount of freedom in the way in which the detail is treated at Thorpe, and fancy continues to play an important part in its design, as witness the stone archway and pillars outside, and the wood panelling, the staircase, and the plaster ceilings inside. Webb was much more familiar with classic detail than were his predecessors of fifty years earlier, but he did not succumb to the supposed necessity of having everything 'correct,' as did architects of fifty years later, and consequently he allowed his imagination sufficient play to produce work of an interesting character. Thorpe Hall still remains a notable example of the work of a gifted architect, executed at a period when, owing to the unsettled state of the country, no great amount of house-building was undertaken.¹⁶

The stables and garden walls are contemporary with the house, and afford a good example of the excellent effect obtained by treating the surroundings of the main structure in an architectural manner. The arms of St. John are carved over the mantelpiece in



ST. JOHN. *Argent a chief gules with two molets or therein.*

¹ *Cur. Reg. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 213.

² *Cott. Vesp. E.* xxi, 79.

³ Swapham, fol. 178b.

⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 214b.

⁵ *Ibid.* fol. 141b.

⁶ *Cott. Vesp. E.* xxi, 79; Swapham, 214b; Feet of F. Northants, 6 Hen. III, No. 8.

⁷ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 38, fol. 110;

Feet of F. Northants, 18 Ric. II, No. 161; Misc. Bks. (Exch. K.R.), iv, 235.

⁸ Feet of F. Northants, 18 Hen. VII.

⁹ Bridges (ii, 572) quotes from a Peterborough register now at Burghley House.

¹⁰ Pat. 33 Henry VIII, pt. iii, m. 14-17.

¹¹ Doc. in custody of the dean and chapter of Peterborough.

¹² Close, 1650, pt. xxvi, No. 34; *Cal. of Com. for Compounding*, p. 1177

¹³ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

¹⁴ G. E. C. *Baronetage*, iii, 250.

¹⁵ Papers in possession of Colonel Strong.

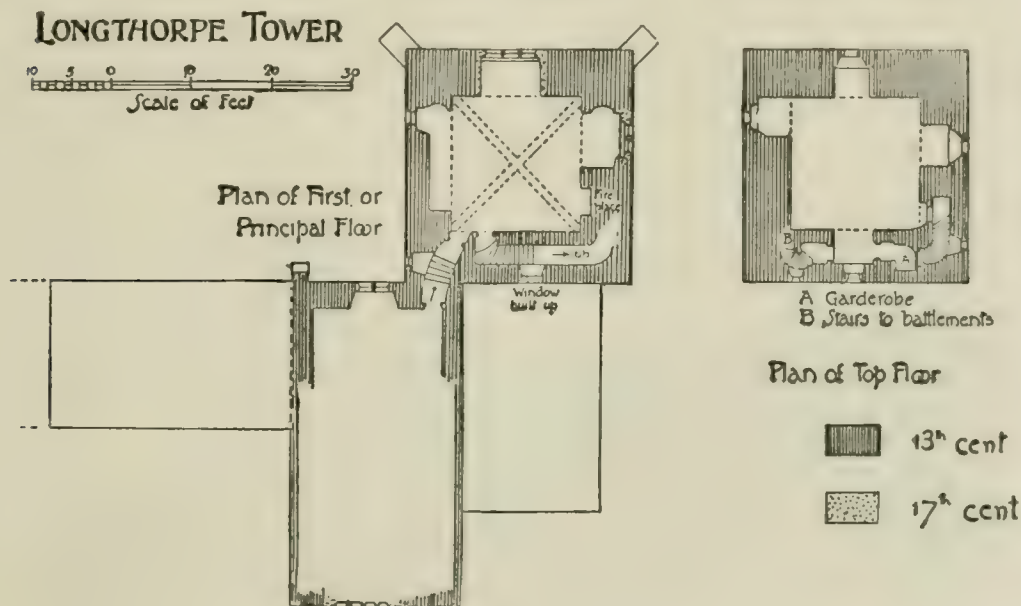
¹⁶ See the monograph by A. W. Hake-will, *General Plan and External Details, with Picturesque Illustrations of Thorpe Hall, Peterborough* (1852).

the entrance hall, now converted into a dining-room, while the date 1656 occurs on the head of a lead rain-water spout.

There was a chapel belonging to *ADVOWSON* the abbey of Peterborough, at Longthorpe, at least as early as 1189, when it was confirmed to them by Richard I.¹ It was appropriated to the sacrist's office, and was served under him, together with the 'chapel of Burch,' now the church of St. John the Baptist at Peterborough, by a chaplain who every year at Michaelmas brought the keys of the chapels and laid them on the altar and received them back at the hands of the sacristan. In return he had the corrody of a knight in the abbot's hall and some other emoluments.² In the time of Abbot Robert of Sutton,³ the old chapel was taken down and rebuilt on a new site, at the instance and charges of Sir William of Thorpe.⁴ The chapel remained a chapel of ease to St. John the Baptist until 1850, when Longthorpe was erected into a separate parish by an order in council. In return for paying

Collyweston slates, and the walling is of freestone rubble with wrought quoins and dressings.

The chancel has an east window of three lights, c. 1500, with a transom, the inner jambs being those of the 13th-century window. In the north and south walls are coupled lancets, and near the north-west and south-west angles small trefoiled low side windows, all of original date. There is a trefoiled piscina with a shelf in the south wall and a square locker in the north wall, and on each side of the east window is an image-bracket. The nave is of three bays with pointed arches of one chamfered order, and circular shafts with moulded capitals and bases, the shafts having a diameter of only 14 inches. The proportions of these arcades are exceedingly good, but here, as so often happens, the details of the arcades are slightly different, those of the north being better than those of the south. The north aisle has a single north window of two trefoiled lancets, and similar windows at east and west, while the north doorway has a pointed arch of one continuous order, with a



£100 of the vicar's stipend, the advowson belongs to the Fitzwilliams of Milton.⁵

The church of St. Botolph⁶ stands in *CHURCH* the village, south of the road, on a level site, having the River Nene at some little distance to the south. The churchyard lies mostly to the south, being but little wider from east to west than the length of the church.

The date of the building is fixed to 1262-74 by the entry noted above, and the fabric of the chapel built at this time remains to-day without material alteration,⁷ consisting of a chancel about 25 ft. square and nave and aisles 47 ft. by 49 ft.; the details being simple and well designed, and the proportion of breadth to length unusually large. The roofs are covered with

roll moulding.⁸ On the south side of the east window is a bracket, and a second, larger and elaborately moulded, at the east end of the north wall.

The south aisle is a counterpart of the north in respect of its windows and doorway, save that the doorway has no roll moulding, and there are brackets on each side of its east window, and a trefoiled piscina of c. 1320 in its south wall.

The inner jambs and rear arch of the west window of the nave are original, but the tracery is of the 17th century, with two plain round-headed lights and a transom. Over it in the gable are two arched openings, now below the roof and glazed as windows, but formerly serving for bells. Below them is a very flat pitched weather mould, and above them a modern

¹ Cart. Antiq. DD. 17.

² Swapham, fol. 229.

³ 1262-73.

⁴ Bridges, ii, 572, quoting from a Peterborough register (Reg. Kirton, 128).

⁵ Bishop's Faculty Bk. at Peterborough.

⁶ The invocation is given by Bacon (*Liber Regis*) as St. John the Baptist.

⁷ It seems to have been in bad condition in 1552, and was repaired in 1683, when its graveyard was consecrated, as

recorded on a brass formerly at the west of the chancel and now in the south aisle.

⁸ An ornamental detail due to the fact that it can be seen from the highway close by; the south doorway, which cannot be seen, is quite plain.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

bell-gable holding a small modern bell, and replacing a boarded wooden turret.

There are no ancient fittings in the church, and the font is plain and modern.

The plate consists of a silver cup and paten of 1817, inscribed 'Long Thorpe Chapel, 1817,' and a plated bread-holder. The parish registers date only from 1850.

OXNEY is situated about a mile south of the village of Eye, just within the civil parish of Peterborough Without. It is first mentioned in the survey of the possessions of Peterborough Abbey of the time of Henry I, as being the residence of a cowherd with twenty-three beasts in his charge.¹ In the time of Abbot Martin, 1133-55, there was a chapel at Oxney,² the chancel of which was enlarged or rebuilt by Abbot Robert, 1214-22, who at the same time set up a painting of the Blessed Virgin over the altar.³ William of Hotoft, 1246-9, obtained a grant of an

eight days' fair at Oxney,⁴ and on his resignation of the abbacy he retired thither.⁵ Abbot Godfrey, 1299-1321, made a special provision for the food of the brothers at Oxney from the manor of Eye.⁶ During his abbacy the chancel of the chapel was enlarged, and licence was given by Bishop Dalderby of Lincoln, 1300-19, for the dedication of a fixed altar, and he also granted an indulgence to those visiting the chapel.⁷ The dedication was performed by Walter, bishop of Armagh, in 1315.⁸ After the dissolution of the abbey of Peterborough, the site of the 'cell'⁹ of Oxney was granted by Henry VIII to Roger Horton,¹⁰ and it was sold about 1568 by Margaret Horton, widow, to Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley.¹¹ The site of the grange is now occupied by a farmhouse and buildings, and still preserves remains of its former importance in the shape of a stone-vaulted room of 14th-century date, now used as a kitchen, but externally nothing of the ancient appearance is to be seen.

BAINTON

Badington, Badinton (xii cent.), Badington, Baynton (xvi cent.).

The civil parish of Bainton, including Ashton, which

enclosure award, dated 17 September, 1799, is in the custody of the rector of Ufford. The village is small, lying for the most part on the north side of the road



BAINTON CHURCH AND BASE OF CROSS.

is ecclesiastically attached to Ufford, has an area of 1,739 acres, of which 602 are arable and 476½ pasture. It lies in the valley of the Welland, and rises in no part to 100 ft. above the ordnance datum. The soil is clay on a substratum of Oxford clay and great oolite. Corn (chiefly barley) and pulse form the principal crops. The

from Stamford to Helpston. Its only street, bordered with small stone built cottages, runs north and south at right angles to the Stamford road, having Bainton House, and its well-timbered grounds on the west, and the church on the south-east. At the junction of the street and the road is the base of an ancient cross, on

¹ *Chronicon*, 165.

² Swapham, fol. 114b.

³ Sparke, *Scriptores*, 108.

⁴ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1226-57, p. 344.

⁵ Sparke, *Scriptores*, 128. ⁶ *Ibid.* 161.

⁷ *Ibid.* 155; *Epis. Reg. Linc. Dalderby Mem.* ff. 245, 278 d.

⁸ *Chron. Angliæ Petrob.* (Caxton Soc.), 160.

⁹ So called in this and some subsequent

documents, but there is no evidence that there was ever a cell in the ordinary sense of the word at Oxney.

¹⁰ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xvi, 501.

¹¹ *Cal. of F. Northants, East.* 10 Eliz.

four high steps.¹ A little further to the east a branch road turns south and east to Ufford and Ashton, and along the east boundary of the parish runs the Roman King Street. The population, numbering about 214, is entirely engaged in agriculture.

Kyngsoka, Brodgate, Crossefurlong, and Synholms are some of the field names which occur in documents referring to the parish. Synholms and a pasture called the Townfenne were let to trustees about 1570 for the use of the inhabitants of Bainton and Ufford,² and in a suit in 1635 an inhabitant stated that as long as he could remember, the parson, freeholders and copyholders of Ufford, Bainton, and Ashton had had common for horses and cows on 'Synholm leas' and 'Parsons Fenn, alias Townfenne,' until 'Thomas Styles of Bainton made a ditch (where formerly was no ditch, but a water-course) and plowed the land and kept it for himself.'³

The abbey of Peterborough owned land in the parish,⁴ but there is no mention of Bainton in Domesday, nor in the full description of the possessions of Peterborough sent to the king between 1125 and 1128.⁵ In 1146 Pope Eugenius confirmed two parts of the tithes of 'Richard Salide de Badinton' to the Abbey,⁶ and both Richard I and Henry III confirmed to 'blessed Peter and the monastery of Burg Pilsgate, Badinton, and Bernek.'⁷

It does not appear from the records that there was ever a separate manor here, and most of the land in Bainton of which there is any history was held of Torpel Manor.

In 1189-90, Roger de Torpel assigned 10s. rent to Peterborough partly from land held by William Roc in Bainton,⁸ and in 1243 Bainton is mentioned as part of the Torpel fee.⁹ In 1227 Hervey de Borham died holding a messuage in Bainton granted to him by Robert Burnell, the guardian of William Haneworth, whose father Roger had bought it of Ralph Camoys, then lord of the manor of Torpel.¹⁰

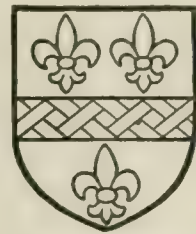
The bailiff of the manor of Torpel in 1412 rendered account of 15d. of the ferm of the 'Gyldehou in Badyngton,' taken into the hands of the lord on account of the recent statute.¹¹ In the same document Richard Attestyle and others paid the ferm of 12s. for a certain pasture called Parsons fenne;¹² and the family of Style or Styles held land in Bainton for a considerable period.¹³

The house owned by the Styles may possibly have been on the site of the present Bainton House, which was described in a sale from the Durham family to William Goodall in 1729 as a 'capital messuage.'¹⁴ This house was bought by Sir John Trollope in 1856 from Chiselden Hensen,¹⁵ and is now occupied by Mr. W. Earle Welby as tenant of Lord Kesteven. It contains no ancient features.

During parts of the 16th and 17th centuries the family of Bird held land in Bainton¹⁶ which probably belonged to John Stokesley, bishop of London, in the reign of Edward VI.¹⁷ There was also land in Bainton held directly from Peterborough, some being parcel of a quarter of a fee held in Barnack of the abbey,¹⁸ and some parcel of the land appropriated to the sacristan.¹⁹ After the dissolution of the monastery, the land it had held in this parish was granted in 1541 to the bishop of Peterborough.²⁰

Lolham mill, on the south bank of the Welland, just within the parish of Bainton, was part of Torpel manor. Asceline, the heiress of Torpel, granted the mill to Simon de St. Lis in 1243, reserving the right of free grinding for the corn of the household at Torpel.²¹ In and after the 16th century this mill was leased by the crown separately from the manor of Torpel. In 1584 it was held by John Weldon, who was fined for exacting excessive dues.²² In 1599, Thomas Rippon, to whom it had been leased a few years before,²³ brought a suit against Adam Claypole for obstructing paths to the mill by which he was deprived of many customers. It is stated in this suit that the tenants of the mill had right of common pasture in Dirkholm and Colesholm in the parish of Ufford.²⁴ The mill is now disused and in ruins.

Bainton is a chapelry of Ufford and is **CHURCH** served by the same incumbent. The church is dedicated in honour of our Lady, and consists of chancel,²⁵ 28 ft. 3 in. by 15 ft. with north vestry and chapel, nave 50 ft. by 17 ft. with north aisle 10 ft. 3 in. wide, south porch and west tower 8 ft. 2 in. by 9 ft. with a stone spire.



STYLES. Or a fess sable fretty or between three fleurs de lis sable.

¹ Here stood the stocks and whipping-post; forty years ago they were in good condition, but their last traces disappeared a few years since. A Wesleyan chapel formerly stood in the village.

² Part of Leases (P.R.O.), 7.

³ Exch. Dep. Trin. 10 Chas. I, No. 4. A suit in 1602 (Chan. Proc. Eliz. S.S. 23, No. 40) in which Thomas Styles is concerned may refer to this land. There is now no field called Synholms in Bainton or Ufford, but there is one in the adjoining parish of Barnack.

⁴ A forged charter of Wulfhere, dated 664, confirming Bainton to the abbey is printed in Birch, *Cart. Sax.* No. 22, and the pseudo-Ingulf has a statement about the 'Manor of Bainton' in the 11th century. Fulman, *Scriptores*, 56, 62.

⁵ *Chronicon*, 157.

⁶ *Hist. Angl. Script. Varii* (ed. Sparke), 83.

⁷ *Cart. Antiq.* DD. 17; *Chart. R.* 11 Hen. III, pt. i, m. 19.

⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* i, 391.

⁹ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 60, fol. 251.

¹⁰ Chanc. Inq. p. m. Edw. I, file 16, No. 11.

¹¹ Mins. Acct. bdle. 639, No. 10375. No other indication has been found of a guild in Bainton; possibly this guildhouse has some connexion with the guild of Corpus Christi, in Barnack.

¹² Afterwards part of the common land.

¹³ In 1482 a Richard Style is mentioned in a deed relating to land in Ufford, Bainton, and Ashton (Add. Chart. 6467), and in 1580 John Styles, son of Randall Styles, died owning a capital messuage and land in Bainton held of the manor of Torpel (Chan. Inq. p. m. (Ser. 2) vol. cxv. No. 111). Perhaps that which he was said to have bought from the widow of William Cope, 'who on his death-bed did by a bente or rushe which he had then in his hand make surrender' of a messuage and land in Bainton to trustees for his wife, Joyce, and after her death for his daughter Dorothy (Exch. Dep. Mich. 21-22 Eliz. No. 5).

John Styles left his land to Thomas, his son, who was for a time lessee of Torpel Park (Exch. Dep. Trin. 10 Chas. I, No. 4), and the family from this time appear constantly in the records, owning land in Bainton at least as late 1663, when John Styles was taxed for four hearths there. Lay Subs. R. 254.

¹⁴ Deed in custody of Lord Kesteven.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Lay Subs. R. 254; Chan. Inq. p. m. (Ser. 2), cclxvi, No. 108.

¹⁷ Chan. Inq. p. m. (Ser. 2), 89, No. 109; Chan. Proc. (Ser. 2), bdle. 142, No. 61; Chan. Proc. (Ser. 2), bdle. 17, No. 1.

¹⁸ See Barnack.

¹⁹ Cott. MS. Faust, B, iii.

²⁰ Pat. 33 Hen. VIII, pt. iii, m. 13.

²¹ Feet of F. Northants, 27 Hen. III, No. 469.

²² Ct. R. (P.R.O.), bdle. 195, No. 85.

²³ Pat. 32 Eliz. pt. 16.

²⁴ Exch. Dep. Mich. 41-42 Eliz. No. 1.

²⁵ All measurements are internal.

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The oldest work in the building is in the north arcade of the nave, *c.* 1190–1200. Its three eastern bays probably represent the length of the 12th-century nave, which was lengthened westwards in the next century. The north wall of the north aisle is of the 14th century, and the late 12th-century aisle was probably narrower. At the west of the north chapel is a clustered pier of early 13th-century date, not designed for its present position, and no features earlier than the 14th century are to be seen in the chapel. The south walls of the nave and chancel seem to have been entirely rebuilt at the beginning of the 14th century, and the west tower was added shortly afterwards. In the 15th century the east bay of the chancel was rebuilt or refaced, and in modern times the north walls of the vestry and chapel have been renewed.

The roofs are of low pitch, with modern timbers, and there are plain ashlar parapets, those of the porch being embattled.

The chancel has an east window of three cinquefoiled lights with quatrefoil tracery under a four-centred head, and the easternmost of the two south windows of the chancel is of similar detail, but smaller, and has engaged shafts in the jambs with embattled capitals. Its sill is carried down to serve as sedilia. These two windows belong to a repair of the east end of the chancel, *c.* 1450, the lower parts of the walls being of 14th-century date. The second window on the south side, of three cinquefoiled lights, belongs to the end of the 15th century, and replaces a 14th-century window, part of the head of which remains in the wall east of the present window.

In the north wall of the chancel is a four-centred doorway to the vestry, and a 14th-century arch of two moulded orders with half-round responds opening to the north chapel. The vestry, which may have been added in the 15th century, has been rebuilt, and has a modern two-light east window, and in its north wall a single trefoiled light. There are recesses in the west and south walls.

In the north wall of the north chapel is a square-headed window of three trefoiled ogee lights of 14th-century style, but for the most part of modern masonry. The chapel opens to the north aisle of the nave by a pointed arch of two hollow chamfered orders springing from a corbel on the south, and a pier of four engaged keeled shafts on the north. The latter is clearly not in position, and seems to have formed part of an arcade; it dates from the early part of the 13th century.

The chancel arch is of two moulded orders, with shafts to the inner order having embattled capitals like those in the south-east window of the chancel, but the arch mouldings are of 14th-century section.

The north arcade of the nave has three bays with semicircular arches of two chamfered orders and plain round capitals, with round shafts and moulded bases, and at the west a fourth bay with half-round responds and a pointed arch of two chamfered orders. This bay is of 13th-century date, and points to a lengthening of the nave in the first half of the century.

The north and west walls of the north aisle appear

to be of the 14th century, and the width of the aisle is equal to that of the north chapel. The north doorway is of two chamfered orders, the inner order being of new stonework. East of it is a square-headed 14th-century window of three trefoiled ogee lights with pierced and cusped spandrels. The west window of the aisle has 15th-century tracery of two trefoiled lights with a quatrefoil in the head.

The south wall of the nave, rebuilt at the beginning of the 14th century, has two windows of this date, one on either side of the south doorway. They are of two trefoiled lights with flowing tracery. The east window in this wall is an insertion of *c.* 1480 to light the nave altars and the rood. It has three large cinquefoiled lights under a four-centred head.

The south doorway is of two continuous moulded orders, and opens to a porch with stone seats on east and west, and a four-centred outer archway. The porch is probably of the 14th century, and its outer archway has been lowered to its present 15th-century shape, the old stones being re-used where they could be adapted to the flatter curve.

The tower is of three stages, ashlar-faced, with very good details, having an octagonal stone spire with two tiers of spirelights, and a ballflower cornice at the base. The four belfry windows are large, of two uncusped lights with a lozenge in the head, and filled as high as the springing line with stone slabs pierced with trefoils, quatrefoils, and the like, only part of those in the south window being ancient.

In the second stage are small lights on north, west, and south, and in the ground stage a west window of geometrical style of two trefoiled lights with a quatrefoil in the head. The tower arch is of two moulded orders, the outer continuous, and the inner having a small filleted shaft and moulded capital.

There is a vice at the south-west and pairs of buttresses at the western angles.

In the east wall of the chancel are two embattled image brackets, that on the north side having over it a niche with an ogee head, cinquefoiled and crocketed. There is also a fine piscina in the east wall of the chancel on the south side, *c.* 1340, with a well-moulded pointed arch under a gabled head with carved finial, flanked by shafts with crocketed pinnacles. In the south wall next the sedilia is a plain 15th-century piscina with a four-centred arch. Another piscina¹ like that in the east wall of the chancel is to be seen in the east wall of the north chapel, and near it in the south wall of the chapel is a square locker. In the south wall of the nave near the east end is a cinquefoiled piscina with a gabled head,² and in the north-east angle of the nave are remains of the rood-loft stair. The south porch has in its north-east angle the base of a large octagonal shaft, which may have carried a holy-water stone.³

The font appears to be of 13th-century date, having a plain octagonal bowl on a circular stem, and four engaged shafts with moulded capitals and bases; it is fitted with a pyramidal oak cover.

There are no monuments of importance in the church, but an incised slab in the pavement near the south doorway of the nave may be noted.

¹ Not one of these elaborate piscine appears to be *in situ*.

² There are two of the same type in the neighbouring church of Ufford.

³ A somewhat similar arrangement exists in Helpston church.

The plate consists of a silver communion cup and cover paten of 1650, a silver paten of 1887, and a pewter paten and alms-dish.

There are four bells: the treble by Tobie Norris of Stamford, 1604; the second by Alexander Rigby, 1702; the third by Thomas Norris, 1652; and the tenor by Henry Jurden, a London bellfounder of the 15th century. It is inscribed 'In Multis Annis Resonet Campana Johannis.'

The registers for baptisms, marriages, and burials, begin in 1713; before this date entries for Bainton appear in Ufford registers. The first book at Bainton contains baptisms, marriages, and burials from 1713

to 1743, the second, baptisms and burials from 1744 to 1812, and marriages from 1744 to 1754; the third, marriages from 1754 to 1812.

The Rev. Richard Haw, before 1684, *CHARITIES* left to the parish rents from real estate of about £51 per annum. In 1819 schools were built with the accumulation plus an advance of £279 made by Sir John Trollope, one of the trustees, who gave as site a part of the waste belonging to him as lord of the manor.

The estate in 1901 produced £61 12s., of which £30 was contributed to the schools, and the rest devoted to poor relief.

BARNACK

Bernac (xi cent.); Bernake (xiii cent.); Bernak (xiv cent.).

The ecclesiastical parish of Barnack includes the hamlets of Pilsgate and Southorpe and comprises altogether an area of 4,842 acres, of which 25 are covered by water. Southorpe is a separate civil parish, but the church school in Barnack is attended by the children of Southorpe and Pilsgate as well as those of Barnack.

Barnack lies in the valley of the Welland; the ground rises gradually to the south and west but is never more than 100 ft. above the ordnance datum. The soil is light on a mixed subsoil, four different formations meeting at Barnack village: cornbrash, on which is the hamlet of Pilsgate; Oxford clay to the east of Pilsgate between Barnack and the Welland; great oolite and inferior oolite which extend to the east and south. Arable land covers 2,703½ acres, pasture 1,274½, and woodland 275. The chief crops are barley, wheat, and oats. The parish includes about a third of Burghley Park, and Walcot House, south of Barnack village, also stands in a fair-sized park. The population is entirely agricultural.

The Roman Ermine Street¹ crosses the parish in a north-westerly direction towards Stamford, but is very little used, and part of it is almost obliterated. Roads converge at Barnack from Stamford, Bainton, Ufford, and Wittering.

The celebrated stone quarries² are scattered over a wide area, principally in the south of the parish. Between Barnack village and Walcot Hall is a tract of broken ground, with the descriptive local title of 'Hills and Holes,' the site of the largest quarries; but there were also a large number in Southorpe parish on either side of the Ermine Street.

The parish was enclosed in portions in 1800, 1806, and 1843. Among the place-names found in Barnack are, The Puzzles, Adderly Moors, Brokenthrough, Gresho, Portewey, and Dalhawe.

The village lies for the most part along a street running east and west, which after making a short turn to the south, and running along the south boundary of the churchyard, turns north again and joins the road which passes along the north side of the village towards Bainton. The church and manor-house stand in the rectangle thus formed, the manor-

house being to the north of the church. North-east of the church is a Wesleyan chapel built in 1898, and to the east of the village is the station on the Wansford branch of the Great Northern Railway.

The rectory, south-west of the church, was formerly a very interesting mediaeval building, figured in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxx, pt. i, 9: only the north end of this building now remains, and except for a 16th-century fireplace has no ancient features. In the rectory grounds, south-east of the house, are outbuildings which are in part ancient, and near them stands the doorway of a destroyed mediaeval stone barn.³ There is also part of an ancient cross in the garden, brought from the churchyard. In the village several houses have remains of mediaeval masonry, and on the north road, near the railway station, is a small 14th-century house with its ancient gable-ends and a two-light window on the first floor. An arched head is built into the wall below, with well-carved rosettes of 13th-century style. The next cottage to the east has a feature which must be nearly unique in a cottage—a pre-Conquest stone window, built into its west wall. It is a round-headed light with a small rib framing its opening, and doubtless came from the church, but is smaller than any in the tower, and may be a relic of the ancient nave.

The small hamlet of Pilsgate lies rather less than a mile north-west of Barnack. Pilsgate House, the residence of Mrs. Fowke, is the most considerable building.

The houses composing the hamlet of Southorpe to the south of Barnack are built irregularly down one long street. There was a hospital at Southorpe in the 13th century belonging to the abbey of Peterborough.⁴ The population of Barnack and Pilsgate is 614, and that of Southorpe 192.

The 'vill' of *BARNACK* was included *MANORS* in the grant of Wulfhere to Peterborough⁵ in 664. But Ingulphus states that the manor of Barnack was part of the possession of the monastery of St. Pega. According to the same historian, the manor passed to Waltheof son of Siward, who, suffering 'remorsum in conscientia sancta quod possessio erat aliquando ecclesiastica,' and also because there were in that place famous stone quarries very suitable and necessary for the monastery, in 1061

¹ Locally known as the Forty Foot Way.

² See an account of them in the article on Industries in this volume.

³ A fine mediaeval stone barn still

stands in a farmyard at the east end of the village.

⁴ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), p. 53. No confirmation has been found of Bridges's statement that the abbots had a summer residence at Southorpe. Possibly the

ruins in existence in his time, south of the village, which he took to be those of an abbot's palace, were those of the hospital.

⁵ *Birch. Cart. Sax.* i, No. 22. See introduction to Soke.

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granted the town of Barnack to Crowland and assigned it to the building of their new church. But Crowland did not long enjoy this desirable possession. In 1075 Earl Waltheof was executed, and the manor was taken from the monastery as dower for that 'most impious Jezebel once his wife.'¹ The only evidence in confirmation of this story is the statement of Ordericus, that Waltheof son of Siward gave the 'vill' called Barnack to Crowland Abbey.² It is also probable that Barnack suffered from the devastation of Sweyn with the rest of this district,³ and again underwent the same fate in 1065.⁴ William may have confiscated Waltheof's manor of Barnack and given it to his follower, William Fitz Ansulf, of whom Otbert held three hides in Barnack in 1086, which were formerly the freehold of Bundi.⁵ This William Fitz Ansulf was the first holder of the honour of Dudley, and probably attached his manor of Barnack to this honour. It was the only manor so held in Northamptonshire, and was also the only place of any extent in the soke not held of Peterborough Abbey. In the middle of the 12th century Ralph de Barnack was holding in Barnack of Fulk Paynel, the successor of William Fitz Ansulf.⁶ This Ralph is probably identical with the Ralph de Barnack who in 1114, together with Roesia his wife, is said to have offered for the building of the new church at Crowland the work of two quarrymen for four years.⁷ He was followed by Richard de Barnack,⁸ and in 1166 Gervase de Barnack, probably the son of Richard, is named among the knights of Gervase Paynel.⁹ In 1231 Richard, son of Gervase de Barnack, made an agreement with the abbey of Peterborough concerning common pasture in Barnack.¹⁰ Richard was succeeded by his son Peter,¹¹ who about 1253 obtained a grant of free warren in his demesne of Barnack, and at Selly, in the county of Worcester.¹² About the end of the 13th century the manor of Barnack was demised to Walter de Aylesbury by Sir William de Valence, lord of Pembroke, acting as guardian of John, son and heir of Richard de Barnack,¹³ probably the grandson of Peter.¹⁴ In 1309 Henry Paas is stated to be one of the lords of Barnack,¹⁵ perhaps as guardian of Geoffrey, son of John de Barnack, who married Isolda, daughter of Henry Paas,¹⁶ for in 1323 Geoffrey was holding one knight's fee in Barnack of John de Somery, the holder at that time



BARNACK. *Argent three barnacles sable.*

of the honour of Dudley.¹⁷ This Henry is stated to have founded a gild in Barnack, and in spite of his short connexion with the place the manor is called Pases Manor as late as the Tudor period.¹⁸ Other members of the same family occur in documents relating to Barnack, but not in connexion with the manor.¹⁹

In 1327 Geoffrey de Barnack endowed a chantry in the church of Barnack.²⁰ This is the last mention of him that has been found; he apparently died some time in the reign of Edward III, and for a few years the descent of the manor is very confused. According to documents of the middle of the 15th century Geoffrey de Barnack left a daughter Anne, who had two daughters, Katherine and Agnes; Katherine had Barnack for her share of her mother's property, and her daughter Margaret married John Vincent. John Vincent and Margaret his wife certainly held the manor in 1424.²¹ In 1396 Thomas Preston paid sheriff's aid and other dues for this manor;²² he may possibly have been the husband of either Anne or Katherine. The right of the Vincents was twice challenged by John Coory on behalf of his wife Agnes, claiming at one time through her descent from Anne daughter of Geoffrey de Barnack and Isolda,²³ and at another time as right inherited from her father, Richard Vincent, brother of Robert Vincent,²⁴ who is said to have died in the lifetime of his father, John Vincent.²⁵ John Coory really appears to have had a life interest in the place, as in 1440 he complained to the chancellor that one Geoffrey Walsh of Badyngton 'greatly allied in the franchise of Burg,' on whom John had levied a distress for rent, 'assembled a great route of unknown and misruled persons and came to our manor of Bernake and menaced beseecher, who was in doubt of his life if it had not been for the neighbours,' and they broke open the pound and took away the distress.²⁶ In 1463 the manor was settled on Anne, wife of Thomas Vincent,²⁷ son of Robert, and the family from this time remained in possession until 1578, when the manor, 'with buildings, woods, mills, fishing, free warren, and all liberties,' was sold by Thomas Vincent²⁸ and Jane his wife to William Lord Burghley, Treasurer of England,²⁹ to whose lineal descendant, the present marquis of Exeter, it now belongs. The manor of Pilsgate came into the hands of the Cecils by the same deed, and the marquis now holds one court for the two manors alternately at Barnack and Pilsgate.

There was a second small holding in Barnack, held of Peterborough Abbey, which is called a manor in the 16th century, but it seems doubtful if a court was

¹ Judith, the Conqueror's niece. Fulman, *Scriptores*, 56, 62, 67, 72.

² Ordericus Vitalis, iv, 22.

³ *A. S. Chron.* under date.

⁴ *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 262.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 340a.

⁶ *Cal. of Doc. France*, p. 444.

⁷ *Ingulphus Cont.* (ed. Gale), 118.

⁸ Pipe R. 9 Hen. II, rot. 4, m. 2.

⁹ *Lib. Niger. Seacc.* (ed. Hearne), i, 139; Liber Swapham (Cartul. of Peterborough, in custody of the dean and chapter of Peterborough), fol. 194b; *Cart. Ram.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 334.

¹⁰ Swapham, fol. 2126b.

¹¹ F. of F. Northants, 2 Edw. I, No. 17; Cott. Faust. B. iii, 62, 64. Peter had a brother Gervase who often appears about this time.

¹² *Cal. Gascon Pat. and Chart.* (Rec. Com.), p. 80. The main line of this family took its name impartially from their two estates of Barnack or Selly; the younger branches of the family appear to have preferred Barnack as the more important place.

¹³ *Anct. D.* (P. R. O.), A 4793.

¹⁴ Cott. Faust. B. iii, 73.

¹⁵ *Parl. Writs* (Rec. Com.), Div. 2, iii 391.

¹⁶ *Surrey Visit.* (Harl. Soc. xliii), p. 55.

¹⁷ *Inq. p. m.* 16 Edw. II, No. 72.

¹⁸ *Chant. Cert.* (P. R. O.), 35 No. 33; *Star Cham. Proc.* bde 27, No. 111.

¹⁹ Cott. Faust. B. iii, 15 d.

²⁰ *Inq. a. q. d.* File xciv, No. 21. In a suit about 1362 (De Banco, No. 411, m. 143 d) Geoffrey de Selly and John his son are mentioned. This may possibly refer

to Geoffrey de Barnack, who is stated in a *Heralds' Visitation of Surrey* (Harl. Soc. xliii, 55) to have had a son John, whose daughter and heiress Joan married Thomas Vincent of Swinford.

²¹ Feet of F. Northants, 2 Hen. VI, No. 13.

²² Cott. Nero, C vii, 130.

²³ De Banco R. Hil. 14 Hen. VI, m. 107 d.

²⁴ Early Chan. Proc. bde. 70, No. 175. John Coory's plea was that Richard was the elder brother.

²⁵ Add. MS. 6409, fol. 9 et seq.

²⁶ Early Chan. Proc. bde. 39, No. 113.

²⁷ Add. Chart. 5365.

²⁸ Son of David Vincent, to whom a legacy was left by Hen. VIII (Rymer's *Foedera*, xv, 110).

²⁹ Add. Chart. 9272.

attached to it. It is perhaps to this that the compiler of Wulfhere's charter refers as the 'vill of Barnack.' At the beginning of the 12th century this land was held of Peterborough Abbey by Gilbert of Barnack¹ for the service of a quarter of a knight's fee, and between 1128 and 1133 a Geoffrey son of Gilbert of Barnack appears in the Peterborough records. In 1198 a settlement was made between Gilbert of Barnack and Hugh son of Geoffrey his brother, of one carucate of land in Barnack and Bainton and a messuage in Peakirk which, with the reservation of the mill at 'Rieges' and a few acres of land, were granted by Gilbert to Hugh for his life, with the reversion after his death of one half to Gilbert and the other to Geoffrey son of Hugh.² It was probably to this Geoffrey, son and heir of Hugh, that Andrew, abbot of Peterborough, confirmed all the lands in Barnack, Bainton, and Cathweyt,³ which his ancestors had held at a rent and for the service of a third of a knight's fee, to hold for a quarter of a knight's fee.⁴ In 1212 Hugh of Barnack was holding a quarter of a knight's fee of Peterborough Abbey,⁵ and in 1254 Gilbert of Barnack, probably his son, paid 10s. towards the aid for knighting Prince Edward.⁶ Hugh son of Gilbert of Barnack did homage to the abbot for land in Barnack and Cathweyt in 1293,⁷ and in 1316 was returned as one of the lords of Barnack.⁸ In 1320 John son of Hugh of Barnack did homage for land in Barnack, Bainton, and Cathweyt.⁹ He gave several benefactions to the abbey of Peterborough, among them the reversion of Cathweyt, held for life by Richard of Crowland and Alice his wife.¹⁰ He was the last of his family to hold the land in Barnack. In 1404 John son of Thomas of Barnack paid a rent to Peterborough for the capital messuage and soke apurtenant in Barnack which were once John of Drayton's.¹¹ About 1385 he obtained licence to be exempt from serving as mayor, sheriff, escheator, &c.¹²

In 1422 William of Barnack did homage to the abbot of Peterborough for lands in Barnack and Ashton,¹³ and in 1428 he held a quarter of a fee of the abbot in Barnack and Bainton.¹⁴ He died about the middle of the 15th century leaving two daughters, Margaret, married to Walter Durrant, and Agnes,¹⁵ married to Ralph Luffwick.¹⁶ His land in Barnack

was apparently divided between them, for in 1538 John Turnor, a member of the family now represented by the earls of Winterton,¹⁷ bought the manor of Barnack from Anthony Luffwick and Elizabeth his wife,¹⁸ the descendants of Agnes, and in 1542 he died holding also the half manor of Barnack which had been owned by Ralph Sacheverell and Cecelia his wife, the daughter and heiress of John Durrant. John Turnor settled the manor on his wife, Alice Zouche, daughter of Sir Humphrey Stafford, with remainder to Bartholomew Turnor.¹⁹

About 1545 there was a suit in the Star Chamber between David Vincent and John Brown of Walcot concerning the enclosure of a field by David. John stated that he held of the manor of Barnack in demesne as of fee in right of his wife, and that the former holder was one Turnor.²⁰ It seems possible that John Browne married the widow of John Turnor and held the manor for her life.²¹ About the middle of the reign of Elizabeth, Bartholomew Turnor, gentleman, held land in Barnack,²² but no further reference to this manor has been found.

PILSGATE.—Pillesgete (xi cent.). Pilsgate was said to be confirmed by Wulfhere to Peterborough Abbey,²³ and Bishop Æthelwold also bestowed on the monastery land in the tithing of Pilsgate.²⁴

In 1086 6 hides of land in Pilsgate with a mill are stated to be of the fee of the abbey of Peterborough.²⁵ This appears a very large assessment for the hamlet and may have included some of the neighbouring places which are not mentioned in the survey, for about 1125 Pilsgate was only rated for 3 hides. In spite of the smaller figure both the population and value had increased, but the profits of the mill had fallen from 10s. to 4s.²⁶

King Stephen granted to the abbey of Peterborough exemption from all burdens for 3 hides and 1 virgate in their manor of Pilsgate.²⁷ Pope Eugenius confirmed Pilsgate to the abbey in 1146,²⁸ and about this period the Abbot Martin de Bec appropriated the manor to the office of sacrist,²⁹ and it remained part of the sacrist's fee until the dissolution. The site of the manor during the 14th century was leased for short periods;³⁰ in 1397 Gervase Wykes of Stamford was the lessee.³¹

¹ Cott. Vesp. E. xxii. fol. 99b et seq.; Add. MS. 5360. This family appears to be quite unconnected with that holding in Barnack of the honour of Dudley. In a cartulary of Peterborough (Soc. Antiq. No. 38, fol. 160) it is stated, professedly quoting from one of the abbey rolls not known now to exist and apparently referring to the 12th century, that Roger son of Osbern held a quarter fee of Peterborough in Barnack and Cathweyt. No mention has been found in the records of Roger son of Osbern in Barnack or elsewhere, but an 'Osbernus praepositus' held some land of Peterborough for 10s. rent in 1125-8 (*Chronicon*, p. 167).

² Feet of F. Northants, 9 Ric. I, No. 26.
³ In Paston. Andrew was abbot from 1194 to 1199.

⁴ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 38, fol. 43b.

⁵ Red Bk. of Exch. (Rolls Ser.), ii, 6.

⁶ Cott. Faust. B. iii, 55; Soc. Antiq. No. 60, 248b.

⁷ *Chronicon*, p. 150.

⁸ *Parl. Writs* (Rec. Com.), ii, Div. iii,

p. 391.

⁹ Cott. Vesp. E. xxii, 110. John also

held land in Drayton, and is often called John of Drayton.

¹⁰ Inq. a.q.d. File ccxlv, No. 16; File ccli, No. 5.

¹¹ Ibid. 43. This family appears to have possessed a name of their own, Cambrey (Feet of F. Northants, 26 Edw. III, No. 518), but no occasion on which it was used has been found after they succeeded to the possessions of John of Barnack. They are mentioned in documents relative to Barnack as early as 1274 (Ibid. 2 Edw. I, No. 18), and held land in Isham as well as Barnack.

¹² Anct. Pet. (P.R.O.), File ccliii, No. 12626; Pat. 8 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 13.

¹³ Add. MS. 25288, fol. 16.

¹⁴ Misc. Bks. (Exch. K.R.), No. 4, p. 235.

¹⁵ Early Chan. Proc. bdlc. 24, No. 54.

¹⁶ *Visit. of Northants* (ed. W. C. Metcalf), pp. 44, 128.

¹⁷ B.M. Sir T. Phillippis, *Genealogia*.

¹⁸ Feet of F. Northants, Hil. 30 Hen. VIII.

¹⁹ Inq. p. m. (ser. 2), lxvi, 41. Bartholomew was probably his great-nephew. See Phillippis' Pedigree.

²⁰ Star Chamb. Proc. bdlc. 27, No. 111.

²¹ John Browne, son of Robert Browne of Walcot, who held for a time the manor of Northborough, is said in a herald's visitation (*Visit. of Northants*, ed. Metcalf, p. 167) to have married Mary, daughter of Sir Humphrey Stafford. He may be identical with the John in the text, as he is said to have been a 'Squire of Callice' (Harl. 1160, fol. 118b), and John Browne in the suit excuses his ignorance of local matters by saying he has been 'on the king's service beyond the seas.'

²² Lay Sub. R. 153.

²³ Birch, *Cart. Sax.* No. 22.

²⁴ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 60, fol. 34b.

²⁵ *V.C.H. Northants*, i, 313b.

²⁶ *Chronicon*, 158.

²⁷ Cott. Faust. B. iii, 28.

²⁸ Sparke, *Scriptores*, p. 79.

²⁹ Ibid. p. 87. Martin was abbot from 1133 to 1155.

³⁰ Cott. Faust. B. iii.

³¹ Ibid. p. 27 d. In 1535 Robert Browne, the owner of the manor of Walcot, was bailiff of Pilsgate. *Valor. Ecll.* (Rec. Com.), p. 279.

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At the dissolution Henry VIII retained this manor, and in 1542 granted it to David Vincent and Elizabeth his wife for life.¹ In 1544 the manor of Pilgate, with appurtenances in Pilgate, Barnack, Bainton, Walcot, Southorpe, and the parish of St. Martin Stamford Baron, was granted in fee to David.² His son Thomas, in 1578, sold it with the manor of Barnack to Lord Burghley,³ and with his family it still remains.

A mill in Pilgate was granted by Robert, abbot of Peterborough,⁴ to Hugh son of Gilbert of Barnack in exchange for certain rents,⁵ and in 1341 John of Drayton of Barnack and Alice his wife, the successors of Hugh, granted to Peterborough one water- and one wind-mill in Pilgate for fifteen years.⁶

A chapel in Pilgate was confirmed to Peterborough by Richard I and Henry III,⁷ and it was granted to David Vincent with the manor in 1544.⁸ There is no record of the destruction of this chapel, but Bridges says that about sixty years before he wrote⁹ a tenant of Lord Exeter dug up a quantity of 'foundation stones' from the site, which had lain waste for many years, and planted it for an orchard.¹⁰ There is still a field in Pilgate called Chapel Close.

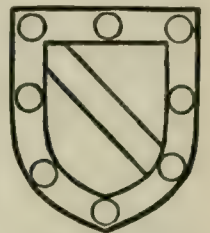
SOUTHORPE.—Southorpe was confirmed by Wulfhere to the monastery of Peterborough as an appendage of Barnack.¹¹ In 1086 Geoffrey and two other knights held 4½ hides of the abbey in Southorpe. There were two and a half mills.¹² Geoffrey, generally called from his lands Geoffrey of Southorpe, was 'nephew of the abbot,' and about 1125 held of Peterborough 8 hides of land in Northamptonshire for the service of three knights.¹³ In 1146 Pope Eugenius confirmed the fee of Geoffrey his son, a minor, in Southorpe, Gunthorpe, and Stokes to the monastery.¹⁴ Geoffrey's right to his fee was challenged in the reign of Richard I by Waleran of Helpston.¹⁵ He apparently did not establish his claim, for in the early part of the reign of Henry III Robert son of Geoffrey paid the sheriff's aid for his fee in Southorpe,¹⁶ and in 1243 Thomas, his son, was holding two fees in Southorpe, Gunthorpe, Dogsthorpe, Walcot, Paston, Helpston, Ufford, Upton, Easton, and Cathweyt.¹⁷ In 1275 Geoffrey of Southorpe did homage to the abbot.¹⁸ From this Geoffrey, William of Woodford, when sacrist of the abbey, acquired the manor of Southorpe, 'not without great toil of body, anguish of mind, nor without much expense,' and when he became abbot¹⁹ he appropriated the manor to the sacrist's office.²⁰ At the

dissolution of the monastery the manor of Southorpe was granted to the bishop of Peterborough.²¹ The bishop was given licence to alienate it to David Vincent at the end of the reign of Edward VI.²² but the permission does not appear to have been taken advantage of, for about 1577 Edmund Scambler, bishop of Peterborough, granted to the queen the manor of Southorpe, otherwise called 'Southorpehall,' and a wood in Southorpe, called Tomlynson's Wood, for the yearly fee farm rent of £6 13s. 4d.²³ Elizabeth almost immediately granted it to Lord Burghley,²⁴ to whose descendant, the Marquis of Exeter, the manor still belongs.

There was another holding in Southorpe called a manor in the 16th century,²⁵ held partly of the manor of Torpel, partly directly from Peterborough,²⁶ which always has been, and still is, in the hands of the holders of the manor of Walcot.²⁷

Elias de Bekingham held some land in Southorpe in the 13th century, and in 1288 granted two water-mills in Southorpe to the abbot of Peterborough²⁸ on condition that the abbey should find two monks to celebrate daily for the soul of Queen Eleanor, and that on her anniversary they should celebrate mass at Southorpe and feed 200 poor persons.²⁹ A friendly agreement between Geoffrey Ridel, lord of Wittering and Peterborough Abbey, concerning a mill-pond in Southorpe called Holdenlue, may refer to one of these mills.³⁰

WALCOT.—Walcot is sometimes called a hamlet of Barnack, but seems never to have consisted of more than one or two houses. It was confirmed to Peterborough as an appurtenance of Barnack in the charter of Wulfhere,³¹ and it is mentioned as part of fee of Gilbert Favel in the bull of Pope Eugenius in 1146.³² Gilbert Favel held one hide and 1½ virgates in Northamptonshire at the beginning of the 12th century; Walcot formed part of this land.³³ At the end of the 12th century Hugh Favel was holding one knight's fee in 'Walcot juxta Castor,'³⁴ and Richard I confirmed to Peterborough a chapel in Walcot appurtenant to the church at Barnack, as well as two knights' fees held by Hugh Favel in Walcot, Southorpe, and Hibaldstow.³⁵ John Favel of Walcot is mentioned in



FAVEL. *Argent a bend gules and a border sable bezanty.*

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xviii, 693.
² *Pat. 36 Hen. VIII.* pt. viii, m. 16.
³ *Add. Chart.* 9272.
⁴ Robert de Lindsey, 1210–22.
⁵ *Cott. Faust.* B. iii, 25.
⁶ *Ibid.* p. 18.
⁷ *Cart. Antiq. DD.* 17; *Chart. R.* Hen. III, pt. i, m. 9.
⁸ *Pat. 36 Hen. VIII.* pt. viii, m. 6.
⁹ About 1720.
¹⁰ *Bridges, Northants.* ii, 496.
¹¹ *Birch, Cart. Sax.* No. 22.
¹² *V. C. H. Northants.* i, 315a.
¹³ *Chronicon*, 169.
¹⁴ *Sparke, Scriptores*, p. 78.
¹⁵ *Pipe R.* 8 Ric. I, m. 6; *Cur. Reg. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 193; *Add. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), p. 9.
¹⁶ *Egerton MS.* 2733, fol. 148.
¹⁷ *Soc. of Antiq. MS.* No. 60, fol. 251.
¹⁸ *Chronicon*, p. 22.
¹⁹ Abbot from 1295 to 1299. The date of these transactions is uncertain. In 1275

Geoffrey of Southorpe and others acknowledged that they owed to Stephen de Cornhill, 'draper' of London, a debt of 126 quarters of well-cleaned wheat and 60 quarters of barley, to be rendered at Southorpe at Christmas, to be levied in default on their lands and chattels in Northants (*Close R.* 3 Edw. I. m. 5d). Bridges (*Northants.* ii, 496) says that Stephen answered for one knight's fee in Southorpe, Walcot, etc., in 24 Edw. I. Geoffrey was therefore apparently in financial difficulties, and this may have led to the sale of the manor.
²⁰ *Cott. Vesp. E.* xxii, 14b.
²¹ *Pat. 33 Hen. VIII.* pt. iii, m. 16.
²² *Add. MS.* 5366.
²³ *Close R.* 19 Eliz. pt. xxi, m. 1.
²⁴ *Ibid.* m. 13.
²⁵ *Chan. Inq. p. m.* (ser. 2), xx, No. 80.
²⁶ *Soc. Antiq. MS.* No. 60, fol. 251; *Chan. Inq. p. m.* 4 Edw. III, No. 38, m. 41; *Egerton*, 2733, fol. 125.

²⁷ Probably the estate sometimes called the manor of Booths in 17th and 18th cent.
²⁸ *Inq. a.q.d.* File xi, No. 21. The mills are said not to be worth much on account of scarcity of water in summer.
²⁹ *Chart. R.* 7 Edw. II, No. 1.
³⁰ *Soc. Antiq. MS.* No. 38, fol. 50.
³¹ *Birch, Cart. Sax.* No. 22.
³² *Sparke, Scriptores*, p. 1. The Favels also held land of the abbey in Walcot juxta Humber. It seems possible that they gave the name of their possessions in Lincoln to their land in Barnack.
³³ *Chronicon*, p. 171.
³⁴ *Cott. Vesp. E.* xxii, 99b.
³⁵ *Cart. Antiq. DD.* No. 17, Hibaldstow in Lincolnshire. The only other mention which has been found of the chapel of Walcot is in the confirmation to Peterborough of Henry III (*Chart. R.* 19 Hen. III, pt. i, No. 19).

1231, and in 1243 Hugh Favel held one fee in Walcot.¹ In 1290 his grandson, John, son of John Favel, did homage for two knights' fees in Walcot, Southorpe, and Hibaldstow. He died the next year and was buried in the 'church of Burg.' His heir was his brother, Hugh, who also died without children, and was succeeded by his brother William, a minor, whose wardship the abbot sold to Lady Fine, his mother.² William died, leaving two sisters as his heirs, who married respectively John Griffin and Richard of Wyrthorp, whose son William took the name of Favel.³ In 1348 John Griffin and William Favel held 1½ fees in Walcote, Southorpe, and Slipton,⁴ and about 1396 Richard Griffin, and Richard de Sutton in right of his wife, held two knights' fees in 'Walcot juxta Burg.'⁵ By 1428 William Ridel held both portions,⁶ but in 1461 this holding was again divided between Robert Browne and John Sowle.⁷

In 1506 Robert Browne, son of John Browne, mayor of London in 1480, died holding the manor of Walcot.⁸ He was succeeded by his son, Robert, and the property remained in this family until 1634, when Sir Thomas Browne, bart., son of Sir Robert Browne, bart., died, leaving two daughters, Elizabeth and Anne, both minors, as his coheireses.⁹ Anne married John, Lord Poulett, and in 1661 she and her husband and sister Elizabeth sold the manor to Bernard Walcot.¹⁰ He died in 1671, and after his death Walcot was bought by Sir Hugh Cholmondeley, who built the present house. It passed from him to Sidney Wortley Montague, from whom it was bought by John Noel, about 1703. By this family Walcot was transferred to the Nevilles, who owned it until 1891. It was bought in that year by Mr. J. Griffith Dearden, the present owner.¹¹

Walcot Hall is a well-proportioned building of wrought stone, of two stories, with an attic and a hipped roof covered with Collyweston slates. In plan it is a simple rectangle, with its greater axis north and south, and is entered from the north end through a porch of one story, which, with the balustrades and small area surrounding the building on the north and west, is an 18th-century addition. The date 1678 on two of the lead rainwater heads gives the approximate date of the completion of the house, and other heads dated 1767 may denote the time of the 18th-century alterations, the garden walls and terraces on the south and west being probably part of the latter scheme. The pediments over the lower tier of windows, the projecting angle quoins, and the deep cornice give the house considerable dignity,

which is increased by the terraces and the fall of the ground on the east and south. The garden, with a sheet of artificial water, lies on this side, and the stables are to the east. On the west a good avenue of limes leads to a now disused entrance on the Great North Road, and the northern part of the grounds, which adjoins the 'hills and holes,' is full of traces of ancient quarrying. The stone of the house is Barnack rag, and a very late instance of its employment, as there seems to be no reason to doubt that it is not secondhand material, but quarried for the purpose. Internally the house has a large central staircase, but preserves no original fireplaces or ceilings, and is chiefly notable for a good collection of modern pictures, among them the well-known painting by Frith of the court of James II.

In the walled winter garden at the south-west is a large early 14th-century coffin slab, with the busts of a man and a woman under trefoiled canopies at the upper end, the feet showing at the lower. It was found near the stables, used as a cover to a drain, and there is nothing to show its original position.

Some land in Walcot was held directly by Peterborough. In 1320 it included a capital messuage, the site of a water-mill called Ingenolsmilne, held by Gilbert of Barnack, and fields called Wormwell, Holgatewong, and Cokeweysik.¹²

The advowson of the church of **ADVOWSON** St. John the Baptist at Barnack was granted between 1151 and 1154 by Fulk Paynel, together with two-thirds of the tithe of the demesnes of Ralph de Barnack, to the monastery of St. Mary Newport, generally called Tickford Priory.¹³ It was confirmed as part of the possessions of this house by Gervase Paynel in 1187, but it was lost by the priory very soon after; for in the reign of Richard I there was a long suit between Peterborough Abbey and the priory about this advowson, Peterborough claiming it on the ground of ancient right. Finally, the priory quit-claimed all right in the church to Peterborough, and promised never to use her charters against the abbey, for the annual payment of two silver marks a year.¹⁴ The abbey had had some connexion with the church before this time, as in 1146 Pope Eugenius confirmed a pension of 10s. from the church of Barnack to Peterborough Abbey,¹⁵ which was paid until the dissolution,¹⁶ when the advowson of the rectory of Barnack was granted to the bishop of Peterborough.¹⁷ In 1553 the bishop received permission from the crown to grant the right of patronage of the rectory to David Vincent,¹⁸ and though the grant appears never to have been made, this deed probably induced the earls of Exeter to claim the advowson. Thomas, earl of Exeter, presented in 1614, and the bishop of Peterborough on the next three vacancies,¹⁹ the dispute being finally settled by a lawsuit about 1687,²⁰ since which time the right of presentation has belonged to the see of Peterborough.²¹



BROWNE. *Azure a chevron between three scallops and a border engrailed or.*

¹ Swapham, fol. 199b; Soc. Antiq. No. 60, fol. 251.

² *Cbronicon*, p. 146; Harl. 742, fol. 316b, 317b.

³ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 38, fol. 166. Ric. of Wyrthorp is also called of Walton and of Walcot.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Cott. Nero, C. vii, fol. 130.

⁶ Misc. Bks. (Exch. K. R.), No. 4, p. 253; Add. MS. 25288.

⁷ Cott. Nero, C. vii, fol. 202d. Robert Browne was perhaps an ancestor of the

Brownes whose name is generally associated with Walcot.

⁸ Chan. Inq. p. m. (ser. 2), xx. No. 80.

⁹ Ibid. cccclxxvi, No. 21.

¹⁰ Feet of F. Northants, Trin. 13 Chas. II.

¹¹ *Fenland N. and Q.* ii, 121; Feet of F. Northants, Trin. 2 Anne.

¹² Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 38, fol. 233b.

¹³ *Cal. of Doc. France*, p. 444.

¹⁴ Swapham, fol. 194.

¹⁵ Sparke, *Scriptores*, p. 79.

¹⁶ *Valor. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 285.

¹⁷ Pat. 3; Hen. VIII, pt. iii, m. 13.

¹⁸ Add. Chart. 5366.

¹⁹ Inst. Bks. Ser. a. ²⁰ Bridges, ii, 493.

²¹ Richard Fletcher, father of the dramatist, was rector of Barnack from 1586 to 1590, on the presentation of Sir Thomas Cecil, being at the same time dean of Peterborough. He preached in Fotheringhay chapel before the Commissioners for the trial of Mary queen of Scots, and officiated as chaplain at her execution. He

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

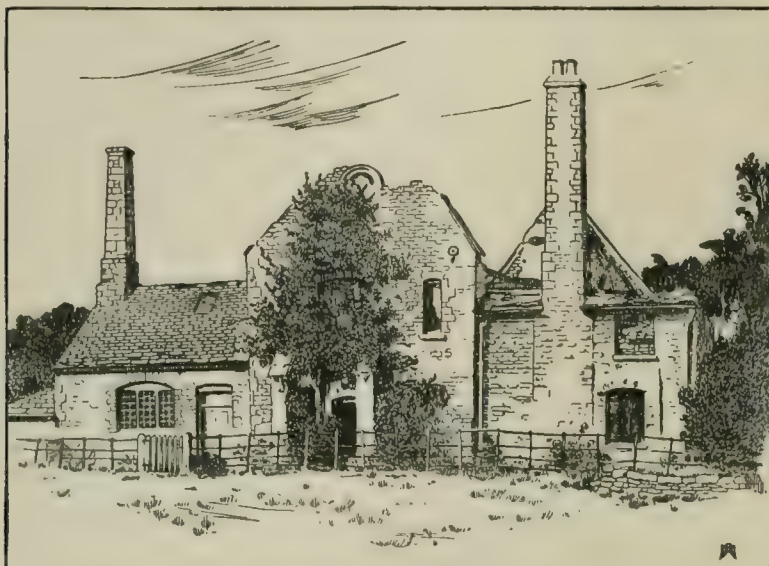
Geoffrey de Barnack in 1327 granted lands in Barnack and Pilsgate to a chaplain to celebrate daily in the church of Barnack for the souls of Geoffrey and his ancestors.¹ The chapel, later called the Vincent chapel, on the north side of the church, was probably built for this chantry. According to Sir William Dugdale there was remaining in 1641 coloured glass in the windows of this chapel recording that John Vincent and Margaret his wife caused 'this window to be made.'²

In the surveys taken in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI there are two accounts of a gild of Corpus Christi in Barnack. One states that it was endowed to find a priest to pray for ever for the souls of the founders and the brothers and sisters 'who are not resident according to the foundation.' The gild was in the parish church of Barnack.³ The other account says the gild was founded within the parish church by Henry Paas to find a priest to sing for

a ruinous condition. According to Bridges, the manor house was fairly extensive in his day, and still retained much interesting glass as well as other decorative features. Later writers speak of the glass having been removed in view of the approaching demolition of this building—and Parker gives the date of the demolition as 1830. But the destruction could not have been complete, inasmuch as a 15th-century fireplace and one or two mediaeval windows still survive, together with the walls in which they are set; but there is not enough left to enable the ancient plan to be recovered. The most interesting fact which emerges from the confusion is mentioned in Parker's *Domestic Architecture*,⁶ namely, that two arches of the old hall (of which a cut is given by him) had recently been pulled down, and that these arches were part of one of the arcades which originally supported the roof. It is inferred that the hall was similar in treatment and comparable in size to the hall of Oakham Castle.

If the conjecture be true, this house at Barnack must have been one of much importance.

The church of **CHURCH** St. John the Baptist⁷ has a chancel with north vestry and chapel and a large south chapel (the Walcot chapel); a nave of three bays with aisles and vaulted south porch, and a western tower. It is a building of very great interest from many points of view, and its architectural history can be carried back to the 11th century. The west tower probably belongs to the first half of this century, and has opened on the east into an aisleless nave of which only the north-west and south-west angles remain, but which was perhaps



BARNACK MANOR HOUSE.

ever; there was no preacher, school, or poor people, but persons were houseed to the number of 200. John Prior was the incumbent 'meanly learned and having no other living.'⁴ The lands belonging to this gild were granted in 1553 to David Vincent and passed with his manors of Barnack and Pilsgate to the Cecil family.⁵

The manor house of Barnack is a mere **MANOR** remnant of what it once was, and a **HOUSE** remnant which has been incorporated into modern additions, which in their turn have succumbed to fire, and now (1905) lie in

of the same internal dimensions, 60 ft. by 23 ft., as the present nave. Of the chancel of this early church nothing can be said with certainty. The first evidences of enlargement date from the end of the 12th century, when a north chapel and north aisle were added. The south aisle and south porch seem to have been undertaken in the beginning of the 13th century, and c. 1220 a stone vice was built in the south-west angle of the tower, the ground story of the tower vaulted, and an octagonal belfry stage and low stone spire added.⁸ About 1300 the present chancel was built, and the north wall of the north aisle of the

was afterwards successively bishop of Bristol, Worcester, and London, but died in poverty and partial disgrace, having offended the queen by his connexion with the Lambeth Articles, and still more grievously by his second marriage (*Diet. Nat. Biog.*). The father of Charles Kingsley was rector here from 1824 to 1830; there is an account of the room in the rectory where Charles slept as a boy in his *Letters and Life*.

¹ Inq. a.q.d. File xciv. No. 21.

² Syers, *Barnack Church*, p. 10. Margaret, according to a De Banco Roll (Hil. 14 Hen. VI, m. 107 d.), was great-granddaughter of Geoffrey de Barnack.

³ Chant. Cert. (P.R.O.), 36, No. 18.

⁴ Chant. Cert. (P.R.O.), 35, No. 18. The gild is called in this document and in the patent, gild of the 'Transfiguration of Corpus Christi.' There was possibly some connexion between this gild and the chantry, of which there is no mention in the commissioners' survey. Henry Paas was probably father-in-law of Geoffrey de Barnack, and the writ for the Inq. a.q.d. appears to have been first made out for some Henry, and afterwards changed for Geoffrey de Barnack.

⁵ Pat. 6 Edw. VI, pt. iv, m. 4.

⁶ Op. cit. i, 52. It is here assumed that there can have been but one manor-house,

and that Parker's cut refers to some portion of the present manor-house which has been pulled down. The cut is so restricted that the building shown might belong anywhere.

⁷ John Gardiner (1511) leaves his body to be buried in the parish church of St. John the Baptist in Barnack. Will in Northampton Probate Office, Bk. A, fol. 64. See also Bk. A. ff. 123, 245, and Bk. D, fol. 247.

⁸ The tower arch was built up, and a small doorway inserted in the blocking, during the 13th century to strengthen the tower under the weight of the newly built belfry stage and spire.

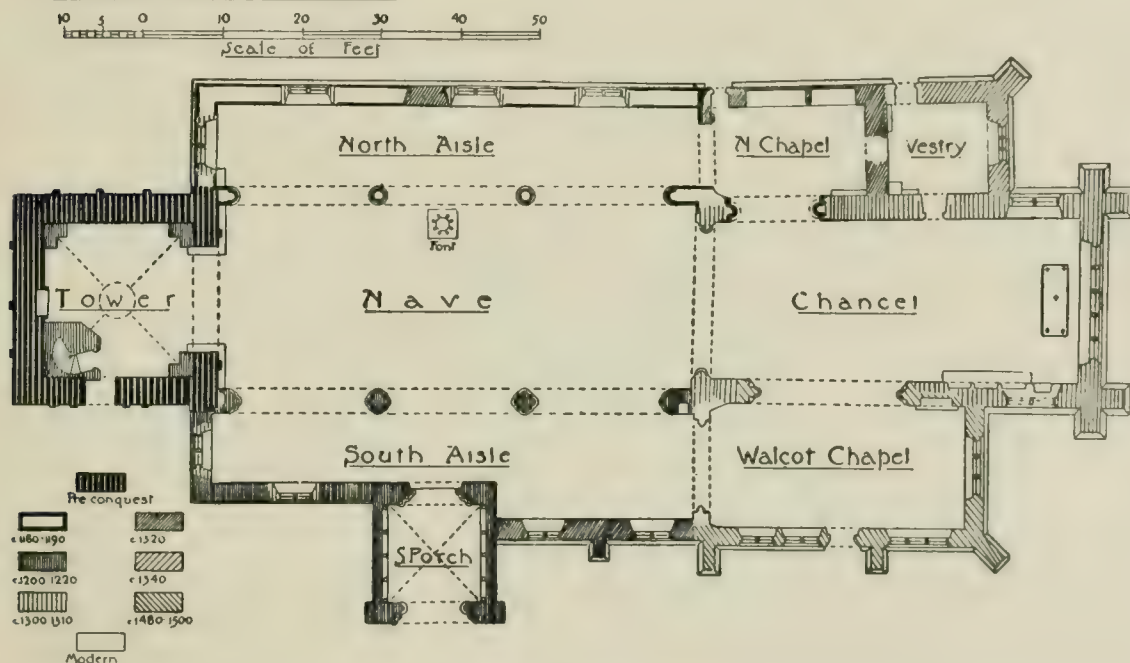
nave re-modelled. The late 12th-century north chapel was no doubt affected by this work, and seems to have been rebuilt about 1320.¹ The eastern half of the south aisle of the nave was widened at this time, but the remainder could not be widened without partly destroying the fine south porch, and its original width has been preserved. A two-story vestry was added to the east of the north chapel about 1350, and at the end of the 15th century a large south chapel was built on to the chancel, bringing the building to its present plan.

The chancel, 46 ft. long,² is 15 ins. wider at the east than at the west (20 ft. 9 ins. as against 19 ft. 6 ins.), having been built after the usual mediaeval fashion, to the east of an older chancel, which was removed piecemeal to make way for it as the work proceeded. A mistake in setting out was very easy under such conditions, and the necessary adjustment of the new work to the old has produced the deviations to be

by 13 ft., with an east window of three trefoiled lights with two sixfoils in the head and a doorway in its north wall. There was formerly a room over it, lighted from the east by a two-light transomed window with a quatrefoil in the head, but its floor has been removed; it was reached by a vice at the south-west angle. A doorway in the west wall, leading to the north chapel, was built up in 1854.

The north chapel opens to the chancel by a semi-circular arch of two chamfered orders, *c.* 1180, with half-round responds and foliate capitals with half-octagonal abaci. The north and east walls of the chapel are of a later date than the north wall of the chancel, which here and in the vestry to the east, is faced with ashlar and retains part of an external plinth. The facing continues above the 12th-century arch, and stops at the west on a line marking the position of the west wall of the chapel, now partly cut away. In the north wall are two original recesses with segmental

BARNACK CHURCH



seen in the plan. The east window is of five lights with sharply pointed heads, enclosing crocketed canopies with finials, and below the canopies are trefoiled heads. The north and south windows are of two trefoiled lights with geometrical tracery. A moulded string runs round the inside at the level of the sills of the windows, breaking up over the triple sedilia, which are contemporary with the chancel, and have cinquefoiled arches with foliate cusps, all the seats being on the same level. To the east is a piscina, with a projecting trefoiled canopy, crocketed, and with flanking pinnacles, and in the north wall, opposite the sedilia, is a plain arched recess, which may have served for the Easter sepulchre. A small modern doorway³ (1854) gives access to the north vestry, a room 12 ft.

arches containing the effigies of a man and woman, much damaged, but once of very good style. The male effigy is cross-legged, and wears a surcoat over a mail hauberk, with a coif of mail on his head; the date is about 1300. In the wall above the recesses are two 15th-century windows, each of two cinquefoiled lights with quatrefoils in the head under four-centred arches, and at the west end of the north wall is a small doorway.

South of the chancel is the large late 15th-century chapel, built by the Brownes of Walcot, opening by a wide arch to the chancel, and by a modern arch at the west to the south aisle of the nave.⁴ In its north-east angle is a recessed canopied tomb of *c.* 1500, on which is a shield bearing the arms of Walcot im-

¹ Probably *c.* 1327, when a chantry was founded here by Geoffrey of Barnack.

² All measurements are internal.

³ It was formerly a small opening 2 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 4 in.

⁴ It is to be noted that only in this, the latest part of the church, is any other than Barnack stone used; the arch to-

wards the chancel being built of Ketton stone, and this fact may have some bearing on the date of the disuse of the ancient Barnack quarries.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

paling Bernard (of Essex). The east window of the chapel is of three lights, the middle light cinquefoiled, the others septfoiled, under a four-centred head. In the south wall is a similar window, having to the west a small four-centred doorway with continuous mouldings, and further west in the same wall are two windows, each of two cinquefoiled lights, set close together. This chapel has externally a large plinth with a band of quatrefoils and a pierced and embattled parapet with quatrefoiled openings.

The chancel arch is pointed, of two chamfered orders, with half-round responds and moulded capitals, probably of the date of the re-building of the chancel.

The nave, 60 ft. 6 in. long by 23 ft. wide, is of three bays, the north arcade, *c.* 1180, having tall and slender round columns, the wall above being only 26 in. thick, and semi-circular arches of two orders, the outer order of the first two arches from the east having a line of zig-zag, while the third arch is plainly moulded. The capitals have square abaci with recessed angles and well-carved transitional foliage. The south arcade, *c.* 1200, has clustered piers of four large and four small rounded shafts, banded in the middle, with excellent foliage capitals,¹ and the arches are semi-circular, of two moulded orders. Both arcades are of fine and lofty proportions, but the clear-story, which is a later addition, is insignificant, its three north windows being small trefoils, and those on the south square-headed, of two lights. The north aisle, 10 feet wide, is probably of the same date as the north arcade, and contains a blocked north doorway with a pointed arch and a plain chamfered label, which may be original. The windows, three on the north and one on the west, are insertions of the early 14th century, and similar to the north and south windows of the chancel. The wall, which is faced with ashlar, has been heightened at the time of their insertion, as is shown by the weather mould at the east end of the aisle.

The western half of the south aisle, 8 ft. 6 in. wide, is coeval with the south arcade, but the two windows in it are insertions of the same date as those in the north aisle, the wall having been heightened here also about the same time. The eastern half of the aisle has been widened, *c.* 1325, and contains two two-light windows with segmental heads and interlacing tracery, with trefoiled lights. Above them on the outside is a cornice with ball-flower.

The south porch has a high-pitched roof of stone slabs, carried somewhat awkwardly on diagonal ribs springing from cone-shaped corbels in the internal angles. The outer archway is of three moulded orders, pointed, with detached shafts in the jambs and foliate capitals. Internally on either side is a wall-arcade of four pointed arches on detached shafts, with foliate capitals and abaci of square section. The inner archway is semi-circular, of three moulded orders, with shafts and capitals as in the outer arch and square abaci.

The tower opens to the nave with a massive round-headed arch, 3 feet thick, of one square order, with a rib of square section running round the arch and jambs. In the arch the voussoirs are in single stones

of the full thickness of the wall, the rib being worked on the same stones. At the springing are capitals with heavy channelled abaci and neckings, the intermediate space being worked with coarse horizontal grooves, which set forward on the line of the rib and are continued across it. The tower is about 19 feet square inside at the ground level, with walls 3 ft. 1 in. to 3 ft. 8 in. thick at the ground level, and about a foot less at the second stage.² The two lower stages, built of large uncoursed rubble masonry, belong to the original 11th-century work, the top or belfry stage being a 13th-century addition, and the form of the original termination is not to be deduced from what remains.

The ground stage is lighted by three windows, high in the walls, on the north, south and west respectively. The north and south windows have round heads, but that of the west window is triangular. Externally all three are set in projecting stone frames, that on the south being square-headed, with carvings of birds in the spandrels. Below it is a round-headed doorway without reveals or splay, with a rib-work frame and heavy arch of one square order, with square impost at the springing. Beneath the west window, inside the tower, is a recess 3 ft. 4 in. wide by 1 ft. 3 in. deep, with a rough seat and a triangular head, the head and jambs being formed with narrow stone slabs 4 inches thick.³

When the ribbed vault with a central bellway was added in the 13th century large masonry piers were inserted in the north-east, south-east, and north-west internal angles of this stage, and the south-west corner was filled up with a stone vice leading to the floor over the vault. Above the vault it may be noticed that a good deal of ancient plastering remains, the vice being built against it. The second stage of the tower was originally divided into two or three stories, but the floors have gone. The top of the vault is 7 ft. 5 in. below the level of the principal upper floor, which was lighted by six round-headed windows, two in each of the north, south, and west sides. Only those on the north remain open, and have plastered and splayed heads, jambs and sills, the window being set in a stone frame rebated to take a wooden shutter. There is a blocked opening in the south-east angle just below the level of these windows. Over the east window on the south side part of a cross-shaft with interlacing patterns is built into the wall. On the east side is a square-headed doorway with long and short quoins in the jambs, now opening on to the roof of the nave, but formerly into the interior of a roof of steeper pitch, the mark of which may be seen on the tower wall.

The stage above this was lighted by four narrow windows with triangular heads, one in each wall, filled in with slabs of pierced stonework of varying design, those in the west and south walls being now blocked. The exterior of the tower is divided into two stages by string-courses, the walls setting back at each stage. The wall surfaces are divided vertically by pilaster strips which average 10 inches wide, with a projection of 6 inches. There are three in each stage on the west and north, and in the upper stage on the south

¹ The third capital from the east is plain, without foliage.

² The east wall is thinner than the other three, and may be in part the west wall of an older nave incorporated in the

tower, but there is no other evidence in support of the idea.

³ For an account of the remains of seats, with stone risers and wooden tops,

set against the walls of the ground stage of the tower, and older than the 13th-century piers in the angles, see *Journ. Ass. Archit. Soc.* 1895, p. 143.



BARNACK CHURCH: THE TOWER FROM THE SOUTH-WEST

and east. The lower stage on the south has four strips, the doorway being between the middle pair. The rubble masonry was meant to be plastered, and the angle quoins, which do not project as far as the pilaster strips, are worked with rebates to stop the plaster.¹ The quoins of the western angles of the tower for the greater part of the lower stage are of a different character, large and irregular, and with beds which are not always horizontal.²

On each face of the tower, in the lower part of the second stage, is a tall stone slab carved with foliage, above which is a bird, in one case a cock. In addition to this there is a circular sundial on the south side, high up on the lower stage, the top half carved with foliage, and, at a similar level in the west wall, a large head projecting from the wall above the triangular-headed window.³

The belfry stage is an octagon finished by a short and plain octagonal stone spire, with windows in the cardinal faces of two pointed lights under a semi-circular moulded head, with detached shafts and a line of dogtooth in the jambs. Against the alternate faces of the octagon rise plain octagonal pinnacles ending in flat tops.

The church has little ancient woodwork. The base of a 15th-century rood-screen remains at the chancel arch, and at the west end of the south chapel is a screen into which is worked some 15th-century tracery. The communion table is Jacobean, c. 1610. There is a little old glass in the east window of the vestry and of the nave clearstory, and in the head of the east window of the chancel are some pieces of contemporary glazing consisting of geometrical designs in red and gold, placed there in 1853.⁴

The corbels of the vault in the south porch show remains of decorative painting, some of it meant to represent coloured marbles.

In addition to the piscina in the chancel already mentioned, there is one of the 14th century inserted in the south wall of the north chapel. It is cinque-foiled, and has a label with masks; and in the south chapel is another piscina, cinquefoiled under a square head. There are brackets at the north-east angle of the north aisle of the nave; on the east respond of the north arcade, showing the bonding of an image above it; and in the west side of the second pier of the south arcade. The door to the rood-loft exists in the south-east angle of the nave, and at the east end of the south aisle is a square locker. In the south chapel is a squint through the east respond of the arch towards the chancel; and in the east wall, on either side of the east window, two very fine and well-preserved canopied niches, that to the north being the finer, and retaining a group of sculpture of the Annunciation, with an inscription which may be 'Iesus Maria in contemplacione sua.' The southern niche is empty, but on the corbel below is an eagle.

The fine 13th-century font has an octagonal base

of open trefoiled arches round a central shaft, the angles of the octagon being rounded off above the arches, so that the bowl becomes circular, with lunettes of foliage at the base where the plan changes. Half way up the bowl are rosettes or dogtooth in relief, and at the top is a band of foliage.

There is a canopied and panelled altar tomb of bluish marble near the east end of the south aisle of the nave of the type common in the London district from the later 15th century till half-way through the 16th. In the chancel are indents of two fine brasses, and on the north wall a large but poorly-worked alabaster monument to Francis Whitstones, which is interesting for having on it the maker's name, Thomas Greenway, of Derby, 1612.

On the west face of the south buttress of the south chapel are scratched two sundials.

There are five bells, the treble by Henry Penn, 1715; the second, 1608; the third is of 1609, with a hexameter inaccurately borrowed from a mediaeval bell, 'In multis eaternes resonet campana Johanes,' the fourth by Taylor, 1897, and the tenor is of the early 16th century inscribed 'see iohes evageliste.'

The church plate consists of a communion cup and cover paten of 1569, the paten being inscribed 1570; an alms-dish of 1683, presented in 1826; and a silver-gilt cup, paten, and bread-holder of 1707.

The first book of the registers now in existence begins in 1696, containing baptisms and burials from that year to 1809, and marriages to 1753. The second contains marriages from 1754 to 1812, and the third, baptisms and burials from 1810 to 1812.

In 1662 'Benefactions given by CHARITIES divers of the family Brownes of Walcot' amounted to £140, and

with this sum there was purchased of Lord Poulett and Ann his wife and Elizabeth Browne her sister two houses and some land for the benefit of the poor of Barnack.

About 1693 Edward Curtis left £60 for a yearly dole of barley to be distributed every New Year's Day.

In 1723 Elizabeth, countess dowager of Exeter, left £20 for the benefit of the poor.

These two benefactions were also invested in land, and on the enclosure of Barnack in 1806 an allotment was made in lieu of the property of the three charities. An allotment was also made on the enclosure of the Borough Fen in 1822. The Poor's Estate now consists of land and tenements in Barnack containing 48a. 1r. 31p. in Barnack, 2a. in Borough Fen, and 4a. 1r. 22p. in Newborough taken in exchange for 1a. 1r. 19p. in Barnack by award of Board of Agriculture, dated 25 May, 1893. The rents amounted in 1904 to £92, of which £10 was given to the National School.

¹ In the upper stage these quoins are of the ordinary long and short type, but when the plaster was intact the bonding ends of the short stones would be hidden, and the quoins would appear like pilaster strips running up the angles, jointed, like the strips, in stones alternately deep and shallow.

² Their size suggests that they are of early date, and the adjoining faces of the

tower are clearly designed to be external; otherwise the fact that foundations have been found to the west of the tower would suggest that they are evidence of the repair of the angles after the destruction of some building which formerly adjoined the tower on the west. But the date of these foundations is uncertain, and some of the quoins in the lower parts of

angles have been cut away after a fashion which implies the existence of some building after they were in position, and to this building the foundations may of course belong.

³ A parallel to this occurs at Deerhurst, Gloucestershire.

⁴ MS. description by the late R. P. Brereton.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

BOROUGH FEN

The great Borough Fen is a tract of land about 3,000 acres in extent, of which 1961½ are arable, 1,009½ pasture, and 22 wood. It has a light alluvial soil upon clay with a lower stratum of rock in parts. A bed of gravel crosses it in a north-westerly direction. It is very sparsely populated (193 persons in 1901). The most interesting feature is the celebrated decoy farm on the north-west extremity of the common, owned for many years by a family named Williams. Eardley Grange is just within the boundary on the north, and the tenants of this, with the inhabitants of a few scattered cottages and farmhouses, constitute the entire population.

The Fen is extra-parochial; it is included for ecclesiastical and school purposes with Newborough, but has a separate civil status.

The Borough Fen anciently formed part of the waste attached to the hundred of Nassaburgh, and was thus part of the lordship of the abbey of Peterborough, being used as common for all the tenants of the abbey in the soke of Peterborough.

In 1541 the hundred of Nassaburgh, and with it the lordship of the soil of the Borough Fen, was granted to John, bishop of Peterborough,¹ but in 1576 Bishop Scambler surrendered it, with all its

appurtenances, to Queen Elizabeth,² who almost immediately granted it to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and his heirs.³ The Marquises of Exeter, as heirs of Lord Burghley, thus became owners of the soil of the Borough Fen, and their right was vindicated against the crown during the proceedings prior to the enclosure of the Borough Fen,⁴ which was carried out by a commission appointed by Act of Parliament in 1812, with powers to allot land to the holders of common rights on the fen, and to sell part to pay for the expenses of the commission and certain draining operations, and to provide an endowment for Newborough school and church.⁵ The award issued in 1822 was the origin of the present estates on the soil of the fen. The Marquis of Exeter had an allotment in lieu of his right to the soil, as well as for common rights in respect of the land he owns in the soke, and he is still the lord of the soil as far as there can be said to be one, though his land lies in the modern parish of Newborough, cut off from the Borough Fen, and some years ago the Eardley Wilmot family owned by allotment and purchase the whole of the present Borough Fen parish.⁶ This estate is now in the hands of Mrs. Culling Hanbury.

CASTOR

Castre (xi-xiv cent.).

The parish of Castor, including the hamlets of Ailsworth, Milton, Upton, and Sutton (the two last since 1831 constituted separate parishes), contains 7,110 acres, of which fifty are covered by water, 2,748½ arable land, 2,360½ pasture, and 750 woodland.

It has in general a light gravelly soil upon limestone, or, as at Milton Park and Upton, upon clay. It contains some woodland and also arable and grazing lands. The chief crops are barley, wheat, mangolds, and turnips. Stone and gravel were formerly worked to a small extent; there are the remains of two quarries on the west of Milton Park. The inhabitants are now almost exclusively engaged in agriculture. In the period of the Roman occupation of Britain, Castor, then known as Durobrivæ, was celebrated for its pottery.⁷

In the eastern part between Milton Park and the river stand two monoliths known as Robin Hood and Little John, from some vaguely-associated tradition of the country people, but which were probably set up 'as evidences that carriages of stone from Barnack pits to be conveyed by Gunwade Ferry to St. Edmund's Bury might pass this way without paying tolls.'⁸

There is some evidence that about the middle of the 7th century a nunnery was founded in Castor⁹

by Kyneburga, a married daughter of Peada, king of Mercia, who, accompanied by her sister Kyneswitha, relinquished her royal surroundings to act as its superior. The sisters, who were in after time canonized, were buried in Castor church, which is the only church in England under their invocation. Under the rule of Abbot Elsin in the 11th century their relics were translated to Peterborough and placed in a shrine in the abbey church there, the feast of their translation being observed by the monks on 6 March.¹⁰

The Roman road called the Ermine Street enters the parish on the south from Huntingdonshire a little to the east of Castor station. It passes through Ailsworth in a north-westerly direction, and from the point where it crosses the road from Ailsworth to Sutton becomes for about a mile the boundary between the parishes of Upton and Sutton.

Another Roman road, which deflects from the Ermine Street near the Nene and Normangate field, can be only indistinctly traced for the first two miles of its course. It runs due north towards Lincolnshire, becoming named as the King Street about the point at which it enters Helpston parish.¹¹ Part of its course is marked only by high green banks, which under the enclosure award of 1898 may not be ploughed up. There are traces of other highways and of ancient dykes, while a ridge commemorates

¹ Pat. 33 Hen. IV, pt. iii, m. 13.

² *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 208.

³ Gunton, *History of the Church of Peterborough*, 4.

⁴ Birch, *Cart. Sax.* i, 22; Sparke, *Scriptores*, 33.

⁵ Close, 19 Eliz. pt. xxi, m. 1.

⁶ *Ibid.* m. 13.

⁷ Borough Fen. Encl. Award.

⁸ *Private and Personal Acts*, 52 Geo. III, cap. 143. See also *ibid.* 59 Geo. III, cap. 77.

⁹ Borough Fen Encl. Award. The history of the draining of the fen will be dealt with in the Social and Economic History of the county.

¹⁰ *A.S. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.) ; 221. An ancient French metrical chronicle

said to have been among the Cotton MSS., perhaps one of those destroyed by fire, records this act of Elsin in the following line: 'Et de Castor Saint Kyneburgh et Kineswith aporte.' Sparke, *Scriptores*, 241.

¹¹ See *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 204 and note 3.



BARNACK : OLD HOUSE IN VILLAGE



CASTOR CHURCH : VIEW FROM THE SOUTH

St. Kyneburga under the degenerate local title of Lady Connyburrow's Way.¹ According to one version of the local tradition in connexion with this ridge, Lady Kyneburga, proceeding along this road on an errand of mercy, was pursued by three ruffians; as she ran to escape them the contents of her basket, falling to the ground, sprang up as flowers before her, while a great gulf opened behind and swallowed up her pursuers.

Extensive Roman remains discovered in the parish are connected with the settlement of Durobrivae.² One of the pavements discovered is now in the ante-room of the dairy at Milton.

The London and North-Western Railway runs through the southern part of the parish. Castor station on this line is about half a mile from the village; and Wansford Junction, at the meeting of the London and North-Western and the Wansford Branch of the Great Northern, is just within the south-west boundary of the present parish of Sutton.

Copies of the enclosure award of Castor of 1898 are (1) with the parish records in the charge of the Parish Council, (2) with the Clerk of the Peace, (3) at the Board of Agriculture. The tithe map is with the parish records as above, the altered apportionment consequent on the enclosure of 1898 bearing the date of 1901.

The village lies along the main road from Peterborough to Oundle, which here follows the foot of the slope, rising northward from the valley of the Nene. The Roman camp was built on the brow of this slope, running down it to the low ground, as at Burgh Castle and elsewhere. Several fragments of its walls remain—one to the north-west of the church running in a north-easterly direction, and others, in the wall of the rectory garden, east of the church, running south-west. The north boundary of the churchyard appears to follow the direction of the Roman wall, but the east boundary runs south instead of south-west. On the level ground to the south of the slope on which the church stands, between the churchyard and the road, many foundations of Roman buildings are known to exist.

Near the road at the north end of the village stands Castor House, a Georgian building with large grounds, the seat of Lt.-Colonel F. A. White. 'The Cedars,' an old house with a modern front, near to the church, is now occupied by Mr. G. L. Kennedy, and formerly by Mr. William Le Queux, the author. 'The Elms,' another old stone house, is occupied by Mr. Percy Wood. The village also contains many picturesque stone houses and barns, with roofs covered with Collyweston slates or thatch; also the remains of two stone crosses, one near the village green, the other at the top of Love's Hill on the Peterborough road.

There are here Church schools, partly supported by Mr. Fitzwilliam of Milton, and a Congregational chapel, opened in 1848. The population in 1901 was 639.

The hamlet of Ailsworth—ecclesiastically a part of Castor but a separate civil parish—is situated on the west of the Roman north road at a short distance to

the north-west of Castor, and consists of a few cottages, with a Methodist chapel opened in 1860. There is a recreation ground in the fields at the southern end of the village. Ailsworth Heath was exempted from enclosure by the award in 1898. The population in 1901 was 251.

Milton Hall or Manor-house is in the east of the parish. There is various evidence, such as grants of market and fair, mention of tenants and other circumstances, to prove that in earlier times a village existed at Milton.

The village of Sutton, which was formerly a hamlet of Castor and a chapelry annexed to that church, was constituted a separate ecclesiastical parish in 1851, and in 1903 was united with Upton.³ The parish was enclosed in August, 1903. It is situated on the left bank of the Nene, and consists of a few private houses and cottages, with church and a modern vicarage-house containing a two-light 13th-century window preserved from a house formerly on the same site. There are no local schools, the children attending those at Castor. The population in 1901 was 98. About a mile to the east of the village, at the cross-roads half-way between Sutton and Ailsworth, are the remains of the ancient stone cross of Sutton. Robert of Sutton, who from 1262 to 1273 was abbot of Peterborough, was born at Sutton.

Upton, originally a hamlet of Castor and a chapelry attached to that place, was constituted a separate ecclesiastical parish on 15 June, 1851, and in 1903 was united with Sutton.⁴ The village consists of the church and manor-house, standing apart, with a few cottages and a model farm to the westward. Bishop Dove of Peterborough once lived in this manor-house, and his son Sir William Dove and other members of his family are buried in the church of Upton. At the present day the manor-house is a farmhouse. The parish was enclosed in November, 1843; the award is in custody of the churchwardens. The population in 1901 was 85.

Among the place-names found in Castor and its hamlets are Jugwells, Mollycrofts, Hanglands, Normangate Field, Graves, Duck Paddles, Potter's Oven (probably commemorating the lost industry), and Tarrels, which may be a corruption of Thorolds.

ABBOT'S MANOR.—The 'vill' of **MANORS** Castor and Ailsworth was confirmed to Peterborough by the charters of both Edgar and Wulthere.⁵

At the time of the Domesday Survey the abbey of Peterborough held 3 hides in Castor,⁶ and the same amount was held by five knights of the abbey;⁷ about forty years later the amount of land in demesne of the abbot was returned as 4½ hides,⁸ Ailsworth being probably included.

The vill of Castor and Ailsworth was confirmed to the monastery by Richard I and Henry III.⁹

In the 13th century the manor appears to have been one of the more important possessions of the abbey. Abbot Alexander of Holderness, 1222–6, who is described as a great builder, built the hall at Castor,¹⁰ and in 1293 Edward I granted to the abbot and his convent the right of free-warren in their

¹ Bridges, *op. cit.* ii, 499.

² *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 166–72.

³ Order in Council, 15 June, 1851; *ibid.* 8 Dec. 1903.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Birch, *Cart. Sax.* i, No. 22; *A.S. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 200. See introduction to Soke.

⁶ *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 313a.

⁷ *Ibid.* 314b.

⁸ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 60, fol. 183.

⁹ Cart. Ant. DD. 17; Chart. R.

¹⁰ Hen. III, pt. i, m. 19.

¹¹ Sparke, *Scriptores*, 115.

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demesne lands at Castor.¹ In 1291 the profits of the manor and court with stock and a dovecote amounted to £13 11s. 6d.² The abbey court at Castor appears to have been more important than a mere manorial court. Many outlying lands of the abbey owed suit at this court,³ and important declarations and transfers of land often took place there.⁴ It has been suggested that the hundred court for Nassa-burgh, formerly and subsequently held at Langdike, was during the 13th and 14th centuries transferred to Castor, but there is no positive evidence that this was the case.

When Abbot Godfrey died about 1321 the Castor property included a manor-house, with garden and dovecote, woodland, and a several fishery in the Nene. Court-baron was held every three weeks.⁵

Upon the surrender of Peterborough to the crown in 1537 Castor manor was granted in 1541 by Henry VIII to the dean and chapter of the newly-founded bishopric of Peterborough.⁶ The fee farm rents of Castor, reserved under this grant, were sold in 1674-5 to Sir Edward de Carterett by Lord Hawley and other trustees appointed by Act of Parliament for carrying out such sales.⁷

In the time of the Commonwealth the manor of Castor, with the 'site of the said manor commonly called Berrysteed,' with all courts-baron or other courts, and fishing, fowling, hawking and hunting rights, let by the dean and chapter to Robert Wingfield in the reign of Philip and Mary for ninety-nine years, was sold by the Commissioners for Sale of Bishops' Lands to Thomas Matthew and Thomas Allen, citizens and grocers of London.⁸

Castor remained with the dean and chapter, to whom it was restored in 1660, until under the Act of 1836 it passed to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who still hold as *ex-officio* lords of the manor.⁹

THOROLD'S MANOR.—It is stated in Domesday Book that five knights held 3 hides of the abbot of Peterborough in Castor.¹⁰ No names are recorded, but within fifty years one Thorold was holding here to the extent of rather more than 2 hides,¹¹ thus being clearly the largest of the landholders. He was probably the father of Richard and Geoffrey (of Castor), between whom a partition of the fee occurred in the time of Abbot Martin, 1133-55, when 'Richard being the elder and a priest,' took by arrangement the church of Castor and one-third of the land,¹² and this portion is the $\frac{1}{2}$ fee which is mentioned in the charters of Richard I and Henry III,¹³ and which is referred to in the history of the advowson of Castor. The descendants of Geoffrey continued to hold the rest of the land. His son was Thorold,¹⁴ who was succeeded by one or more Thorolds,¹⁵ for the number and relationship is uncertain, and in 1242 William son of Thorold was in possession.¹⁶ In his time Geoffrey Illing, Ralph Buveton, Henry Segrave, and Robert 'the butler' were holders of the remainder of the three Domesday

hides, the last-mentioned holding his sixth part of a fee from Fulbert de Dover, whose overlord was the abbot of Peterborough. In 1348 John Eston,¹⁷ a kinsman of Beatrice de Butler, held this portion from Robert Marmion, who had succeeded Fulbert de Dover, and by 1415 he or his successor of the same name was also holding the land which had belonged to Thorold of Castor,¹⁸ but which that family had previously ceased to own. Henry, son of William, had been succeeded in turn by his sons John¹⁹ and Nicholas, whose son William in the middle of the 14th century is the last recorded holder of that family.²⁰

In 1460 the Thorold, Segrave, and Butler fees were in the hands of Sir Guy Wolston, of whom it is known that he was the holder of important offices under the crown and was a large landowner,²¹ but between whom and the Eston family no association has been established. Some thirty years later these fees, now described as the 'manor' of Castor, were settled, in default of male issue, on Audrey, daughter of Sir Guy Wolston,²² and in 1508 she and her husband, Thomas Empson, were holding this manor, which, finally crystallizing into the 'manor of Castor, otherwise called the manor of Butler's and Thorold's,' was granted by them in 1515 to Richard Fitzwilliam and others.²³ In 1534 William Fitzwilliam died holding this manor, which is described in the same terms as during the Empson tenure,²⁴ and it has continued with the Fitzwilliam family to the present day.

BELSIZE (Belasis xiii cent. ; Belseys xvi cent.).—The farm of Belsize, belonging to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, dates from very early times, and is sometimes called a manor in the records. In 1214 Abbot Robert of Lindsey built houses at a place called Belsize, and planted hedges and drained the land around it. For this action Richard de Waterville, a knight, and other free men of Castor and Marholm brought an assize of novel disseisin against the abbot, but were satisfied by gifts and other advantages. The abbot also acquired various small portions of land in Marholm, Woodcroft, Milton, and Paston, and annexed them to Belsize, which was required to find bread and beer for eight monks newly added to the convent. Afterwards the eight monks were provided for with the rest of the community, and Belsize was assigned to the cook of the convent for 8 marks.²⁵ Later the farm was in the hands of the cellarer, who had common at Tanholt in Eye for the beasts of his manor of Belsize.²⁶ In the 15th century Belsize must have been a small village ; the tenants there to the number of a hundred made insurrection against the abbot, 'throwing in hedges and ditches, returning with Bagpipes, and great jollity for what they had done.'²⁷ At the dissolution all the premises which belonged to the monastery of Peterborough there were granted to the dean and chapter of the newly erected see.²⁸ In 1650 all 'that farm or

¹ Chart. R. 22 Edw. I, No. 87.

² *P. & Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 53.

³ Swapham, fol. 36.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Lansd. MS. 993, fol. 65.

⁶ Pat. 33 Hen. VIII, pt. iii, m. 14-17.

⁷ Pat. 26 Chas. II, pt. iv.

⁸ Close, 1650, pt. xxxiii, No. 30.

⁹ *London Gazette*, 1 Aug. 1851, No. 1969.

¹⁰ *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 314b.

¹¹ *Chronicon*, 172.

¹² Egerton, MS. 2733, fol. 128.

¹³ Cart. Ant. DD. 17 ; Chart. R. 11 Hen. III, pt. i, m. 19.

¹⁴ Cott. Vesp. E. xxii, 99b.

¹⁵ Cart. Antiq. DD. 17 ; Chart. R. 11 Hen. III, pt. i, m. 19.

¹⁶ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 60, fol. 251.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* No. 38, fol. 165b.

¹⁸ Add. MS. 25288.

¹⁹ Cott. Vesp. E. xxii, 78.

²⁰ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 38, fol. 159.

²¹ Cott. Nero, vii, 202b.

²² Feet of F. Northants, 7 Hen. VII and 24 Hen. VII.

²³ *Ibid.* Mich. 7 Hen. VIII.

²⁴ Chan. Inq. p. m. (Ser. 2), lvii, 3.

²⁵ Sparke, *Scriptores*, 112.

²⁶ Soc. Antiq. No. 60, fol. 185b.

²⁷ Gunton, 55.

²⁸ Pat. 33 Hen. VIII, pt. iii, m. 14-17.

grange commonly called Belsize farm' in the parish of Castor which had been let for eighty years from 1563 to Thomas Rolfe, was sold by the Commissioners for the Sale of Bishops' Lands to John Robinson and Edward Carr. This sale was rescinded at the Restoration, and Belsize returned to the dean and chapter of Peterborough, from whom it passed to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners under the Act of 1836.

AILSWORTH (Egelswith x cent., Eglesworde xi cent., Eyleswurthe xiii cent.).—In 948 Eddred the king conferred upon a faithful servant Elsinus, land and tenements in the district of Ailsworth, the boundaries of which are specified as being the River Nene, an ancient dyke, and Sutton,¹ then an ancient highway as far as 'the field of Marmaduke;' so on as far as² Ufford and Helpston, with Upton and Castor,³ while the ancient dyke leads back from Castor to the river.⁴ In another ancient record regarding the land in Ailsworth appears one of the curious incidents of mediæval necromancy, for it relates how the land was held by a widow and her son, and how this woman having practised magic in the accepted manner by balefully sticking pins into an effigy of one Elsi, she was taken and drowned for her crime at London Bridge, and her son became an outlaw. The land thus coming into the king's hands was granted to Elsi—as *solatium* perhaps—and subsequently was sold by Wulstan Ucceca, his son, to Athelwold, bishop of Winchester, who, in his turn, sold it to the monastery of Peterborough.⁵

At the time of Domesday the monastery had a fairly large amount of land in Ailsworth, there being two entries—one relative to the holding of the abbot and convent, which was six hides with two mills, and the other to that of three knights of Peterborough, which was three hides.⁶

Although mentioned in Domesday as the place where the abbey held so large an amount of land, Ailsworth had as early as the reign of Henry I disappeared from the record of the abbey fees. In the parish of Castor, however, are the manors of Sutton and Upton adjacent to Ailsworth which, though not recorded in Domesday Book, figure in the list of fees of Henry I as containing respectively three hides and three virgates. Castor itself also, which had three hides at the time of Domesday, has in the later record more than 4½ hides, as well as 3 virgates of land belonging to the church.⁷ It seems probable therefore that Sutton and Upton were included in the assessment of Ailsworth in 1086.

The abbey's portion of Ailsworth from this date until the dissolution was included in the manor of Castor. In 1541 the dean and chapter of Peterborough received from the crown the possessions of the monastery of Peterborough in Ailsworth.⁸ In 1650 the Commissioners for the sale of Bishops' Lands sold to Margaret Venne of Middlesex, a widow,

land and cottages at Ailsworth, which had been let to Robert Wingfield in the reign of Philip and Mary for ninety-nine years.⁹ Ackworth was recovered by the dean and chapter in 1660, and passed from them to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners under the Act of 1836. Nearly the whole of the present civil parish of Ailsworth is owned by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

The land held at the time of Domesday by three knights of Peterborough, appears to have been parcel of more important holdings. In a record of not later date than 1253 part of Ailsworth is stated to be of the fee of Torpel,¹⁰ and this part the earl of Kent was holding in 1396,¹¹ when it was described as having been once the fee of Ralph Camoys, who succeeded the Torpel family in their manor of that name. This probably is the half-manor which in 1543 was granted to Sir Robert Wingfield, and which in reality consisted of sundry tenements only.¹² Gilbert son of William and Robert of Paston, also held land in another part of Ailsworth in the 13th century,¹³ and in 1396 the holding of the former was in the hands of John Eston, while the latter was owned by some other John whose family name cannot be ascertained.¹⁴ These are probably the tenements which always appear included with the manor of Castor, and may possibly compose the manor of Min-skip in Castor and Ailsworth which appears in a list of the property held by William Fitzwilliam about 1620.¹⁵ No family of any importance lived continuously in Ailsworth. There is a record of one interesting tenant, Hugh, son of Henry Longchamp, nephew of William, bishop of Ely, one of the great chancellors of Richard I, who held land of the Waterville family in Ailsworth.¹⁶

MILTON (Meleton, xi cent.) was included in the spurious charter of Wulthere to Peterborough Abbey.¹⁷ In 1086 there were two hides in Milton of the fee of the abbey held by Roger.¹⁸ At the beginning of the 12th century Thorold held this fee,¹⁹ and in 1146 Pope Eugenius confirmed the fee of Roger of Milton to the abbot of Peterborough.²⁰ Richard I confirmed fees held by Robert son of Roger of Milton to the abbey, together with the chapel of Milton adjacent to the church of Castor, and the mill of the same.²¹ In 1243 Geoffrey son of Robert of Milton was holding 1½ fees in Milton of the abbey.²²

Early in the 14th century Joan, the widow of a certain William Charles, died holding the manor of Milton, for which suit was due to the abbot of Peterborough at his hundred-court of Langdyke, and also at his court of Torpel.²³ Her son was Sir Edward Charles, to whom in 1304 a grant of free warren was made for this manor and also for a market each Tuesday and a yearly three-day fair at Whitsuntide.²⁴ In 1325–6 Henry of Milton, nephew of Sir Geoffrey of Milton, released to Sir Edward

¹ On the south-west.

² North.

³ On the east.

⁴ The Nene bends here to complete the eastern boundary.

⁵ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 60, fol. 49b.

⁶ *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 313a, 314b.

⁷ A 13th-century inq. (Soc. Antiq. No. 60, fol. 183) clearly includes part of Ailsworth with Castor.

⁸ Pat. 33 Hen. VIII, pt. iii, m. 14-17.

⁹ Close, 1650, pt. xxv, No. 25.

¹⁰ Egerton MS. 2733, fol. 148.

¹¹ Cott. MS. Nero, C. vii, fol. 130.

¹² Pat. 35 Hen. VIII, pt. xvi; Chan.

Inq. p.m. (ser. 2), cclxxiv, 47.

¹³ Egerton MS. 2733, fol. 148.

¹⁴ Cott. MS. Nero, C. vii, fol. 130.

¹⁵ Chan. Inq. p.m. (ser. 2), ccclxxxiii,

113.

¹⁶ Swapham, fols. 90, 215.

¹⁷ Birch, *Cart. Sax.* No. 22.

¹⁸ *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 314b.

¹⁹ *Chronicon*, 171.

²⁰ Sparke, *Scriptores*, 81.

²¹ Cart. Antiq. DD. No. 17; also Chart.

R. 11 Hen. III, pt. i, m. 19, and Pat.

10 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 19. These are the

only known occasions on which this

chapel is mentioned. Swapham, fol. 216.

²² Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 60, fol. 251;

Swapham, fol. 35.

²³ Chan. Inq. p.m. 33 Edw. I, No. 54.

²⁴ Chart. R. 33 Edw. I, No. 98; ibid.

m. 5, No. 28.

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Charles and Alice his wife his right in the manor of Milton,¹ and a few years later, in 1333-4, the then holder, William Charles, granted it to Richard de la Pole, of London,² to whom free warren was also granted.³ During the short time of the de la Pole tenure it appears that the contingent suit to the abbot of Peterborough was transferred to the court of the latter at Castor.⁴ After the death of Richard de la Pole, his widow Joan married Thomas Chaworth, who held by courtesy.⁵ In 1357-8 William de la Pole, son of Richard and Joan, and Margaret his wife, granted the manor to William of Thorpe.⁶ During his tenure Robert Charles, kinsman of William Charles, who had transferred Milton to Richard de la Pole, brought a suit against John de la Warre and others,⁷ with whom William of Thorpe had levied a fine of the manor.⁸ Robert apparently failed to prove his case, as in 1391 the manor formed part of a bequest made by Sir William of Thorpe to his kinsman, John Wittelbury.⁹ The wife of this John Wittelbury was Agnes, who in her subsequent widowhood married Thomas Gerrard, and received in 1407-8 from her son, Richard Wittelbury, a grant of the manor for life.¹⁰ The manor remained in the hands of this family till about 1502,¹¹ when Robert Wittelbury and his wife Anne¹² granted it, together with the fishing and the wharfrage at Gunwade on the River Nene, to William Fitzwilliam and another member of the family. Robert and his wife retained the manor for their lives for the rent of one rose, and died a few years later.¹³



FITZWILLIAM. *Lozengy argent and gules.*

Milton now belongs to Mr. George Wentworth Fitzwilliam, the hall, with the rest of the Northamptonshire property of the family, having been given by the late Earl Fitzwilliam in 1857, in accordance with the will of his father, to his second brother, George, father of the present owner.

In the east of the parish is situated the famous house of Milton, which ranks among the greatest houses of the county. Milton consists of a long block of buildings facing north and south, with stables to the north-east set at right angles to the north front of the house. The walled garden is to the south-east of the house, but not at right angles to it. On the north side of the house the park comes up to the door, with only the gravel drive between the green sward and the house, and on the south side an open lawn extends from the house to the old moat which divides it from the park.

The house itself has undergone great alteration on two or three occasions: the entrance front (north side) is Elizabethan in character; the garden front as it now exists is of the formal character of the 18th century, and probably dates from 1720 or a

little earlier. The Elizabethan front is of considerable extent from east to west, and shows work of two dates; most of the mullioned windows are square headed, and were built late in Elizabeth's reign or in the early years of James I, but the great bay window which runs through two stories has flat-pointed lights, and dates probably from the middle of the 16th century. It lighted the dais end of the hall, and in common with all other windows which served that function the sill was kept down to afford an outlook. The great window at the west end of the front was that of the chapel, and is similar in character and date to the great bay. The porch belongs to the later of these two periods.

A plan of the house and lay-out dated 1643, which has been preserved at Milton and which is reproduced in this history, shows what the house was in the time of the Stuarts.

The north front shows the porch, opening to the screens, and so to the hall on the right hand and the cellar on the left. Beyond the hall are the parlour and drawing-room, and beyond them the chapel, at the west end of the long range of buildings. From the south-west corner of the hall opens the great staircase, with flights of steps round a central block of masonry. It gives access to the upper rooms in the main building, and also to the lord's lodgings, which are in a wing running southwards at right angles to the main block.

The kitchen and pantry abut on the cellar, and run southwards parallel to the lord's lodgings, having the brewhouse on the south and a yard and other offices on the east, the coal-house, dairy, and stable being shown.

In front of the house is a courtyard, bounded on the north by a road, here called the 'way from Peterburrough,' and having a line of buildings along it, used as lodgings and stables, with entrances to the stableyard and cartyard, which lie to the east of the courtyard. The whole site (reckoned as 8 acres 1 rood) is enclosed, except on the north side, by a moat of irregular shape, with the 'pond close' in the south-east angle, and the orchard on the south-west and west, while on the south front of the house, and bounded on the east by the lord's lodgings, is a rectangular pleasure garden enclosed by walls, with gravel walks on all four sides and crossing in the middle. A path bordered by trees runs along the bank of the moat on the west side, and as far as the pond close on the south, while the kitchen garden is a narrow strip along the east arm of the moat bounded by the Pond Close and Brewhouse Yard on the west.

Beyond the moat on the west is a long narrow strip of land called the Longwell Close, with a line of trees and 'Caster feelde' on the west.

A bird's-eye view of the house and lay-out, also preserved at Milton, and of later date, shows the house enlarged with elaborate formal gardens on the south, and a formal quadrangle on the north. On this plan

¹ Close, 19 Edw. II, m. 32 d.

² Ibid. 7 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 26 d.

³ Chart. R. 8 Edw. III, m. 20, No. 49.

⁴ Chan. Inq. p. m. 19 Edw. III, No. 56.

⁵ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 38, fol. 151.

⁶ Feet of F. Northants, 31 Edw. III, No. 448.

⁷ De Banco R. East. 15 Ric. II, m. 389.

⁸ Feet of F. Div. co. 7 Ric. II, No. 13.

⁹ *Ct. of Hustings, Cal. of Wills.*

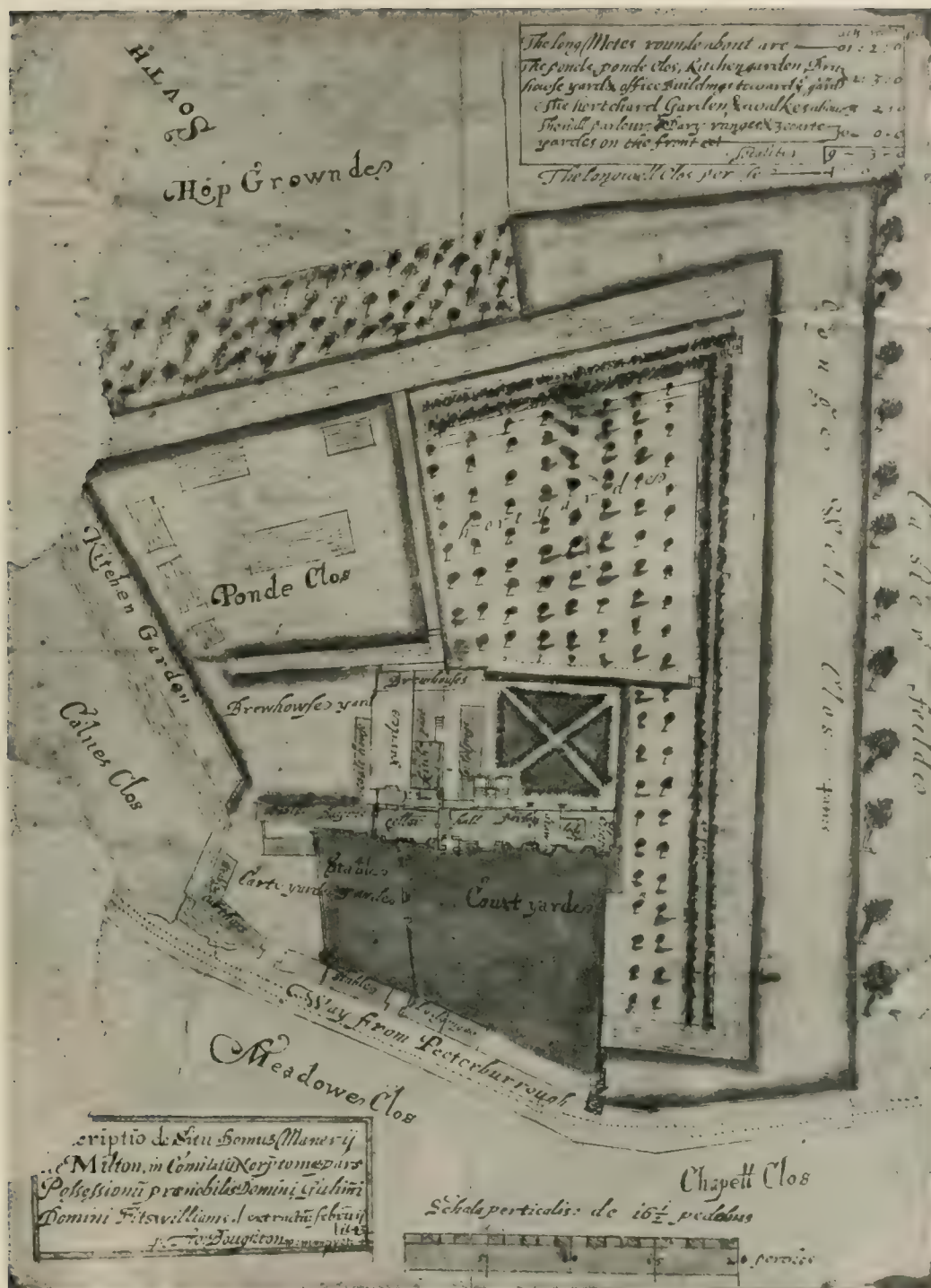
¹⁰ Close, 9 Hen. IV, m. 27.

¹¹ There appears to have been some interruption in the descent of the manor, for in 1428 John Sutton was holding the fee in Milton once held by Thomas Chaworth (Exch. K.R. Misc. Bks. iv, 235). But his connexion was only temporary, for in 1461 Robert Wittelbury was

holding the manor (Cott. Nero, C. vii, 202 d.). The Suttons seem to have been holding under false pretences; land here and at Longthorpe was recovered from them by representatives of the Wittelbury family in the reign of Henry VI (Papers at Milton Hall).

¹² Feet of F. Northants, 18 Hen. VII.

¹³ Chan. Inq. p. m. (ser. 2), xx, 148.



MILTON HOUSE : SITE PLAN DATED 1643

the buildings extending at right angles to the house on the south side are still shown. The whole is probably a preliminary design for the 18th-century alterations, and was considerably modified in actual execution.

The first great alteration which is known to have taken place is the building of the block of stabling which still exists at right-angles to the house, at its north-east corner; on the front of this appears the date of 1690. Thirty years later, judging from the date on further stable buildings behind those of 1690, and also from the character of the present garden front, the house was again altered and enlarged.¹ There is ground for thinking that it was at this time that the buildings to the south of the house were swept away, and that the width of the house from north to south was doubled. One effect of this was to make the house as it is now, very long in proportion to its width, and consisting of one solid block, with no suggestion of quadrangle. Another result was the necessary destruction of the small formal garden to the south of the west half of the older house, part of it being occupied by the new building, and the gradual transformation of the old orchard and other parts of the garden due south of the house into the open lawn which they have now become. It should be added here that the small piece of water nearest to the house on the south-east side was removed early in the 19th century. Internally Milton is in character a house built in the first quarter of the 18th century. Of that date are the window-work and the plaster ceilings, both excellent examples of their style. To that date belongs the fine marble mantelpiece in Mrs. Fitzwilliam's boudoir, and the great gallery or ballroom seems to have been then made in more or less conscious imitation of the long gallery so usual in Elizabethan houses. Of the same period also are the walled gardens already mentioned, which extend for six acres, and the orangery beyond them, which unlike those at Burghley and Apethorpe is not part of the house or adjoining it, but some distance away in the grounds. Similar in date are the admirable iron gates leading from the walled garden westward towards the lawn, where what must have been the wilderness is now a shrubbery garden with fine timber. The design of these gates is simple and graceful, and the relation of the light scroll-work to the more solid parts, among which are the family arms and supporters, is excellent; the whole composition is surmounted by an earl's coronet, and was probably the work of the second or third earl. Contemporary with this is a fine gateway on the opposite side of the walled garden, which has been for many years greatly out of the perpendicular, but shows no other signs of insecurity.

Milton, which was the principal seat of the Fitzwilliams till they inherited Wentworth by marriage in 1769, contains many treasures of historical and artistic value. There is a large collection of family and other pictures, among them being several examples of Sir Joshua Reynolds, including the famous 'Puck,' and portraits of Edmund Burke, his brother William and his son Richard, and also a portrait of Lady Charlotte Fitzwilliam. There is a Holbein representing Sir William Fitzwilliam,

who was created earl of Southampton in the reign of Henry VIII, a cousin of the owner of Milton; there is also an old man's head by Rembrandt, and portraits of Colonel and Mrs. Hutchinson which are by Van Dyck. The house contains a fine Ruysdael, and some very good specimens of Canaletto. Special historical interest attaches to the portrait of James I as a lad, which was given by Mary Queen of Scots to Sir William Fitzwilliam in recognition of his kindness to her when her gaoler at Fotheringhay. Here, too, is preserved an ancient watch given by Lady Godolphin, the daughter of the second earl, to her sister-in-law Lady Fitzwilliam, about 1746, and alleged, according to a paper in Lady Godolphin's writing, to have once been the property of Mary Queen of Scots. Here, too, are five gold boxes, in which the freedoms of five Irish towns were presented to the fourth earl on his retirement from the vice-royalty of Ireland in 1795.

The Milton Papers include several letters from Charles James Fox to the fourth earl, written in the early period when Fox was a supporter of Bute and was immersed in gaiety and travel.

Milton² has for more than four centuries been the seat of a family which has taken a prominent part in public affairs. William Fitzwilliam, alderman and sheriff of the city of London, whose seats were Milton and Gaynes Park, Essex, had for some time been in the train of Cardinal Wolsey, and when the cardinal after his disgrace passed by Milton received and entertained him. Two elm-trees in the garden beyond the walled garden are still standing, though greatly injured by age, beneath which, according to tradition, Wolsey's tent was pitched. King Henry VIII brought Mr. Fitzwilliam to task for this treatment of the fallen cardinal, and upon his replying that he had done so not from want of allegiance to the king, but from gratitude to one who had helped to found his fortune, the king, saying he wished that others showed the same spirit, knighted him, and swore him of the Privy Council. The grandson of this Sir William was five times lord deputy of Ireland, and was constable of the castle of Fotheringhay under Queen Elizabeth.

The action of the Fitzwilliams in the Civil War has not at the present time been traced, though the fact that their property was not impaired, and that a great Parliamentarian, Oliver St. John, was settled at Thorpe in the next parish, is some evidence that their leanings were rather Parliamentarian than Royalist. They came back into high prominence with the accession of the House of Hanover, the chief matter to note about them in the later Stuart period being that the daughter of the second lord married Sir Christopher Wren.

In 1716 the third baron at the age of seventy-three was created Viscount Milton and Earl Fitzwilliam in the Irish peerage. He, like his father, married an heiress, and the habit was continued by his son the second earl, facts which probably explain changes and enlargements in the house at this period. The third earl, a grandson of the first, obtained English peerages duplicating the Irish ones already held, and by his marriage in 1744 with Lady Anne Watson-Wentworth, the eldest daughter of Thomas marquess

¹ Before 1721, as may be deduced from a drawing of that date in the British Museum (Add. MS. 32467).

² Among the heirlooms at Milton is an

ancient silk scarf with gold fringe, in which the heirs to the earldom of Fitzwilliam and the heirs to Milton for many generations have been wrapped at their

christening. An unverifiable family tradition claims that it was given by William I to an ancestor of Mr. Fitzwilliam.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

of Rockingham and sister and co-heir of Charles the second marquess, the Fitzwilliams obtained possession in 1769 of the great estates of Wentworth and Coollattin. From this date till 1857 Milton was the winter residence and Wentworth the summer residence of the Earls Fitzwilliam. No noblemen were more prominent in politics on the Whig side than the Fitzwilliams, and in the schism over the French Revolution Lord Fitzwilliam went with Burke.

The viceroyalty of Ireland held by the fourth earl (1795) was of high political importance, and the friendship between this nobleman and Fox was personally and politically most intimate until the Whig party broke up. The fifth earl when Viscount Milton was member for the county conjointly with Lord Althorp at the time of the great Reform Bill.

The Fitzwilliams were the great leaders of the Whig party in north Northamptonshire, as the Cecils of Burghley were of the Tories.

Milton stands in a park of about 1,000 acres heavily timbered, particularly with oak. The northern half has for many generations been used as a deer-park, and now contains 230 fallow deer. They are of the dark type, not greatly mottled, and are by tradition held to be descended from the fallow deer of Rockingham Forest, which formerly extended to Milton.

In the park, half a mile to the east of the house, are the kennels of the Fitzwilliam Hunt. The buildings have been used as such continuously since 1767, while the stud book preserved at Milton contains evidence that there was a pack of hounds there before that date. The kennels are built in that quaint style of pseudo-Gothic which often marks the third quarter of the 18th century, and they contain two archways of older date, said to have been brought from elsewhere, though they may possibly be relics of a mediaeval barn. In the south-eastern quarter of the park is a heronry of 130 nests, much the largest of the three in the county, and one of the largest in England. It was begun a century ago by a single pair of birds, and rapidly grew to its present size.

Besides the oaks, some of which are of great antiquity, there are several trees in the park and gardens which deserve special mention. In one of the smaller woods on the south is a tree said by Waterton to be the first weeping beech known, and the one from which all others are sprung. It is not itself a large tree, and there is a much finer one on the lawn to the south of the house. Two large chestnut trees in the garden are noticeable, their branches having drooped to the ground and taken root, sending up fresh trees from the new roots. The park itself is generally flat, except towards the river, on the south, where it undulates, and forms the picturesque bank above the bridge built in 1716, and belonging to Mr. Fitzwilliam, which marks the point where formerly was Gunwade Ferry. On the rising ground near the bridge stands a fine old 17th-century house known as the Ferry House, now the residence of Mr. Woodford, Mr. Fitzwilliam's agent. There are several pieces of ornamental water in the park.¹

An account has already been given *ADVOWSON* of the partition of the land, and the advowson of the church of Castor between the brothers Richard and Geoffrey of Castor,² when the former, a priest, received the church and one-third of the land. The same writer also tells us that Richard afterwards took monastic vows at Peterborough, and gave to the abbey the church of Castor and the land belonging to the same. This action seems to have caused dissension between the brothers, but finally Geoffrey released to the abbey for himself and his heirs his interest in the church. Walter, of St. Edmunds, from 1243 to 1246, was summoned to Rome to answer a charge of contempt, in having presented to the church of Castor according to royal instead of papal dictation. This *lèse majesté* was atoned for by a yearly pension conferred by Abbot Walter on a near relative of the pope.³

In 1541 the rectory, and all portions, tithes, and pensions in Castor, formed part of the grant made by Henry VIII to his newly-founded bishopric of Peterborough.⁴ The parsonage of Castor was annexed to the bishopric of Peterborough, to be held *in commendam* in 1633, a transaction recorded in the diary of Archbishop Laud;⁵ but in 1851, under the Ecclesiastical Commission Act of 1836, the rectory, with the chapelries of Sutton and Upton, was detached and dissevered 'from the see, in consideration of which the bishop was assigned a yearly payment of £675,' the right of presentation being also in his hands.⁶

One mention has been found of a gild in Castor; in 1499 Robert Mayden left his croft on the hill and all its belongings to the gild of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Castor.⁷

The church is dedicated in honour of *CHURCH* St. Kyneburga,⁸ and consists of chancel, central tower with spire, north transept, large south transept with eastern aisle, nave with aisles, and south porch. A religious house was founded at Castor in the 7th century, and the site of the present church, within the lines of a walled Roman camp, is very possibly that of the early monastery, but no part of the present building is older than the first quarter of the 12th century. Apart from its historical associations and the beauty of its architecture, the church is very valuable as a dated example, for we have the double witness of records and the still extant dedication inscription that it was consecrated in 1124. The building, as it then stood, had an aisleless nave 55 ft. by 24 ft. external measurement, a central tower 24 ft. square, north and south transepts 13 ft. by 24 ft., and a chancel whose length and eastern termination cannot now be stated. Of this church the tower, north transept, and west end of the nave still stand; part of the west wall of the south transept also remains, and the south doorway of the nave forms the inner doorway of the 13th-century south porch. The developments which have brought the church to its present plan are as follows:—The chancel was pulled down, and replaced about 1220 by the present fine building, 41 ft. long inside. The south aisle of the nave, with the south porch, was then added, and

¹ For history of a small amount of land formerly part of Milton, see Paston.

² Supplement to Gunton's *Peterborough*, p. 276.

³ Sparke, *Scriptores*.

⁴ Pat. 33 Hen. VIII, pt. iii, m. 13.

⁵ Gunton, p. 83.

⁶ *Eccles. Com.* vol. vii, B. M. 5157 c.

⁷ Sweeting, *Parish Churches near Peterborough*.

⁸ John Kempster (1522) left his body to be buried in the churchyard of St. Kenyburgh of Castor. Wills in Northampton Probate Registry, Bk. B. fol. 90. See also Bk. B. fol. 146.



Photo]

[J. A. Gatch

MILTON HOUSE : PART OF THE NORTH FRONT



Photo]

[J. A. Gatch

MILTON HOUSE : WROUGHT IRON GATES IN THE WALLED GARDEN

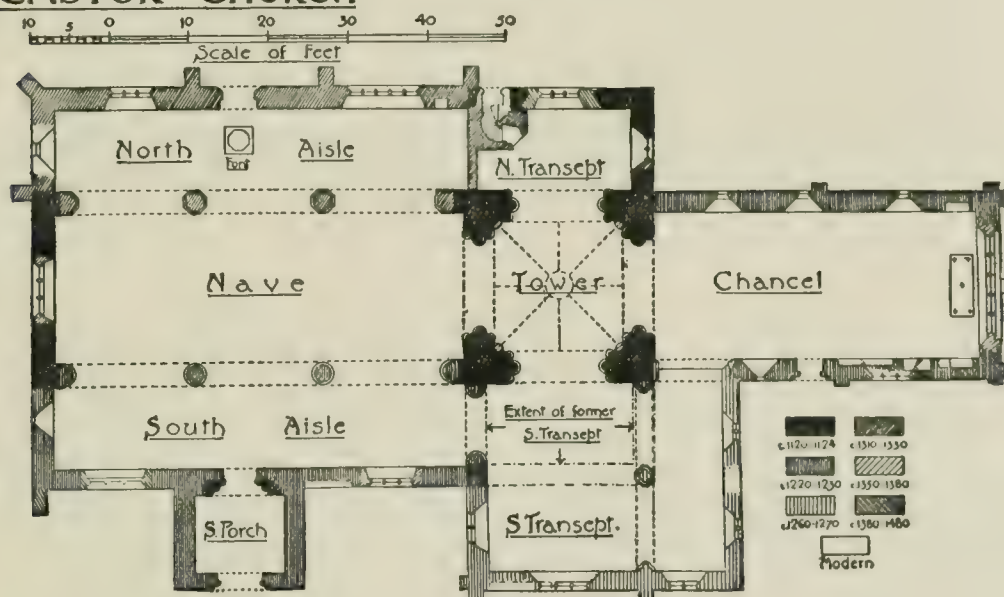
To face page 4-8

about 1270 the east and south walls of the south transept were taken down, and assuming that the original south transept was of the same depth as the north, i.e. 13 ft., it was built of exactly twice that depth, with the addition of an aisle 9 ft. wide on the east side. It will also be noted that the width of the old south transept regulated that of the 13th-century south aisle. The north aisle was added to the nave about 1330, and an arch cut through the west wall of the north transept. This was partly filled by a stone screen, and a stone vice built inside the north-west angle of the transept. Towards the end of the century a stone vault was added to the ground stage of the tower, which was at the same time heightened by an octagonal stone spire with an open parapet at its base.

The site falls considerably from north to south, and also from east to west, and there is an ascent of four steps from the tower to the chancel. The east gable of the chancel was originally of steeper pitch than

the middle point, and two lancets, like those in the north wall, are set close together west of the doorway. One of them was destroyed when the east aisle of the south transept was built, and only part of its rear arch is now to be seen. Towards the east end of the south wall is a 15th-century window of three trefoiled lights, with mullions intersecting in the head, forming quatrefoils. Below the window is a fine double piscina, with moulded pointed arches, and marble shafts in the jambs. The labels and jambs are ornamented with dogtooth, and the capitals and bases well moulded. The sedilia take the form of a recess in the wall under two semi-circular moulded arches springing from a central corbel. East of the piscina is a recess covered with a low arch, and partly blocked at the west, now containing part of a 14th-century grave-slab, and there is a similar recess in the same position in the north wall. Between the first and second lancets in this wall is a 14th-century recess, with a cinquefoiled ogee head, of great interest from

CASTOR CHURCH



now, and contained three tall lancets; the outer jambs of the northern and southern lancets remain as part of the jambs of a wide five-light window of the second half of the fourteenth century, which has a low four-centred head, wide trefoiled lights, with two rows of transoms, and trefoiled tracery in the head. It is of poor design and out of scale with the chancel, and the loss of its original glass tends to emphasize its weak points. In the north wall of the chancel are three tall lancets, 14 in. wide, with wide internal splays and moulded rear arches with a low segmental curve. The wall has been set out with a buttress in the middle of its length, and the middle lancet is moved westward far enough to avoid it. On the south side the position of the doorway seems to have ruled the rest, as the buttress is considerably east of

having, in addition to a drain in its sill, a small flue in its head, as if to carry off the smoke of a lamp. The south doorway of the chancel is semi-circular, of two moulded orders with detached shafts in the jambs, and above it is a trefoiled recess, with a head formed by an inscribed stone which records the dedication on 17 April, 1124.¹ A moulded string runs round the chancel inside and out below the window-sills.²

The central tower stands on four moulded semi-circular arches of two orders, with half-round responds and shafts in the jambs.³ The vault inserted in this stage has diagonal and ridge ribs, and a central bellway, and springs from quarter-round shafts in the internal angles. The second stage of the tower is plain, except for round-headed openings which

¹ For the inscription see p. 196 of this volume.

² In the western half of the north wall of the chancel, above the string on

the outside, a row of shafts, 6 in. in diameter, together with some stones of half-round section, 9 in. wide, are to be seen built in. They are, no doubt,

materials from the destroyed 12th-century chancel.

³ The finely carved capitals are described at p. 197 by Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

formerly gave access to the spaces over the ceilings of the 12th-century church. The third stage has on each face three subdivided semicircular arches, the middle arch wider than the others, and pierced with two openings. The labels have lozenge ornament, while the main arches are ornamented with billet, and the subordinate arches with zigzag. Above the arcades the ashlar facing is very unevenly cut in a form of tile pattern, and below there is a projecting cornice carried on corbels. The fourth stage is yet more elaborate, with five subdivided round-headed arches on each face, the three in the middle of each side being pierced as belfry windows. The arches have billet and the labels the hatched ornament. Above this stage the stone spire springs from an open trefoiled parapet with unfinished pinnacles at the angles, and is an irregular octagon in plan, the cardinal faces being wider than the others. It has two rows of spirelights, the upper row having blank gablets alternating with the lights, giving a rather heavy effect.

The north transept is in substance of the original date, and is built with rubble masonry of fairly large stones, with heavy angle quoins, and in places single courses of Roman bricks. In its north wall were two round-headed lights side by side, with billet ornament—but only the jamb of the eastern window now remains, the rest being destroyed by an inserted three-light 15th-century window. In the east wall is a two-light 14th-century window, whose sill has been cut down to form a doorway, now again built up. The west wall of the transept has been pierced, as before noticed, in the 14th century, and the north-west angle filled up with a stone vice, entered from within the transept, and also by a modern doorway from the churchyard. It gives access to a small room in the roof of the transept, lighted by a two-light square-headed window in the gable, and serving as a way to the first floor of the tower, which is used as a ringing chamber.

The south transept has a fine south window of three uncusped lights, with three plain circles in the head; and in the west wall a two-light window of the same style with a single circle in the head. On the east is an aisle¹ lighted by two two-light east windows with intersecting mullions, and on the south by a two-light window with a circle in the head. On the north a pointed arch opens to the west end of the chancel, blocked as high as the springing by a masonry wall. The aisle is separated from the transept by a graceful arcade of two bays with slender clustered shafts, moulded capitals, and arches of two chamfered orders, so obtusely pointed as to be almost semi-circular. The transept opens to the south aisle of the nave by a pointed arch of two chamfered orders, with half-round responds and moulded capitals, with nail-head ornament *c.* 1230. Over this arch is part of the west wall of the 12th-century transept, with the remains of an original window with a heavy roll on the inner order, and a triple line of billet on the outer. A row of 12th-

century corbels are re-used on the west side of the transept.

The nave is of three bays, with a south arcade *c.* 1230, having pointed arches of two chamfered orders, on circular shafts with moulded capitals ornamented with a line of nailhead. The north arcade, *c.* 1330, has pointed arches of two chamfered orders, with octagonal shafts and circular moulded capitals.² The clearstory has three 15th-century windows a side, each of three trefoiled lights under a low four-centred head.

The north wall of the north aisle has towards the east end a square-headed 14th-century window of five trefoiled lights, with pierced trefoiled spandrels, and to the west of it a doorway with continuous quarter-round mouldings. Towards the west end is a window like the other, but of three lights, and in the west wall a modern lancet window. At the east end of this aisle is a stone screen consisting of a blank wall surmounted by a row of pierced quatrefoils, half of them blocked by the vice in the north transept, and above them a row of five niches with crocketed ogee cinquefoiled heads; the central niche having beneath it an embattled pedestal. In the north wall is a large double locker, with an embattled string over it.³

The south aisle has two windows in its south wall, both inserted, one of the 14th century with three trefoiled lights and net tracery, the other of the 15th with three cinquefoiled lights under a four-centred head. The west window is a 13th-century lancet. From the line of the original weathering on the transept wall at the east end of the aisle, it is clear that the south wall has been heightened, probably about 1340, when the window of that date was inserted. The south doorway is in part that of the 12th-century nave, with a semi-circular arch of two orders with heavy rolls and a label with billet and nailhead, detached shafts in the jambs, and capitals carved with interlacing foliage, in the same style as those of the tower arches. A third inner order is a 13th-century addition, with nailhead on the abacus. The rear arch is of the same date, pointed, of square section, and the string which runs at the level of the window sills is continued round it.⁴

The south porch, contemporary with the aisle, had at first low side-walls, and a steep pitched roof, part of the weathering of which may be seen in the wall of the aisle; but the side-walls were heightened in the 15th century, and the present wooden roof put on. The outer arch is pointed, with detached shafts in the jambs, and rebates for a door. Over it, in the flattened 15th-century gable, is an early 12th-century tympanum, representing Christ with upraised hands, between sun and moon, in a frame of acanthus foliage with a band of interlaced work below.

The west wall of the original aisleless nave remains, and has heavy Barnack quoins at the south-west angle, perhaps Roman material re-used. The profile of the projecting eaves-course of the first church may be seen

¹ This aisle was formerly used as a school, with an entrance door on the east between the windows, still to be seen built up in the wall.

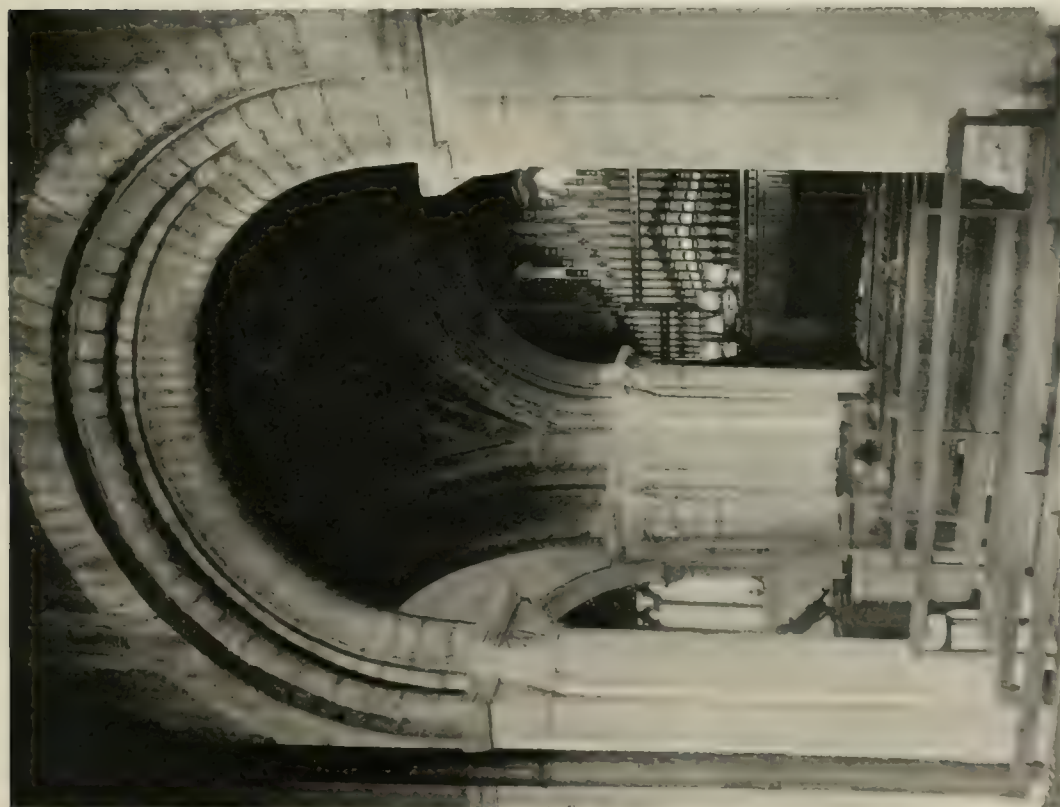
² The western of the two octagonal shafts in this arcade is too large for its capital and base.

³ There must have been an important altar here, perhaps connected with the

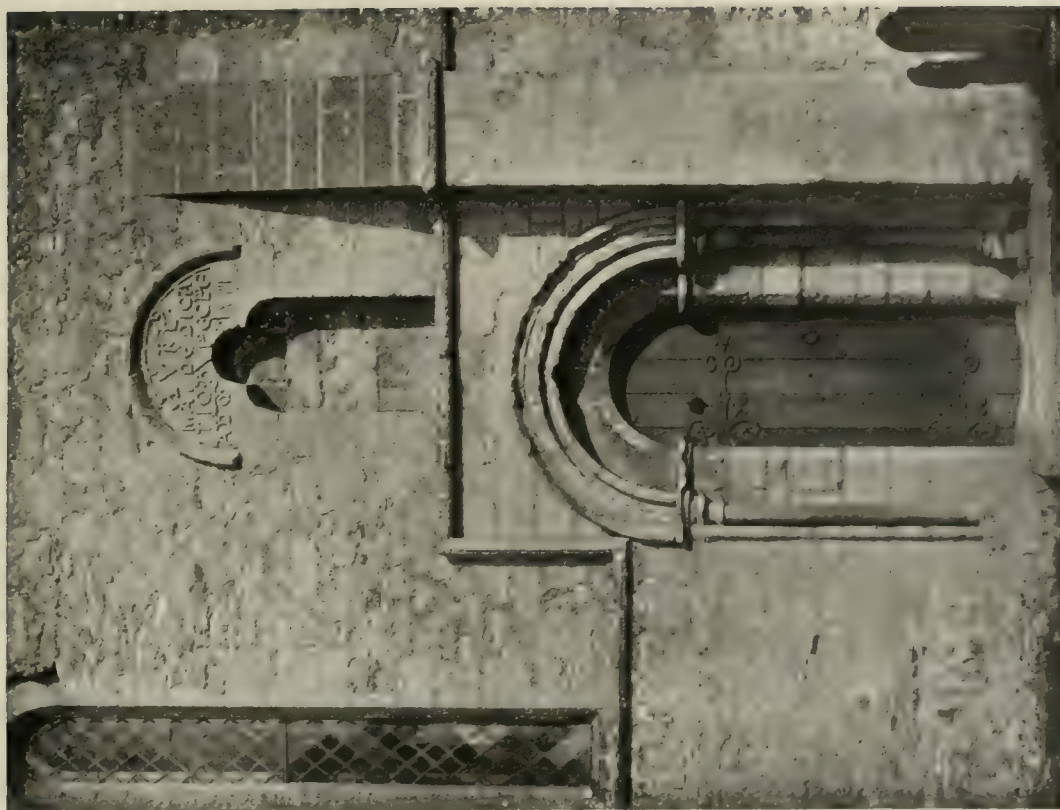
gild of our Lady, which existed in Castor. A shrine of St. Kyneburga is said, on no evidence, to have stood in this position.

⁴ The 12th-century work has been claimed as the outer arch of an original porch, left in position and used as an inner doorway by the 13th-century builders; but it is more probable that it has been taken from the south wall of the

old nave and rebuilt in its present position. The wall in which it is set is of small rubble like the rest of the 13th-century work in the aisle, and not like the older work in the west end of the nave and the north transept, and the ends of the abaci east and west have been cut away for some reason which does not now appear.



CASTOR CHURCH : TOWER ARCHES FROM THE SOUTH TRANSEPT



CASTOR CHURCH : SOUTH DOOR OF CHANCEL AND DEDICATION INSCRPTION

above. The masonry is like that of the north transept, rather large rubble with single courses of Roman brick irregularly disposed. The west window, of three trefoiled lights, is an insertion of the 14th century with flowing tracery, belonging to the same type as those in Peterborough Cathedral; above it, in the gable, is a 12th-century window with moulded semi-circular head, and shafts in the jambs.

The roofs of the church are of flat pitch and leaded, except that of the south transept, which retains its original pitch, though the timbers are modern, and is covered with Collyweston slates. The nave and north transept have roofs of the 15th century, with moulded timbers and figures of angels with outspread wings, holding musical instruments.¹ The chancel roof is plain, of flat pitch, with braces to the tie-beams, and the aisle roofs are modern. The wood fittings of the church are all modern, except the south door of the nave, which is a fine piece of 14th-century work, with an ornamental border bearing the inscription—

+ RICARDUS BEBY RECTOR ECCLESIE DE CASTRE
FE[CIT].²

In the room over the north transept is a chest made of a log 4 ft. 3 in. long by 1 ft. 3 in. wide and 1 ft. 2 in. high. In the middle is a hollow only 1 ft. 6 in. long by 6 in. deep, the available space being diminished to 4½ ins. by the fitting in of a 1½ in. lid, cut out of the solid.

In the south transept is a 13th-century coffin-lid, having at the upper end, under a trefoiled canopy, the bust and clasped hands of a male figure, possibly an ecclesiastic, as there seems to be an amice round the neck—the rest of the stone is plain and coped. There are two external tomb-recesses of the late 13th century, with segmental chamfered arches, in the walls of the south aisle and south transept respectively, the latter being 8 ft. long.

The font is modern, with an octagonal bowl and shaft. At the west end of the north wall of the north aisle is a large 14th-century wall painting with three scenes one above the other. The lowest represents St. Katherine standing bound and naked to the waist between two toothed wheels, which a pair of executioners are turning. Above is an angel with two swords about to break the wheels, and to the left is a seated male figure looking on. The subject, like the others, is under a wide cusped canopy, and to the left is a second narrow canopy in which stands a female figure, both hands bound, and naked to the waist, looking towards the larger scene. A hand is grasping her wrist.

The second scene represents the execution of the philosophers converted by St. Katherine, and shows a seated bearded figure ordering the casting into a pit of a long-robed bearded man, apparently dead, carried on another man's shoulder. The pit contains about ten male figures, all shown with closed eyes. To the left under the second and smaller canopy is a woman standing, looking on, and holding an indistinct object.

The third scene is much damaged, but figures of men riding and walking can be made out, and it may represent the entry of Maximin into Alexandria.

In all three scenes the backgrounds are powdered with *fleurs de lis*.

There are six bells, all by Henry Bagley of Ecton, 1700, which were hung in 1900. The plate consists of a silver-gilt cup and cover paten of 1632, the cup being engraved with a mitre; two silver gilt breadholders of 1673, with the arms of John Hinchcliffe, bishop of Peterborough, 1769–94; a silver gilt flagon of 1774, and a plated cup of no great age. There are also two brass alms-dishes.

In the churchyard, east of the church, stands the base of a cross of pre-Conquest date, described by Mr. J. Romilly Allen, at p. 190.

The first book of the registers contains baptisms and marriages from 1538 to 1751, and burials from 1547 to 1686. The second and third books contain burials from 1678 to 1781; the fourth, marriages from 1752 to 1754, and burials from 1782 to 1791; the fifth, baptisms from 1752 to 1791; the sixth, baptisms and burials from 1792 to 1812; and the seventh, marriages from 1754 to 1812.

Sutton is among those of the Peterborough abbey manors of which little is known. No mention of it occurs in the Domesday Book or in the returns of the Northamptonshire Survey of the 12th century, but in the reign of Henry I Anketill Sutton was holding of the abbey,³ and the royal grants of Richard I and Henry III⁴ confirm the 'chapel of Sutton adjacent to the church of Castor, together with the mill and the village of Sutton with the mill which Thorold Fitz-Anketill gave to the monastery, and which Benedict the abbot bought from the nephews and heirs of Thorold.' Thorold in his deed⁵ describes himself, his father, and grandfather as having unjustly held the village of Sutton which had been, and should by right always be, in the demesne of the abbot, and ends with declaring that 'penitent and a sinner, I return and quit - claim and confirm with my seal, &c.' The nephews, both named Ralph, received the grant of payment in 1088–9.⁶ During the 12th century 'the almoner of Peterborough held two fees in Sutton,'⁷ and it appears that the manor was assigned to that office until the dissolution of the monastery; after which it was granted by Henry VIII to the dean and chapter of Peterborough.⁸

In 1650 the manor of Sutton 'with all that messuage now or late in tenure of William Gardener, situate in the town of Sutton and commonly called the manor house,' which had been let in the reign of Philip and Mary to Robert Wingfield for ninety-nine years, was sold by the commissioners for the sale of bishops' lands to Thomas Matthew and Thomas Allen, citizens and grocers of London.⁹ This sale was rescinded at the Restoration. The manor was transferred to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1854, and was sold by them in 1898 to the Rev. W. Hop-

¹ The wings are in all cases modern. In the north transept the roof rests on four 12th-century corbels in the angles; but whether these are in situ as supports of an original roof, is not clear.

² A Richard of Leicester appears in

the list of incumbents of Castor in the 14th century; he was possibly Richard Beby, as there was a family of that name in Leicester during the 14th century (Pat. 19 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 14).

³ *Chronicon*, 170.

⁴ Cart. Antiq. DD. 17; Chart. R. 11, Hen. iii, pt. i. m. 19.

⁵ Lansd. MS. 992, fol. 289.

⁶ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 38, fol. 95b.

⁷ Cott. Vesp. E. xxii. 99b et seq.

⁸ Pat. 33 Hen. VIII, pt. iii, m. 14–1.

⁹ Close, 1650, pt. xxxiii, No. 30.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

kinson, now vicar of Sutton, who lives at the Grange and whose family has owned land in the district for over a century.

The church was a chapelry to **ADVOWSON** Castor until 1851, and as such was confirmed to Peterborough Abbey by Richard I and Henry III.¹ The bishop of Peterborough presented to the benefice after its erection into a separate vicarage in 1851. In 1903 it was united with Upton and the right of patronage is now exercised alternately by the bishop of Peterborough and the Rev. W. Hopkinson.

The church is dedicated in honour of **CHURCH** St. Giles,² and stands at the west of the village close to the bank of the Nene, the ground falling from the west side of the churchyard to the river. The building is small, having a chancel 21 ft. by 13 ft. with south chapel, nave 34 ft. 6 in. by 15 ft. 3 in., and south aisle 6 ft. 6 in. wide. There is no tower, and the single bell hangs in a bellcot at the west end of the nave. The plan has developed from a nave and chancel church of the early 12th century, the dimensions of the nave of which have remained unaltered, though it is probable that all the walls except the east wall have been rebuilt. The jambs of the chancel arch belong to this date. About the end of the 12th century a south aisle of two bays was added to the nave, and the chancel was rebuilt or enlarged and the south chapel added in the 13th century. The north doorway and west window of the nave belong to the first half of this century, and it is possible that the walls in which they are set were rebuilt at the time. The bellcot may be of any date from the 13th to the 16th century. In the latter part of the 15th century the nave walls were raised and the pitch of the roof heightened; the clearstory on the south, and the three windows on the north, belong to this time, as do the diagonal buttresses at the west end of the nave.

In 1867-8 the chancel and south chapel were in great measure rebuilt, some of the old features being re-used. The east window of the chancel is modern, having three lancet lights with two circles and a quatrefoil over them, and on either side of the window are stone corbels carved with human heads, for images. Towards the east end of the north wall is a small oggee-headed light of the 14th century, whose purpose is difficult to understand, and further to the west a 15th-century window, square-headed with two cinquefoiled lights and a transom, all the lights having an internal rebate for a frame. In the south wall is a piscina with a trefoiled arch over it, and higher in the wall an opening with a segmental-arched head, cut straight through the wall, opening to the south chapel. West of it is an arch of two chamfered orders with half-octagonal responds and moulded capitals, opening to the south chapel. It seems to be of late 13th-century date. The south chapel has inserted in its rebuilt east wall a very small lancet, and in the south wall two coupled lancets. To the north of the small lancet a 13th-century string with an elaborate form of dogtooth ornament has been built into the east wall of the chapel. At the west the chapel opens to the south aisle by a modern arch of two chamfered orders.

The chancel arch is a modern copy of 12th-century detail, the original arch having long since been destroyed and its opening blocked by a plastered partition standing on a wooden beam, which rested on the capitals of the responds. The responds are like those in the neighbouring church of Upton, and of about the same date, not later than 1120, with twin shafts on the inner jambs, and nookshafts on the west side. The capitals are carved with interlacing scrollwork, and the moulded bases have the indented ornament which is to be found also at Castor and Maxey. There was formerly a low stone screen at the entrance to the chancel, an interesting feature which, unfortunately, was removed in 1867. In the north wall of the nave are three late 15th-century windows of two cinquefoiled lights under four-centred heads. Between the second and third of these windows is the north doorway, of plain 13th-century work, with a pointed arch of two chamfered orders.

The south arcade is of two bays, with round arches of two chamfered orders, square abaci with recessed angles, and plain circular bell capitals and shafts, c. 1200. Over the arcade is a clearstory of the date of the windows in the north wall, with similar details.

The south aisle is shorter than the nave, and has in its east bay a square-headed south window of two uncusped oggee-headed lights, and in its west bay a square-headed south doorway with zigzag and pellet ornament on the soffit of the lintel, and shoulder corbels at either end. In the west wall of the aisle is a two-light window which seems to be modern, with detail like that in the south wall. To the east of the south doorway is a stone bench end, 8 in. thick, the upper part carved as a lion with tail curved over above his back; the bench to which it belonged existed till within recent times, and the whole was probably coeval with the aisle. In the west wall of the nave is a tall lancet window the stonework of which has been renewed. The middle part of the wall, in which it is set centrally, projects slightly from the general face, the greater thickness being on account of the bellcot above. This has two arched openings under gabled heads, and contains one bell. The wall face on the south of the projecting portion has been rebuilt flush with the projection, destroying the balance of the front. The font, near the south doorway of the nave, has an octagonal panelled bowl on a central octagonal shaft and eight smaller shafts with capitals and bases; it may be of the 14th century, and the panels on the bowl are probably a later alteration. The woodwork in the church is modern, but the corbels to the nave roof are old, and must date from the raising of the walls late in the 15th century.

The plate comprises a small silver beaker, c. 1650, of rough workmanship, with no marks; it may have been made locally in imitation of the foreign beaker at the neighbouring church of Upton; a plated flagon, and two pewter plates, with diameters of 8½ and 9½ in. respectively.

There is one bell by J. Warner & Sons, London, of 1867.

The registers begin in 1758; one book contains marriages from 1758 to 1807, burials from 1763 to 1812, and baptisms from 1770 to 1812.

¹ Cart. Antiq. DD. 17; Chart. R. 11 Hen. III, pt. i, m. 19.

² Thomas Mosse, of Upton in the parish

of Castor, left in 1528 to the chapel of St. Giles in Sutton 3s. 4d. and to the chapel of St. Helen of Upton 6s. 8d.

(Will in Northampton Probate Registry, Bk. D. fol. 398). Bacon (*Liber Regis*) gives St. Michael as the dedication.

Upton appears in the charter *MANOR OF* of Wulfhere to Peterborough of *UPTON* 664,¹ but it is not mentioned in that of Edgar of 970, nor in Domesday Book, though in the latter it may perhaps be included in the account of Castor or of Ailsworth. Godwin of Upton early in the 12th century held 3 virgates and 'serves with the knights.'² At the beginning of the next century this land was held by the Waterville family of Marholm.³ The Watervilles had held land in Upton from a much earlier date; Ascelin de Waterville was a fee-holder in 1146,⁴ and the holding of Hugh de Waterville in Upton was confirmed to Peterborough Abbey by Richard I and Henry III, and also the chapel of Upton adjacent to the church of Castor and the mill.⁵ In 1176 Robert de Nevill had seisin of Upton which had belonged to Ralph de Waterville,⁶ who had taken part in the rebellion of 1174 against Henry II. He was brother of William de Waterville, abbot of Peterborough from 1155 to 1177, and the abbot's attempt to shelter his brother is supposed to have been the real cause of his deposition from the abbacy in 1175.⁷ In 1190 Asceline de Waterville recovered Upton from Ralph de Nevill.⁸ She was probably the wife of Geoffrey de Waterville, perhaps another brother of Ralph. She left two daughters, Asceline, and Maud who married William de Dive.⁹ This marriage may account for the fact that during the 12th century Robert de Dive is stated to hold two knights' fees in Upton of Peterborough Abbey.¹⁰ The advowson of the chapel of Upton was divided between the sisters, but most of the land appears to have eventually fallen to the lot of Asceline, though Hugh de Dive, presumably a descendant of Maud, was holding a little land in Upton as late as the reign of Edward I.¹¹

Asceline married one of the Torpel family,¹² and brought Upton as her dower. Thence it passed by the marriage of her daughter to Ralph Camoys. The son of the latter marriage was John Camoys, who in 1280 sold Upton and Torpel manors to Eleanor, queen of Edward I; ¹³ the sale, an illegal act on his part, causing some dispute with the monastic overlords. However in 1290 a compromise seems to have been arrived at, and the king granted the custody of the two manors during his pleasure to the abbey of Peterborough for a rent of £100.¹⁴ It was during the period of this custody that the royal command directed action against certain persons for felling and removing timber in the king's wood at Upton.¹⁵

In 1308 the manor formed part of a grant made by Edward II to his favourite Peter de Gaveston,¹⁶ who had married Margaret, the king's niece. Two years later Upton and other manors were exchanged by the Gavestons for the county of Cornwall,¹⁷ and subse-

quently Upton was for a short time held by John earl of Surrey, king Edward's nephew.¹⁸ The manor next formed part of the dower of Queen Isabella, but she surrendered it in 1319,¹⁹ and the same year it was granted to the king's half-brother, Edmund earl of Kent, with a stipulated reversion to the crown in default of male heirs of his body,²⁰ and this grant was confirmed by Edward III in the first year of his reign. Three years later the earl was attainted,²¹ and his estates were forfeited. The manor of Upton was granted to Simon de Bereford 'for his agreement to stay always with the king with twenty men-at-arms in time of war.'²² The grant was for life, and whether the death of Simon or other circumstances determined his holding does not appear, but in the same or the following year the manor was restored to Margaret the widowed countess of Kent.²³ She retained it until her death²⁴ about eighteen years later, when it passed to John, eldest surviving son of the Earl of Kent, who died within a few years, leaving as heiress his sister Joan, wife of Sir Thomas Holland,²⁵ who in right of his wife received the earldom of Kent. Thomas Holland died about 1361,²⁶ and his widow subsequently became the wife of Edward the Black Prince and mother of Richard II. Upon her death in 1385²⁷ the manor passed into the hands of the king, and was granted by him to his half-brother Thomas Holland. His son Thomas²⁸ was attainted for taking part in the first rebellion against Henry IV. Upton, part of his forfeited estates,²⁹ was granted for a short time to Sir Francis de Court,³⁰ 'the King's knight,' but it was restored later, together with the earldom, to his brother Edmund, who died in possession of the manor in 1408. He left as his heir Edmund earl of March, the son of one of his sisters,³¹ by whom Upton was granted shortly before his death to one Leonard Hastynge for life.³² The earl died childless in 1424, leaving as co-heirs his two surviving sisters and his nephew Richard duke of York,³³ Upton becoming the possession of the last named. When the Duke of York's son ascended the throne as Edward IV he made a grant of Upton to his mother, the widowed Duchess of York, for life, as having belonged to her late husband.³⁴

In 1492 Upton was granted as part of her jointure to Elizabeth queen of Henry VII,³⁵ and during the reign of Henry VIII the manor successively formed part of the dower of four of Henry's queens,³⁶ and was afterwards granted in 1543-4 to Sir Richard Wingfield, the diplomatist of the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII.³⁷

To the grasping proclivities of the Tudor sovereigns was due the uprising of a class of informants who made it their business to apprise the crown lawyers of any weakness which might exist or profitably be

¹ Birch, *Cart. Sax.* No. 22.

² *Chronicon*, 173.

³ Soc. Antig. MS. No. 38, fol. 127b.

⁴ Sparke, *Scriptores*, 80.

⁵ Cart. Antig. DD. 17; Chart. R. 11 Hen. III, pt. i, m. 19.

⁶ Pipe R. 22 Hen. II, m. 4.

⁷ *Benedict of Peterborough* (Rolls Ser.), i, 106.

⁸ Pipe R. 2 Ric. I, m. 4.

⁹ *Red Bk. of Exch.* 151; *Mon. Ang.* iv, 162.

¹⁰ Cott. Vesp. E. xxii, 99b.

¹¹ Chan. Inq. p.m. 8 Edw. I, No. 29.

¹² Peck, *Annals of Stamford*, bk. vii, 13.

¹³ Close, 8 Edw. I, m. 9 d.

¹⁴ Pat. 19 Edw. I, m. 18.

¹⁵ Ibid. 28 Edw. I, m. 14 d.

¹⁶ Close, 1 Edw. II, m. 6.

¹⁷ Chart. R. 3 Edw. II, m. 10, No. 27.

¹⁸ *Abbrev. Orig. R.* (Rec. Com.), pt. i, 183.

¹⁹ Pat. 13 Edw. II, m. 27.

²⁰ Chart. R. 13 Edw. II, m. 6, No. 20.

²¹ Ibid. 1 Edw. III, m. 43, No. 31.

²² Pat. 4 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 18.

²³ Close, 4 Edw. III, m. 12; Close, 5 Edw. III, m. 12.

²⁴ Chan. Inq. p.m. 23 Edw. III; Close, 5 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 29.

²⁵ Chan. Inq. p.m. 26 Edw. III, No. 54.

²⁶ Ibid. 35 Edw. III, pt. i, No. 104.

²⁷ Chan. Inq. p.m. 9 Ric. II, No. 30.

²⁸ Ibid. 20 Ric. II, No. 30.

²⁹ Ibid. 1 Hen. IV, file 157, No. 4.

³⁰ Pat. 1 Hen. IV, pt. vi, m. 40 and m. 3.

³¹ Chan. Inq. p.m. 10 Hen. IV, No. 51.

³² Ibid. 3 Hen. VI, No. 32.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Pat. 1 Edw. IV, pt. iv, m. 1.

³⁵ Parl. R. (Rec. Com.), vi, 462.

³⁶ Pat. 1 Hen. VIII, pt. i, m. 8; ibid. 31 Hen. VIII, pt. vii, m. 4; ibid. 32 Hen. VIII, pt. vi, m. 17-19.

³⁷ Ibid. 35 Hen. VIII, pt. xvi, m. 9.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

alleged in the title to properties, and it is in connexion with such information that a grant was made in 1591 to one William Tipper and others of various estates, among which was the manor of Upton.¹ This matter was not settled until 1613-14, when Robert Wingfield made payment to James I for a fresh grant of the manor.² In 1625 it was sold with view of frankpledge by Sir Robert Wingfield to Sir William Dove,³ son of that Bishop Dove of Peterborough whom Queen Elizabeth admiringly called her 'silver Dove.'

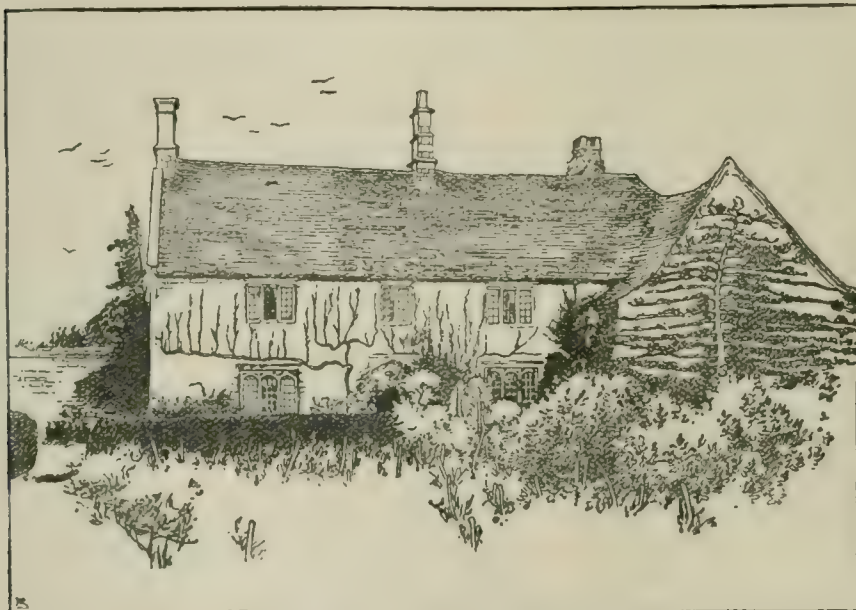
The Doves continued to hold this manor till the 18th century; in 1750 it was bought by Lord Fitzwilliam,⁴ and is now in possession of the owner of Milton.

There was a second holding in Upton which was called a manor in the 16th century, though there is no record that a court was ever held. In 1243 'Prickemere' was holding a $\frac{1}{2}$ of a fee in Upton of the manor of Southorpe,⁵ and about the same time



DOVE. Azure a cross formy argent between four doves.

Very little is left of the large and handsome manor house of the Wingfields, concerning which Bridges says: 'In the hall are the Wingfield's and other escutcheons of arms. At the end are bow windows projecting very high, with balconies and stonework over them; and to the west is an embattled turret with small windows' There now remains only a short length of the house with mullioned windows, those on the ground floor being flat-pointed, those on the upper floor square-headed. There is nothing ancient of interest inside; nor are there any traces of the bow windows or turret. In *A Comment upon part of the Fifth Journey of Antoninus through Britain*, published in 1819, Richard Gough gives an account of Upton, among other places. Already in his days the house had been pulled down many years, 'except the meaner offices, which now serve for a farmhouse.' He quotes from Mr. Smyth, of Woodston, a list of the arms in the windows, taken in 1744, which accounts for seventeen escutcheons, among which may be mentioned Montagu, Wingfield, Warren, and the royal arms. He also gives a drawing of a quaint old armchair, mentioned by Bridges, which is said to have been bought from the last abbot of Crowland and brought to Upton by Bishop Dove, who purchased the manor from the Wingfields, but he adds 'what is now become of it no one can tell.' He also gives some very good drawings of an extremely curious and unusual kind of sundial, which happily is still preserved in the orchard. The drawings and a description were supplied by Mr. John Carter, F.S.A., but they do not clearly explain its manner of use. He rightly conjectures its date as being about the middle of the 17th century. There are indications of terraces in the orchard, and these, together with the fragment of the old house, the



MANOR HOUSE, UPTON.

Geoffrey of Upton also had some land here.⁶ In 1288 William de la Planche did homage for tenelements which he held of the manor in Upton,⁷ and this land is identified later as that held by Geoffrey of Upton.⁸ Both these holdings subsequently passed into the hands of the Ridels of Wittering,⁹ and by their successor, Robert Halley, was called the manor of Upton.¹⁰ Under this name it was sold by John Stidolf, who married the heiress of the Halleys to Robert Wingfield in 1562,¹¹ thus becoming united with the main manor in Upton.

sundial, and some large trees which stand in the adjacent field, convey the impression that a fine and even stately home must once have stood here.

The chapel of Upton in connexion with the church of Castor was confirmed to Peterborough Monastery by Richard I and Henry III,¹² but the lords of the manor appear to have had the chief right over it. Maud de Dive brought a successful suit against Asceline de Waterville for half the advowson of the chapel of Upton.¹³ Later both sisters granted their

¹ Pat. 34 Eliz. pt. vi, m. 1.
² Ibid. 11 Jas. I, pt. xxix; Feet of F. Northants, Trin. 12 Jas. I.
³ Feet of F. Northants, East. 1 Chas. I.
⁴ Deed in possession of Mr. G. C. Wentworth at Milton House.

⁵ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 60, fol. 251.
⁶ Egerton MS. 2733, fol. 148.
⁷ Chronicon, 42.
⁸ Cott. Nero, C. vii, 202 d.
⁹ Soc. Antiq. No. 38, fol. 158; Cott. Nero, C. vii, 130.

¹⁰ Chan. Inq. p.m. (ser. 2), xvii, 17. For Ridels see Wittering.
¹¹ Feet of F. Northants, Mich. 4 and 5 Eliz.
¹² Cart. Antiq. DD. 17; Chart. R. 11 Hen. III, pt. i, m. 19.
¹³ Abbrev. Plac. (Rec. Com.), 19.

portion to the nunnery of St. Michael, near Stamford, which was founded by William de Waterville, abbot of Peterborough.¹ The chapel is not mentioned in the survey of the possessions of the nunnery in 1535, but a rent of 24s. from Upton is included among its temporalities.² This chapel was made the parish church of Upton in 1851, the vicarage being in the gift of the bishop of Peterborough, the patron of Castor. In 1903 it was united with Sutton, and the combined benefice is presented to alternately by the bishop of Peterborough and the Rev. W. Hopkinson.

The church of St. Helen³ stands to the east of the small hamlet of Upton, and is approached by a pathway across a field, having no house near it except the manor-house, now a farm. The church is small, consisting of a chancel 26 ft. 6 in. by 15 ft., nave 30 ft. by 16 ft., and north aisle 30 ft. by 15 ft. 6 in. The east wall of the nave is the oldest part, being of early 12th-century date, and the plan of the nave has not altered since that time, though its south and west walls have been rebuilt.

Towards the end of the 12th century a north aisle was added to the nave, and the shafts and responds of the arcade of this date still remain. The north aisle was destroyed and replaced by a wider aisle in the 17th century, the arches of the north arcade being rebuilt at the same time. The south and west walls of the nave have been rebuilt in the 17th or 18th century, and the chancel entirely so in 1842.

The chancel is roofed with blue slates, and the nave and aisle with Collyweston slates.

The chancel has on the east a square-headed window with three round-headed uncusped lights. The north wall is blank, and in the south wall are a modern doorway and a modern square-headed window of two trefoiled ogee-headed lights.

The chancel arch has twin half-round shafts on the jambs with cushion capitals, and on the west face a small nookshaft with similar capital on the north side, the corresponding shaft on the south having been cut away to make room for the pulpit. The work is of early type, not later than 1120. The arch has been rebuilt, like those of the north arcade: plain round arches with an ovolo moulding on the angles.

The arcade has square capitals with recessed angles and foliage of c. 1180, the shafts and moulded bases being round. The two south windows of the nave are like the east window of the chancel, and the west window of the nave is of the same type, but with four lights. Below it is a round-headed west doorway, with the date 1767.

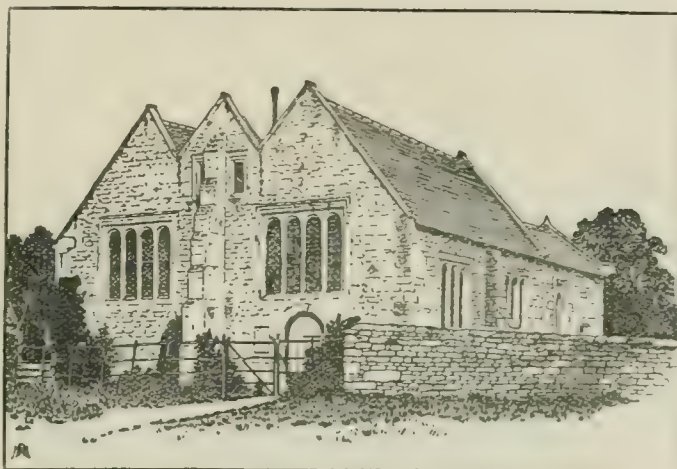
The north aisle is at a higher level than the nave, and is approached by steps, with heavy stone balustrades, which are continued along the line of the north arcade. Its east end is screened off to form

a vestry, and the greater part of the remainder is taken up by a large monument of the Dove family, described below. In the west wall of this aisle is a blocked opening to the Dove vault below the monument.

The windows of the aisle are of similar detail to the rest, two of three lights on the north, and one of four lights in the east and west walls.

The aisle has east and west gables, and between its west gable and that of the nave is a bellcot with square-headed openings for two bells, separated by a buttress.

The woodwork of the roofs is all modern, but the altar rails are of late 17th-century date, with pierced balusters, and the altar table is of somewhat earlier date, and has turned and carved legs. Within the altar rails are two good oak chairs, one having an inscription 'A.D. 1700. Joane Browne—want not.' In the south-west angle of the nave is a good half-octagonal pulpit of the early 17th century, with carved arched panels, and panelling and a tester above it.



UPTON CHURCH, FROM THE WEST.

The font has a plain octagonal bowl on a stem, and a flat oak cover with carved edges.

In the north aisle is a large four-square altar tomb with panelled base and black marble slab, with the recumbent effigies of Sir William Dove, 1633, son of Bishop Dove of Peterborough, and his two wives. Above is a canopy, supported by four pillars with Ionic capitals, with a broken pediment on each face, between which are doves and olive-branches. The effigies are painted a dirty white, that to the right being of freestone, while the other two seem to be made of terra-cotta.

The plate consists of a small silver beaker, c. 1610, of secular type and perhaps German origin, the lower part having three medallions among engraved ornament, a silver paten of 1680, and a cup of 1769, marked at Newcastle-on-Tyne.

There is a single bell, uninscribed.

The registers at Upton date from 1770 for baptisms and marriages, and from 1855 for burials. Previous to these dates baptisms, etc. are recorded in the Castor registers.

¹ *Mon. Ang.* iv, 262.

² *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 141.

³ John Strete of Upton (1521) left his body to be buried in the church of Castor,

and to the chapel of St. Helen of Upton half a seme of malt (Wills in Northampton Probate Registry, Bk. B, fol. 142.

See also Bk. D, fol. 395). Bacon (*Liber Regis*) gives St. John the Baptist as its invocation.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Robert Wright, by will of 3 March, **CHARITIES** 1734, left a rent-charge of £2 12s. per annum upon real estate in Norfolk for a weekly dole of bread for the poor of Castor and Ailsworth.

In 1831 this charity had lapsed for some years, but by 1873 the rent-charge was again paid, and with the income from £53 19s. stock amounted to £4 4s. 4d., which was expended in bread for the poor of Castor and Ailsworth.

Mary Ann Northey, by will proved 3 April, 1900, bequeathed £300 to the rector and churchwardens of Castor upon trust to be invested and income applied in the distribution of flannel and coal at each new year. The legacy is re-

presented by £262 12s. 7d. he'd by the official trustees.

The profits of the Town land in Sutton, of which the origin is unknown, now amount to £7 6s. 1d., and are applied in aid of the poor-rate.

Mary Elizabeth Tobin, by will, proved 21 July, 1897, bequeathed £50 consols to the incumbent and churchwardens of the chapelry of Sutton, dividends—subject to the repair of certain monuments—to be applied for the benefit of the poor. The stock is held by the official trustees.

By deed of 11 March, 1904, the Rev. William Hopkinson settled a sum of £247 12s. 6d., India £2 10s. per cent. stock, transferred to the official trustees, in trust for the poor of Sutton.

ETTON

Ettune (xii cent.).

This parish contains about 1,313 acres of good loam upon alluvium producing various crops and pasture grasses. Arable land covers 599½ acres, and pasture 428½. The surface is everywhere level, being on

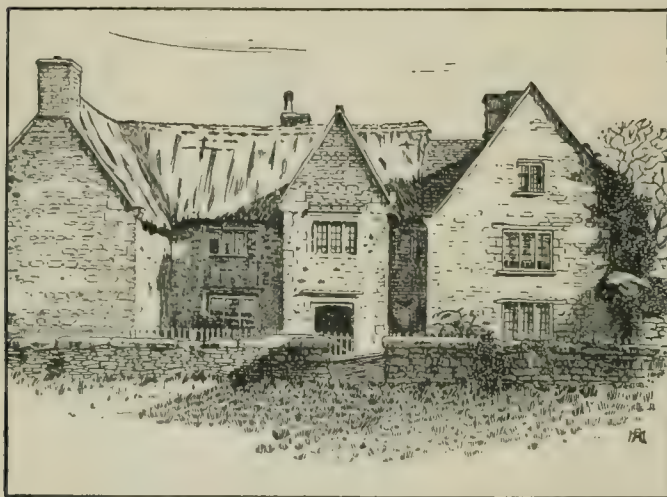
except Woodcroft House, two miles to the south of the village. The inhabitants, numbering 115 in 1901, are engaged in agriculture.

The family of Daniel Defoe came from Etton, the form of the name here found being Foe.

Daniel Foe and Ellen King were married at Etton on 20 November, 1643, and Daniel Foe was buried there 13 September, 1647.¹ The name was common in this part of the country, occurring at Peakirk, Glington, and Northborough in the 17th century.²

ETTON does not appear **MANORS** in Domesday Book,³ and in the early 12th-century survey of Northamptonshire only a small amount of land in Etton is mentioned, of which the ownership is not clearly indicated.⁴ In 1146 the three fees of Anschitil de St. Medard in Thornhaugh, Wittering, Siberton, and Etton, were confirmed to Peterborough Abbey,⁵ and Richard I confirmed Etton to the abbey as part of the St. Medard fee.⁶ During the 12th century Robert de Stokes was holding half a knight's fee in Etton,⁷ probably of the St. Medards, as his family are later stated to be their tenant, and Stephen de Stokes was holding land in Etton of Geoffrey de St. Medard about 1242.⁸

In 1252–3 Stephen de Stokes and Isabel his wife granted to their son Stephen a piece of land in Etton⁹ and the advowson of the church there. Their land apparently passed soon afterwards to a family named Russell, for about 1300 John Russell, son of Sir Andrew Russell, settled the reversion of the manor of Etton, which was held by his mother Alice in dower, on himself and his wife Mabel,¹⁰ and in 1320 granted the manor to his brother Peter, parson of the church of Etton.¹¹ Subsequently, through the agency of Nicholas de St. Medard, it was agreed that the manor should be held by Peter for life, with reversion to Roger of Northborough, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, Hugh of



OLD HOUSE TO EAST OF CHURCH, ETTON.

the border of the great fen district, which stretches north and east to Lincolnshire and the Bedford Level. The parish was enclosed in 1820; the award is in custody of the clerk of the peace. Among the field-names found in the parish are Claywong, Sindrehilles, and Chircheheges. The main road runs north from Marholm to Maxey and Deeping Gate, and is crossed south of Etton village by a road connecting Helpston and Glington. The Midland and Great Northern railways pass transversely through the parish in a north-westerly direction. The village is small, lying to the south of the church, the houses mostly thatched instead of slated as is usual in the county. East of the church is a picturesque house with a projecting two-story porch, but there is no other domestic building of note in the parish,

¹ Etton Par. Reg.

² Lay Subs. R. 187 and 187.

³ Earlier references are of doubtful authority. See Birch, *Cart. Sax.* i, 22, and Fulman, *Scriptores*, 56.

⁴ *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 367b.

⁵ Sparke, *Scriptores*, 78. For the St. Medards see Thornhaugh.

⁶ *Cart. Antiq. DD.* 17.

⁷ *Cott. Vesp. E.* xxii, 99b et seq.

⁸ *Soc. Antiq. MS.* No. 60, fol. 251.

⁹ Feet of F. Northants, 37 Hen. III, No. 644.

¹⁰ Feet of F. Northants, 29 Edw. I, No. 407; 34 Edw. I, No. 504. John de Insula appears probably as a trustee.

¹¹ Feet of F. Northants, 14 Edw. II, No. 407; Close, 4 Edw. III, No. 26.

Northborough, and Hugh his son.¹ Early in the reign of Edward III an inquiry was held for the crown relative to an alleged holding of Etton manor by Bartholomew de Badlesmere, whose estates had been forfeited for treason in 1321; but the explanations of Hugh de Northborough and his son with regard to their status being found satisfactory, it was declared that Bartholomew did not hold the manor at his death, nor for a long time before, and the sheriff was ordered to desist from further proceedings. No evidence has been found that the Badlesmeres ever² held Etton, and perhaps the confusion arose through their connexion with Paston and Milton, where the Russells also held.

Hugh of Northborough was still holding the manor in 1396,³ but it passed soon after into the possession of the family of Rempston. Court rolls exist for this manor from the end of the 14th century,⁴ the court being generally held by feoffees, but occasionally by members of the Rempston family. About 1412 Margaret, late wife of Thomas Rempston, possessed the manor,⁵ while in 1428 Thomas Rempston was officially returned as holding the half-fee in Etton which had once belonged to Hugh of Northborough.⁶ The next holders of the manor were the Pulter family, John Pulter senior and John Pulter junior⁷ holding a court in 1448-9. In 1514 Richard Pulter sold the manor and advowson of Etton to Sir William Fitzwilliam,⁸ whose lineal descendants still possess it. Mr. G. C. W. Fitzwilliam of Milton is now lord of the manor.



PULTER. *Argent two bends sable and a Cornish chough in the cantle.*

WOODCROFT, Wodecroft (xii cent.), Wudecroft (xiii cent.).—The tene-ment of Osbern in Woodcroft was confirmed by Pope Eugenius in 1146 to the abbey of Peterborough,⁹ and about the same time a certain Walran was holding the sixth part of a fee in Woodcroft.¹⁰

Richard I confirmed to Peterborough Abbey half a knight's fee in Walton and Woodcroft held by Herbert and Roger of Woodcroft.¹¹ In 1219 land in Woodcroft was held from Waleran son of Roger of Woodcroft, by Walter Preston,¹² and from this time onward the Prestons gradually acquired most of the land in Woodcroft, which had formerly been divided into various small holdings.¹³ In 1280 Lawrence Preston was impleaded by the abbot of Peterborough for the relief of a quarter of a knight's fee in Woodcroft which he held as the heir of his uncle Gilbert Preston.¹⁴ This Lawrence apparently fell into financial difficulties, for in a suit brought against his son in 1304 by Simon de Ellesworth it was stated that he had assigned his manor of Woodcroft to the complainant for a term of years to acquit a debt.¹⁵ The manor continued with the Preston family until the death of Wymmer Preston without direct heirs about 1434,¹⁶ being then divided between his nephews, Robert Brudenel and Nicholas Boxstede. The latter, in 1449, gave up his claim to Robert Fenne and Juliana his wife,¹⁷ against whom a suit was brought for the manor by Robert Brudenel and John son of Nicholas Boxstede a few years later.¹⁸ This suit was apparently successful, for in 1525 John, grandson of Robert Brudenel, with the assent of Sybil Ruddill, granddaughter of Nicholas Boxstede, sold half the manor of Woodcroft to Richard Fermour of London.¹⁹ Sybil Ruddill, with Richard her husband, had previously in 1510 sold the other half of the manor to Richard Pulter, lord of Etton and Northborough.²⁰ In 1531 and 1532 Francis son of Richard Pulter and Richard Fermour together held a court for the manor of Woodcroft.²¹ In 1530 Richard Fermour sold his half of the manor to Sir William Fitzwilliam,²² and Sir William at the time of his death was in treaty with Francis Pulter for the other half.²³ The sale was concluded by his son in 1535,²⁴ and the whole manor of Woodcroft has since remained in the possession of the Fitzwilliam family, and is now held by Mr. G. C. W. Fitzwilliam.²⁵

¹ Close, 4 Edw. III, m. 6; Feet of F. Northants, 19 Edw. II, No. 472. The relation of the St. Medards to the manor at this period is doubtful. They were unquestionably at first overlords, but Nicholas appears to treat on equality with the Russells. In 1330 John de St. Medard, son of Nicholas, made so full a quit-claim of the manor to Hugh of Northborough that it might well mean relinquishing all connexion with the place (Soc. Antiq. No. 38, fol. 30). This view is borne out by another entry (Ibid. fol. 158) which states that Hugh of Northborough held immediately of the abbot, because John de St. Medard had quit-claimed all right. But the St. Medards and their successors several times later are mentioned as overlords, perhaps only through custom. Add. MS. 25288; Cott. Nero, C, vii, 202 d.

² Close, 4 Edw. III, m. 6.

³ Cott. Nero, C, vii, 130; Ct. R. at Milton Hall.

⁴ The rolls are at Milton Hall in the custody of Mr. G. C. W. Fitzwilliam, the present lord of the manor.

⁵ Lay Subs. R. 342.

⁶ Misc. Bks. Exch. K. R. iv, 235.

⁷ According to Glover (*Hist. of Derbyshire*, pt. 1, vol. ii, p. 600) the manor was bought by these persons from Thomas Rempston in 26 Hen. VI, and this appears to be borne out by the dates of the Ct. R. A small slip of paper among

the Ct. Rs. at Milton Hall, not earlier than the 16th century, states that Hugh of Northborough had a son Thomas whose grand-daughter Anne married Thomas Pulter, and thus brought the manor into that family. But there is no evidence to confirm this.

⁸ Deed at Milton Hall. There are several other deeds at Milton relative to this manor, mainly concerning trusts created by means of feoffees by Richard Pulter.

⁹ Sparke, *Scriptores*, p. 78. No earlier mention occurs except in the spurious grant printed by Birch, *Cart. Sax.* i, 22.

¹⁰ Cott. Vesp. E, xxii, fol. 99b, et seq.

¹¹ Cart. Antiq. DD. 17; Chart R. 11 Hen. III, pt. i, m. 19.

¹² Feet of F. Northants, 3 Henry III, No. 38.

¹³ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 60, fol. 155. Feet of F. Northants, 24 Hen. III, No. 379; Feet of F. Northants, 46 Hen. III, No. 829, 836; Bracton, *Note Book*, No. 440; Lib. Swapham, fol. 261b.

¹⁴ *Chronicon*, p. 35.

¹⁵ De Banco R. No. 149, m. 311d. In 1315 Thomas de Goldesburgh was holding the land of the Prestons in Woodcroft (Lands, 993). Perhaps his connexion with the place was similar to that with the manor of Gretton, also held by the Prestons. (*Quo. Warr. R.* (Rec. Com.), p. 563.)

¹⁶ Chan. Inq. p.m. 13 Hen. VI, No. 49.

¹⁷ Close, 27 Hen. VI, m. 6 d.

¹⁸ De Banco R. 35 Hen. VI, m. 135 d.

¹⁹ Anct. D. (P.R.O.), A 4778; Feet of F. Northants, Hil. 17 Hen. VIII.

²⁰ Deed at Milton Hall.

²¹ Ct. R. at Milton Hall. There are a few other Ct. Rs. of various dates for this manor at Milton.

²² Deed at Milton Hall.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ The de la Mares, hereditary constables of the abbey of Peterborough, had some connexion with Woodcroft. In 1225, Brian de la Mare was a party in a suit concerning a carucate of land in Woodcroft (Pat. 9 Hen. III, m. 4 d); in 1243 Woodcroft is mentioned as part of the de la Mare fee (Soc. Antiq. No. 60, m. 251), in which it is always afterwards included until 1428, when the earl of Somerset was in possession of the de la Mare lands (Misc. Bks. Exch. K. R. No. iv, p. 235). There is no evidence that the de la Mares were overlords of the Prestons or of those who held before them, but some land in Woodcroft belonged to the manor of Maxey, the principal possession of the de la Mares, and it is perhaps to this land that the constant references are made (1st Mins. Acct. 27 and 28 Hen. VIII, Northants, No. 10).

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Woodcroft House,¹ now in the occupation of Mr. William Renford, consists at the present day of a front some 100 ft. long, and a wing about 30 ft. in length, with a circular tower at the exterior angle of the junction, and it is on record² that a similar tower once formed the other termination of the front. The moat surrounding the house still remains, and it is almost certain that the latter originally occupied the whole space bounded by the former, and was a quadrilateral structure enclosing a court about 50 ft. by 40 ft.³ The entrance, in the middle of the front, is surmounted by a low four-sided tower, not rectangular, since its cross walls as well as the wing lie obliquely to the front.⁴ It was apparently protected with doors merely, and there is no provision for a portcullis, nor for the chains and machinery necessary for a drawbridge, nor are there any indications of openings for the discharge of missiles, whether arrows, cannon shot, boiling oil, or other lethal liquids, but the break in the horizontal string, which is not continued over the archway, indicates that some construction must have once existed over or in front of the entrance. It was by no means a strongly-



WOODCROFT HOUSE.

fortified house; the walls are thick and the windows small, but there is no lack of the latter, and they are arranged with some attention to symmetry. It would seem that the greater part of the front dates from about 1280, that the wing was remodelled in the latter part of the 15th century, that some work was done in Jacobean times, when the chapel was converted into a living room and furnished with a fireplace, and that the south end of the front wing was rebuilt at a still later date. The whole of the internal walls have practically disappeared, as well as the old stair-

cases, and it is a matter of surmise as to where the latter were placed, although the conjecture may be correct that the square projection near the archway contained the chief access to the upper floors.

The small room to the right of the entrance was probably the porter's lodging, and the large room to the left, with its fireplace, a guard room, while opposite to the gateway, in the now destroyed back wing, stood the great hall. There was evidently a range of rooms on the first floor, that over the entrance being the chapel; and it is clear that these rooms had attics over them. The archway on the top floor from the corner tower into the main building indicates that there was an upper story here, lighted by a small window in a gable behind the tower. At present the building is covered with a flat lead roof, but all the old prints show a steep-pitched roof of tiles, and indications in the stone walls prove that this was the original form. The wall and windows above the main horizontal string are quite modern. The back half of the central tower over the chapel was roofed with a lean-to, and the upper parts of its side walls did not extend

much, if at all, beyond the ridge of the main building. This curious and unusual treatment accords with the internal disposition of the chapel, which had an upper floor or gallery over the front half, approached by a small straight flight of steps just outside its south side wall. The blocked doorway which led to these steps still remains, with some corbel stones which supported the landing, and indications also survive of the start of the front of the gallery. The two windows immediately over the entrance lighted the chapel itself, while the single window above them lighted the gallery, and there was also a three-light window⁵ over the altar. In the south wall of the chapel is a 15th-century piscina, and in the opposite wall is a 17th-century fireplace, which, with its flue, blocks a squint from the room over what is here called the guard-room.

The room on the ground floor of the circular tower is said to have had no original connexion with the main building, and it has been suggested that it was used as a dungeon, with access through the floor above; but the size, position, and number of the windows would seem to refute this theory. On the first floor of the tower is a recess in the wall, which was probably a garderobe.⁶

ADVOWSON The advowson of the church of St. Stephen at Etton followed the descent of the manor of Etton.

¹ Sometimes called Woodcroft Castle.

² Parker, *Dom. Archæ.* ii, 250.

³ The architectural details are simple and good, and the whole treatment is out of the common, and suggests that a foreign designer was employed.

⁴ The reason for this is not obvious, but it may be the result of the haphazard setting-out which is observable in many mediæval buildings.

⁵ Its tracery has been replaced in modern times.

⁶ Woodcroft House has only once

emerged from the obscurity which has settled down in a multitude of cases upon what must have been important houses in their time. The occasion was in the Civil Wars, when a busy adherent of Charles, one Dr. Michael Hudson, held the place against a detachment of the Parliamentary forces. His party was overcome, but he himself was either so obnoxious or so much dreaded by his victors that he was denied the quarter which was granted to his followers. He retreated to the roof of the circular tower,

whence he climbed over the battlements, and clung to a projecting gargoyle. His pursuers hacked at his hands, and he dropped into the moat; still indomitable, he swam to the bank, but was there dispatched by a servant of the parson of Castor. Such are the outlines of the story as preserved by the Rev. Francis Peck in his *Desiderata Curiosa*, and subsequently transmuted into literature by Scott in the pages of *Woodstock*, where Holdenough describes how he saw (as he supposed) his old friend Dr. Rochecliffe slain.

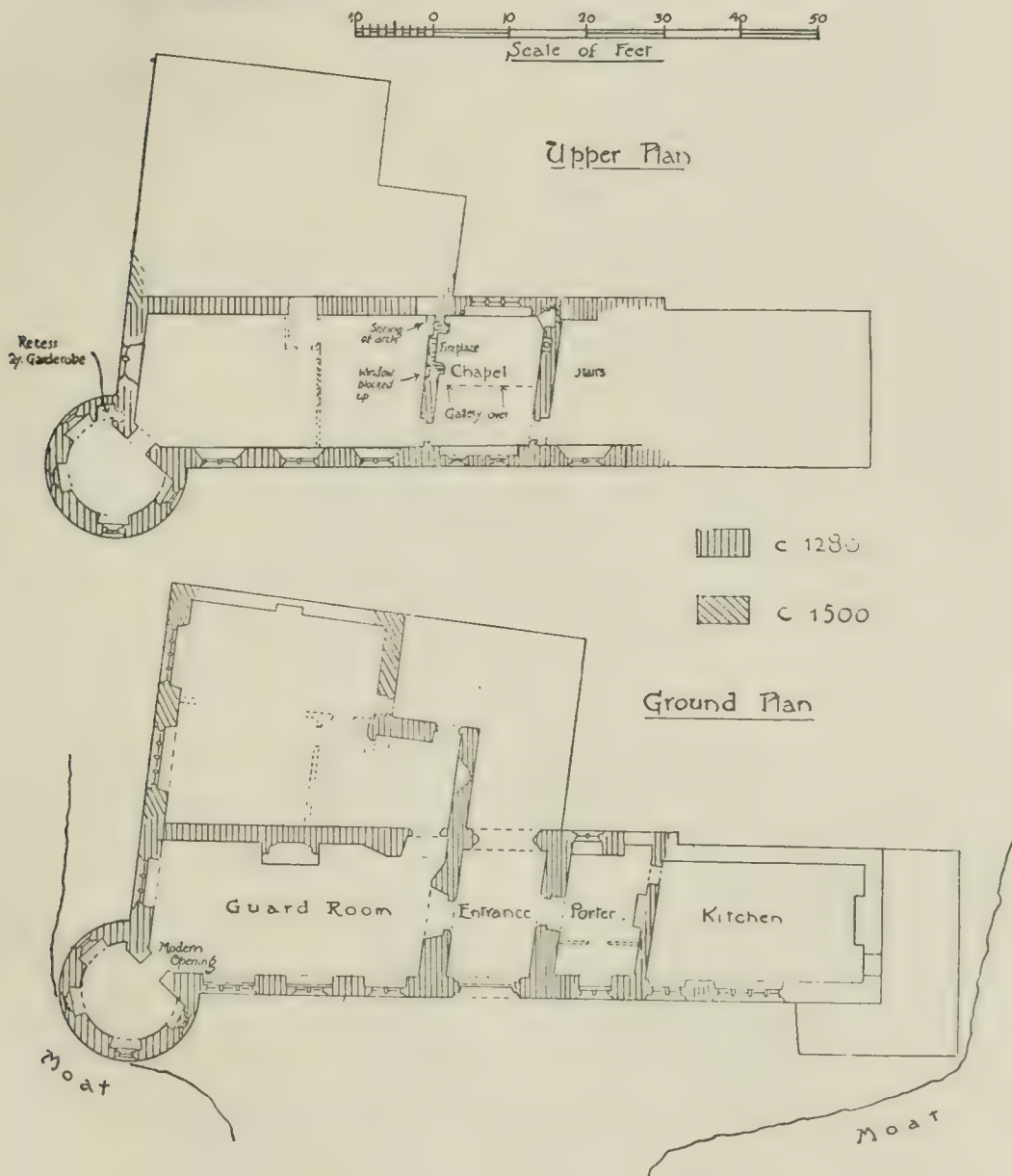
The church of St. Stephen consists of **CHURCH** chancel, nave with aisles and south porch, and west tower and spire. A chapel, with a vestry to the east, formerly existed on the north of the chancel.

The church is a good specimen of 13th-century work, and no remains of any earlier building are to be seen.¹

The chancel, 36 ft. by 14 ft., is finely propor-

with a chamfered segmental head, and the arch to the north chapel, both remain. In the south wall are three two-light windows, with circles in the head enclosing trefoils; they are widely splayed inside, with segmental rear-arches. Beneath the west window on this side is a 14th-century low side window, with an uncusped ogee head outside, and widely-splayed jambs within, under a wide ogee rear-arch. To the east of it is a small plain priest's door, with a

WOODCROFT



tioned and of excellent detail. The east window is of five lancet lights under an arched head, with pierced spandrels. There are no windows on the north side of the chancel, on account of the former existence of a vestry and chapel; the vestry door,

segmental rear-arch. There is a double piscina, with a modern central shaft and tracery, and three sedilia with trefoiled arches carried by shafts with moulded capitals and bases. In the north-east angle of the chancel is a little arched opening 8½ in. high by

¹ But it is to be noted that the axis of the chancel inclines slightly to the north, and the irregular setting-out of the tower shows that it has been adapted to some previously existing building. There are several other irregularities also which tell the same tale.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

5½ in. wide, with a rebate for a door, giving access to a carefully-plastered recess 17 in. wide by 12 in. deep, which may well have been used for containing the pix with the reserved sacrament. The chancel arch, of nearly the full width of the chancel, has half-round responds and a pointed arch of two hollow-chamfered orders. The bases have an early look, but the arch is probably of the 14th century. The nave, 39 ft. by 14 ft. 9 in., is of three bays, with pointed arches of two chamfered orders, and circular shafts with moulded capitals and bases. The details of the south arcade are much better than those of the north, and of the four capitals on the south three have nail-head ornament, which does not occur on the north. The clearstory windows, three a side, are large quatre-foils, probably 14th-century; and the weathering of a high-pitched roof which existed before the clearstory shows on the east face of the west tower.

The north¹ and south aisles are contemporary with the arcades, and are respectively 11 ft. and 10 ft. 10 in. wide, with windows all of one type, of two lights with a circle in the head; on the north side the circles show evidence of having been septfoiled, and probably those on the south once had the same detail. Both aisles have west windows, but none at the east. At the east end of the south aisle is a good trefoiled piscina with a label over, and a large drain. The blocked north doorway has a trefoiled head with feathered cusps, and a segmental rear arch, while the south doorway has a plain outer arch² of two continuous chamfered orders.

The south porch has stone seats on either side, and a semicircular outer arch with half-octagonal shafts and moulded capitals. The west tower is of three stages, and opens to the nave with an arch like those of the arcades, but loftier, with octagonal capitals to the responds. There is a vice at the south-west angle,

and a pair of buttresses at the north-west. The west window of the ground stage is a single lancet, and on the second stage are lancets on north, west, and south. The four belfry windows⁴ are of two lights divided by a shaft with moulded capital and base, under a moulded semicircular arch with detached shafts in the jambs. The cornice above has a variety of carved corbels, in some cases forming groups of three, and the tower is capped by a plain octagonal spire, with two tiers of single spirelights, the lower tier on the cardinal, and faces the upper on the intermediate.

The roofs are all of low pitch, the chancel being slated, the rest leaded, and the parapets are plain. There are no gable crosses, and the woodwork of the roofs is not ancient.

The font is a plain roughhewn octagon 3 ft. 2 in. high, and 2 ft. 5 in. in diameter. It has no detail whatever. The woodwork fittings of the church are modern, but the communion table is of the 17th century, with turned legs, and shows remains of red paint.

The plate comprises a silver cover paten, which has lost its hallmarks, but on the upper surface is engraved the date 1610; a silver cup, paten, and flagon of 1851, presented 1852, and an old pewter plate with obliterated London marks.

The bells are three in number, the treble by Thomas Norris of Stamford, 1630, and the second and tenor by Tobie Norris, 1618.

The first book of the registers contains baptisms from 1587 to 1737, marriages from 1587 to 1736, and burials from 1587 to 1733. The second contains baptisms and burials from 1734 to 1745, and from 1755 to 1812, with only one entry, in 1749, between 1746 and 1755; also marriages between 1755 and 1759. The third book contains marriages from 1759 to 1812.

EYE

Agee (x cent.), Eya, Eia (xii cent.).

The parish of Eye extends over an area of 2,711 acres, the soil in some parts presenting the characteristics of the fenland, while in others it is of a mixed kind upon Oxford clay or alluvium. The industries are chiefly agricultural with the modern and successful addition of brick-making, which is carried on principally at Northam and Eye Fletton. In consequence of this industry Eye is more populous than most villages of this district; there were 1,366 inhabitants in 1901. Bridges, writing in the early part of the 18th century, alludes to the pursuits of fowling and fishing which had occupied many of the inhabitants before his day, but which had then died out.³ There are 1,564 acres of arable land and 902½ of pasture.

The village consists of one long wide street, being built, as its name implies, on an island in the fen, a long ridge of gravel, on which runs the road from Peterborough to Crowland. The outlying houses of Northolme, Eyebury, and Oxney all owe their existence to the same cause, being built on outlying ridges running north or south from the main settlement.

The fen is long since drained, but the contours of the land are still to be seen.

The manor house, the residence of Mr. Arthur Page, on the north side of the street, has one room with good 18th-century panelling, but shows nothing of earlier date, and there is no other building of any architectural interest in the street.

In the village is a Primitive Methodist chapel, and a Methodist Free church, opened in 1851. The National School was built in 1855, an infant school being added in 1874.

The railway station is at Eye Green, on the Great Northern and Midland joint line from Peterborough to Wisbech.

An alarming incendiary fire, aggravated by scarcity of water and a prevailing hurricane, broke out in the village on Monday, 28 November, 1848, doing damage to the extent of £1,500 before the opportune veering of the wind to the southward saved 'the beautiful village of Eye from being laid in ruins.'⁵ The parish was enclosed in 1820; the award is in custody of the parish council.

¹ The north wall leans outward considerably, and the buttresses have been strengthened to support it.

² On the east jamb of this arch is an unusually elaborate consecration cross, 2½ in. high with foliate ends to the arms,

incised on a lozenge shaped stone 6 in. by 4 in., which is let into the stonework of the jamb, and was evidently intended to be filled in with a coloured inlay or something of the sort.

³ Bridges, *Northants*, ii, 513.

⁴ The labels of these windows, as of all the other windows in the church, end in masks, a detail of constant occurrence throughout the neighbourhood.

⁵ *Lincoln Mercury*.

EYE was confirmed to Peterborough *MANOR* in the charter of Wulfhere, and is included in the less comprehensive confirmation of King Edgar.¹ It is not mentioned in Domesday, but about 1125 the abbey was holding 1½ hides of land in Eye and a certain William of Eye held 1 virgate and 'served with the Knights.'² Richard I and Henry III confirmed Eye to Peterborough in terms almost identical with those used in the charter of Wulfhere.³

This manor appears to have been kept in hand by the abbot to supply the needs of the monastery. In 1307 the abbot granted to the brothers at the cell of Oxney thirteen stone of cheese every year from the manor of Eye, and every week between the Invention and the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (2 May to 14 September) a quarter stone of butter and two gallons of milk.⁴ The land at Eye was divided among a number of small holders.⁵

Eye was one of the occasional residences of the abbots of Peterborough. Homages are frequently stated to have been performed there,⁶ and from the end of the 13th century it is sometimes called the manor of Eyebury or Ibury, probably the name given to the manorial buildings. Abbot William of Woodford (1295-9) built a windmill and began a hall there,⁷ which was finished by his successor, Abbot Godfrey (1299-1321), who also built a new house with a bakery and dairy, and enclosed land for keeping wild beasts.⁸ This is probably the origin of the abbot's park of Eyebury referred to in the 14th century.⁹ In the third year of his abbacy Godfrey replaced the windmill built by his predecessor, which had been destroyed by fire, and later he built a great stone grange, which was burnt down through the spontaneous combustion of damp hay in the time of Adam Boothby (1321-38). He also made many other additions to the manor house and buildings.¹⁰

At the dissolution the manor of Eye was granted to John, bishop of Peterborough,¹¹ and the capital messuage of Eyebury, with Eyebury Park, formerly leased to John first earl of Bedford, was granted to him in fee,¹² and still remains in the possession of his family, now represented by the duke of Bedford. A farmhouse occupies the site of the mediaeval building, but retains no ancient features. It is now the residence of Mr. Alfred Nicholson Leeds, a well-known geologist.

In 1649 the Commissioners for the sale of Bishops' Lands sold to John Bellamy the manor of Eye and the farms of Singlesole and Northolme, which had been leased to Queen Elizabeth for seventy years from July, 1601.¹³ This sale was rescinded at the Restoration. In 1860 the land in Eye belonging to the bishop was vested in the Ecclesiastical Commissioners,¹⁴ and shortly after the bishop was endowed with the manor,¹⁵ which still remains with his successors.

Several court rolls for this manor exist at Peterborough, the earliest being of the time of Richard II. There is a roll for nearly every year during the first half of the reign of Henry VIII.¹⁶

The abbot of Thorney had some interest in Eye during the 14th century. In 1305 he complained that Godfrey, abbot of Peterborough, and others 'lately by night raised a dike across the highroad at Eye leading from Peterborough to Thorney,' and which was used by the abbot for carrying corn and other necessities.¹⁷ The next year this dispute was amicably settled through the mediation of Walter Langton, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, the abbot of Peterborough allowing the abbot of Thorney and his men and guests to use the road at their will from 'a place in the water of the Neen called Herlotesforthe' to the village of Eye, to the breadth of 15 feet.¹⁸

In 1330 the abbot and convent of Thorney gave up to the abbot of Peterborough all right of common in Northolme and Eye, saving common pasture in the marsh where they were accustomed to have it.¹⁹

NORTHOLME (Northam xvi cent.).—Abbot Godfrey 'began . . . a manor at Northolme where there was never before a manor.' He enclosed the pasture of Cranemore, and in its west part planted a wood which he called Childholm,²⁰ and obtained the grant of a market there every week on Thursday, and a fair to last two days on the eve and day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross²¹ (4 September). The day was changed later to the eve and day of St. Matthew (21 September).²² He also built a chapel,²³ setting aside 100s. for the maintenance of a priest there to pray for his soul and the souls of the benefactors of Peterborough. The priest was to be lodged in the manor of Northolme.²⁴

In 1535 among the possessions of Peterborough was a wood called Northolmwood and Okeholt, in the lordship of Eye, containing 9½ acres.²⁵ This is perhaps the wood planted by Abbot Godfrey, and there is still a wood bearing the name of Northolme in the parish of Eye.

Northolme was granted to the bishop of Peterborough in 1541,²⁶ and with the manor of Eye was leased to Queen Elizabeth, and sold in 1649 to John Bellamy.²⁷

The farm was taken over by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1860, and returned to the bishop in 1862 as part of the endowment of his see.²⁸ No part of the farmhouse appears to be older than the 16th century, but there are a few pieces of 14th-century detail in the garden. One of the ground-floor rooms has a good 18th-century fireplace and panelling.

SINGLESOLE (Singlesholt xiii cent., Singleholt xvi cent., Singlesoule xvii cent.).—The 'hermitage of Singlesholt' is mentioned in the spurious charter of Wulfhere as an appurtenance of Eye,²⁹ and is also confirmed to Peterborough in the charters of

¹ Birch, *Cart. Sax.* No. 22; *A. S. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 220. See introduction to Soke.

² *Chronicon*, 165, 175.

³ *Cart. Antiq.* DD. 17; *Chart. R.* 11 Hen. III. pt. i, m. 19.

⁴ Sparke, *Scriptores*, p. 161.

⁵ There are several lists of tenants of the manor of Eye (*Soc. Antiq.* No. 60, fol. 182; *Cott. Nero*, C. vii, 167b), but the holdings are all small, and no families appear to have held for any great length of time.

⁶ *Cott. Vesp. E.* xxii, 49b; *Chronicon*, p. 151.

⁷ Sparke, *Scriptores*, 152.

⁸ *Ibid.* 154.

⁹ *Linc. Epis. Reg. Mem.* Buckingham, ii, 424.

¹⁰ Sparke, *Scriptores*, 154, 163, 164, 224.

¹¹ *Pat.* 33 Hen. VIII, pt. iii, m. 13.

¹² *Ibid.* pt. i, m. 1-3.

¹³ *Close*, 1679, pt. iv, No. 2.

¹⁴ *London Gazette*, 24 Feb. 1860, No. 641.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 4 Nov. 1862, No. 5209.

¹⁶ *Ct. R.* in the custody of the dean and chapter of Peterborough.

¹⁷ *Pat.* 33 Edw. I, pt. 1, m. 4 d.

¹⁸ *Soc. Antiq. MS.* No. 38, fol. 22b.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* fol. 23b.

²⁰ Sparke, *Scriptores*, 156.

²¹ *Chart. R.* 34 Edw. I, m. 6, No. 36.

²² *Quo. Warr. R.* (Rec. Com.), 551.

²³ Sparke, *Scriptores*, 162.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 159.

²⁵ *Valor Eccles.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 280.

²⁶ *Pat.* 33 Hen. VIII, pt. iii, m. 13.

²⁷ *Close*, 1649, pt. iv, No. 2.

²⁸ *London Gaz.* 24 Feb. 1860, No. 641;

²⁹ Nov. 1862, No. 5209.

³⁰ Birch, *Cart. Sax.* No. 22.

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Richard I and Henry III.¹ Abbot Godfrey in the 14th century gave all the timber for the 'camera' at Singlesole, which Hugo de Riseburge, then 'pittancer,' had caused to be made.² There are several accounts of the profits of Singlesole during the reign of Henry VIII at Peterborough. The oblations of the chapel, firm of the fishery of Catteswater, which still exists, and the ferm of the 'manor' in the hands of some tenants, are always mentioned.³

The 'manor' of Singlesole was granted to the bishop of Peterborough in 1541,⁴ and with Eye was leased to Queen Elizabeth, and sold in 1649 to John Bellamy.⁵ A farm now stands on the site of the monastic buildings. There was a chapel at Singlesole under the patronage of St. Michael, built by Godfrey de Crowland before he became abbot.⁶ The site of it is at the present day included in the farm buildings, and is just within the eastern boundary of the soke of Peterborough and of the county of Northampton.

TANHOLT.—The name of Tanholt occurs in the Peterborough records as early as the 14th century. Abbot Godfrey made a new ditch between Tanholt and another pasture, also a rabbit warren at Rumpole, a close afterwards annexed to Tanholt.⁷ Some of the officials of the monastery had common pasture at Tanholt for the animals from the manors annexed to their offices.⁸ At the surrender of Peterborough in 1539 Tanholt evidently passed with Eye into the king's hands, and was granted with Eye to the bishopric in 1541,⁹ for Bishop Scambler entered into an arrangement with Queen Elizabeth in 1570 to hand over to her the lands of Tanholt in return for payment of a fee-farm rent to the bishop.¹⁰ The queen at once included these lands in a grant made in the same year to Lord Burghley.¹¹

In 1754 Tanholt, described as a 'manor,' was in the hands of Timothy Brecknock;¹² in 1794 in those of Edward Knipe.¹³ Mr. H. R. Knipe is now the owner.

ADVOYSON. Before the dissolution of Peterborough Abbey there was a chapel at Eye belonging to the abbot, in which homages were

sometimes performed. The patronage of the present church belongs to the bishop of Peterborough.

The church of St. Matthew was built **CHURCH** in 1846 on the site of an ancient church which was pulled down. It has a shallow chancel, north and south transepts, and nave with west tower and spire, and contains nothing of interest except the font, which belongs to the last quarter of the 14th century. It has an octagonal bowl and shaft with projecting buttresses at the angles of the bowl, carried down to the base of the font without a break, the effect being very good. The sides of the bowl have crocketed cinquefoiled arcades, and at the lower edge are figures of angels. The church is one of the last of Basevi's works, and the spire is very well designed.

There is a record of the dedication of the former church in 1543,¹⁴ but from drawings of it that have been preserved it is clear that the building was at any rate two centuries older than that date.¹⁵ It was a small building with a chancel, nave and south aisle, and a western bell turret.¹⁶

The plate consists of a silver paten of 1798, cup of 1809, flagon of 1877 (Sheffield make), and cup of 1889. There are two bells, the treble by Henry Penn, 1712, and the tenor by John Warner, 1866.

Joseph Sparke the antiquary was curate of Eye for some time in the 18th century.

The first book of registers contains baptisms from 1543 to 1665, burials from 1543 to 1661, and marriages from 1544 to 1650. On the title page of this book is a note stating that it was 'lost above forty years, was found and bought by Thos. Laxton, inhabitant of this parish, and given by him at the request of the Rev. Mr. Jos. Sparke to the Parish, only desiring the Liberty of consulting it whenever he the returner thinks fit. July 22, A.D. 1711. J. Sparke.' The second book is lost. The third contains marriages from 1727 to 1791, baptisms and burials from 1727 to 1797; and the fourth, marriages from 1786 to 1812, and baptisms and burials from 1797 to 1812.

GLINTON

The parish of Glinton contains 1,055 acres of arable land, 534½ of pasture, and 15 of wood. The soil is of a gravelly nature, on a subsoil of Oxford clay. The population, numbering about 356 in 1901, is wholly engaged in agriculture; barley is the chief crop grown, all land being reclaimed from its ancient marshy condition. The high road from Peterborough to Market Deeping runs through the parish along the west side of the village, crossing the road from Peakirk to Helpston, on which Glinton stands.

The village is of fair size and very compact, the churchyard forming a central square round which the houses are built. The only considerable building,

except the church, is the manor-house, which is occupied by Mr. F. J. Thurlby, and stands at the east end of the village. It must have been built c. 1620–30, and its curved gables are reminiscent of the beginning of the 17th century, while the pediment over the front door, the projecting quoins, and the sunk joints of the stonework of the porch and chimneys point to the increasing influence of classic detail. Judging by the usual arrangements of houses of this type, the porch, now at one end, would have been in the centre of the front, implying either that the house once had a wing to the right of the porch, or that it was intended to have one. A sketch, made in the year 1846, shows a brewhouse or some such outbuilding attached to the

¹ Cart. Antiq. DD. 17; Chart. R. 11 Hen. III. pt. i, m. 19.

² Sparke, *Scriptores*, 170.

³ Accounts in the custody of the dean and chapter of Peterborough.

⁴ Pat. 33 Hen. VIII, pt. iii, m. 13.

⁵ Close, 1649, pt. iv, No. 2.

⁶ Sparke, *Scriptores*, 171.

⁷ Ibid. 154–5.

⁸ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 60, fol. 185b.

⁹ Pat. 33 Hen. VIII, pt. iii, m. 13.

¹⁰ Close, 19 Eliz. pt. xxi, m. 1.

¹¹ Ibid. m. 13.

¹² Com. Pleas. Recov. R. Hil. 18 Geo. II, m. 20.

¹³ Ibid. Mich. 35 Geo. III, rot. 339.

¹⁴ In 1522 the church appears to have been dedicated to our Lady (will of William Cattell of Eye), but on 7 Oct. 1543 it was dedicated or re-dedicated to St.

Matthew by Robert, bishop of Downe (see title page of earliest parish register).

¹⁵ In 1305 the abbot of Crowland did homage to the abbot of Peterborough in the chapel of the manor of Eye. Cott. Vesp. E. xxii, fol. 496.

¹⁶ A plan of it is attached to a faculty of 4 July, 1810, for making a north aisle. Information from the late Mr. R. P. Brereton.

house on the right of the porch, and this may have been originally part of it, but if so it had fallen upon evil days and had lost nearly all the architectural features which connected it with the rest of the structure. It has since been removed. The interior of house has been modernized. In the village are schools partly supported by a private bequest, and Primitive Methodist and Congregational chapels.

Among the field names occurring in this parish are Stonelands, Lambepithege, Polesmeddow, Crossdykewong, Chekergore and Torgohtescroft. The enclosure award, dated 1820, is in the custody of the churchwardens.

Peakirk and Glinton, with a church and *MANOR* chapel, toll at Deeping, and fisheries, were included in the confirmation of Wulfhere to Peterborough. According to Ingulph the manor of Glinton belonged to the monastery of St. Pega.¹ In 1086 Peterborough Abbey held 3 hides in Glinton, and among other particulars of the return mention is made of two bondwomen, an entry sufficiently rare to be noted with special interest.² Three knights of the abbey also held 10 hides and a virgate with two mills.³ This makes a total of over 13 hides for what is now a small parish; it is probable that this estimate comprised Peakirk, and perhaps also, as Deeping is mentioned in connexion with Glinton in several charters, some of the land now forming Northborough and Maxey parishes, neither of which is named in Domesday.

Peakirk and Glinton formed only one manor, and for a long time one parish; Peakirk seems to have been always included in the description of Glinton,⁴ and the court to have been held at the latter place, but the parish church was at Peakirk with a chapel at Glinton.

About 1125 the abbey of Peterborough held 3 hides in Glinton in demesne.⁵ Among the tenants of the manor was a fowler who held $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres for a rent of ten wild geese. From every plough in the village 1*d.* was paid for 'wax to light the church of Burg.' Ralph de la Mare, Leofric of Marham, Alfric, and Ailmer who paid 6*s.* for a fishery and 12*d.* for his house, were also tenants. The profits of the toll, probably that at Deeping mentioned in the charters, amounted to 40*s.*⁶

In 1146 two parts of the tithe of Ralph of Glinton and of the soc of Glinton were confirmed to Peterborough by Pope Eugenius.⁷ Richard I and Henry III confirmed Glinton to the abbey in terms identical with those of the spurious charter of Wulfhere.⁸

In the 13th century certain socmen were tenants of Peterborough in Glinton, and the abbey of Crowland also had tenants there on land held of Peterborough.⁹ This land formed one of the many subjects of disagreement between these two rival abbeys; in 1481 one of the conditions of an agreement made between them through the mediation of the archbishop of York was that the abbot of Crowland was to be ready to give up to the abbot of Peterborough all his lands

in Glinton and Peakirk whenever the latter should require it.¹⁰

In 1291 Glinton, probably including Peakirk, was richer than any other manor kept in hand by Peterborough except the 'vill of Burg' and Burghberry. The profits of the land and stock, with a mill, fishery, and court, amounted to £15.¹¹ On the death of Abbot Godfrey, in 1321, there was in Glinton a capital messuage and a windmill. It is evident that the land was still in a very marshy condition, for several fields are stated to be not worth much because they are generally flooded.¹²

After the dissolution of the monastery the manor of Glinton was granted to the dean and chapter of Peterborough.¹³ In 1650 the commissioners for the sale of church lands sold the manor, charged with the yearly payment of £41 19*s.* 3*d.* towards £63 6*s.* 8*d.* for the maintenance of 20 scholars, £20 for poor of Peterborough, £16 for a schoolmaster, £8 for an usher, which was charged on the revenue of the dean and chapter to Robert Hicklyn and John Foe,¹⁴ apparently acting for John Wildbore, who, on the back of a survey taken for the commissioners in 1649, is stated to be the purchaser. There was then a capital messuage covered with slate commonly called Berry-stede or the manor house, in the town of Glinton, consisting of a hall, a parlour or wainscoted kitchen, and three lodging chambers, with brewhouse, malt-house, stables, barns, and well-planted orchard. The whole manor had been leased to Mr. Robert Wildbore for sixty-one years from Michaelmas, 1597, and he was still tenant. There belonged to the manor right-of-common in the North Fen and in the Borough Great Fen.¹⁵ This sale was rescinded at the Restoration.

The fee-farm rents reserved to the crown on the grant of the manor in 1641 were sold by the trustees for the sale of such rents to Sir Edward Cartaret in 1675.¹⁶ The manor of Glinton with Peakirk was taken over by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners under the Act of 1836, and in 1863 formed part of the endowment of the dean and chapter of Peterborough.¹⁷

The history of two families can be traced fairly continuously in Glinton during the 13th and part of the 14th century. Richard son of Ivo of Kendale released the land of his father to the Abbot Robert¹⁸ and held henceforth by serjeanty.¹⁹ His son William did homage for land in Glinton in 1304 and 1322.²⁰ This land was held later by John Kendale²¹ and was probably sold by him to Robert of Thorp, who made it part of the endowment of his chantry at Maxey.²² The holding of Ralph of Glinton, a socman in the 13th century, had passed to Robert le Freeman by 1300.²³ In 1321 Nicholas le Freeman did homage for land in Glinton,²⁴ and in 1343 John Edgar gave to the abbey of Peterborough the land once Robert le Freeman's in Glinton.²⁵

¹ Birch, *Cart. Sax.* No. 22; Fulman, *Scriptores*, p. 56. See introduction to Soke.

² *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 313*b*.

³ *Ibid.* p. 315*a*.

⁴ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 60, fol. 192.

⁵ Peakirk is probably included; it is not mentioned by name in this survey.

⁶ *Chronicon*, p. 162.

⁷ Sparke, *Scriptores*, p. 82.

⁸ Cart. Antiq. DD 17; Chart. R.

⁹ Hen. III, pt. i, No. 19.

¹⁰ Egerton MS. 2733, fol. 150.

¹¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* i, 398.

¹² *Tax. Pope Nich.* (Rec. Com.), p. 33.

¹³ Sparke, *Scriptores*, p. 182.

¹⁴ Pat. 33 Hen. VIII, pt. iii, m. 14-17.

¹⁵ Close, 1650, pt. xxxi, No. 32.

¹⁶ Papers at Peterborough in custody of dean and chapter.

¹⁷ Pat. 26 Chas. II, pt. iv.

¹⁸ *London Gazette*, 24 March, 1863, No. 1600.

¹⁹ Probably Robert de Lindsey, abbot, 1214-22.

²⁰ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 60, fol. 192.

²¹ Cott. Vesp. E, xxii, 48*b*, 79

²² *Ibid.* Nero, C, vii, 130.

²³ *Ibid.* Nero, C, vii, 202*d*.

²⁴ *Ibid.* Vesp. E, xxii, 47; *Ibid.* Nero, C, vii, 130.

²⁵ *Ibid.* Vesp. E, xxii, 78*d*.

²⁶ Add. MS. 25288.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

During part of the 16th and 17th centuries the family of Wildbore, who held land in various other villages of the soke of Peterborough, were specially connected with Glinton.¹ They appear to have been very interested in bells and bell-ringing. This entry occurs in the churchwardens' accounts for 1659: 'Disbursed then for the use of the inhabitants of the Towne of Glinton, by John Wildbore of the said towne, the sum of three-score and three pounds to Mr. Norris of Stanforde for the Bells,' and a member of the same family, Matthew Wildbore, has made his name immortal in Peterborough by leaving £5 to the vicar in order that 'one peal or more' should be rung on the anniversary of his death.²

The church of St. Benedict³ at **ADVOWSON** Glinton was originally a chapel of ease to Peakirk. Glinton was made a separate ecclesiastical parish by order in Council dated 7 January, 1865.

Glinton church has a chancel with **CHURCH** north chapel, nave with aisles and south porch, and west tower and spire.

In the 12th century it had a chancel and a nave with a south aisle (perhaps also a north aisle) of much the same dimensions as at present. Towards the end of the century a chapel was added on the north of the chancel, and in the 13th century a north aisle, probably as wide as the chapel, was in existence. A south porch was also built during this century. In the 14th century the chancel, north chapel, and both aisles of the nave were remodelled and probably to a great extent rebuilt, and in the 15th century the west tower and spire were added, and at a later date in the same century the nave arcades were rebuilt, with a clearstory over. The doorway of the south aisle is of this date, and as there are to be seen to the east of the present south porch the traces of the position of a former porch, it may be that at this time an older south doorway was destroyed and the present one built further to the west, while the porch was taken down and rebuilt to suit the new doorway.

The chancel, 20 ft. by 14 ft. inside, has a three-light east window, with modern 14th-century tracery, replacing a 15th-century window. In the north wall is a late 12th-century arch with half-round responds and foliate capitals, leading to the north chapel, the arch of two orders having been reworked in the 14th century. In the south wall is a 14th-century window of two trefoiled ogee lights with a quatrefoil in the head. Its sill is carried down to serve as sedilia, and at its east angle is a large channelled piscina drain projecting from the wall. To the west is a second window, of two trefoiled lights, with a quatrefoil in the head, also of the 14th century, but earlier than the other.

The chancel arch has half-round responds and a plain pointed arch; the bases and lower parts of the responds are of the 12th century, but the upper parts and arch have been rebuilt in the 15th.⁴

The north chapel, 20 ft. by 12 ft. 6 in., seems to

have been rebuilt and extended eastward in the 14th century. It has a 15th-century east window of three trefoiled lights with tracery in the head, the sill cut down on the inside to form a recess behind an altar, and there is a bracket to the south.⁵ In the south wall is a fine 14th-century piscina, with tracery in a gabled head. In the north wall is a two-light 14th-century window, with modern tracery, and on the west the chapel opens to the north aisle by a pointed arch of the full width, carried on 13th-century conical corbels. Above the arch, on the west side, may be seen the weathering of a former roof, older than the present north arcade.

The nave is of three bays, with north and south arcades and clearstory of the 15th century, the pillars being octagonal with embattled capitals and arches of two chamfered orders. The clearstory has three windows a side, set over the arches of the arcade, each of three cinquefoiled lights under a four-centred head, and between the windows are stone corbels belonging to a former roof.⁶ The north aisle has a single window on the north side of two lights with modern tracery, and a plain north door, probably of the first half of the 14th century, flanked by two small buttresses which seem to have been designed to take the timbers of a wooden pentise over the door. In the west wall of the aisle is a small round-headed window of which only the head is ancient. In the south aisle the east window is of two uncusped lights, of the first half of the 14th century; on the north and south of it are plain image-brackets, and in the south wall a contemporary piscina with a moulded arch. In the same wall is a two-light 14th-century window with restored tracery, and in the west wall a small round-headed light of the 12th century apparently in position, as the rubble walling in which it is set differs considerably from the rest of the masonry in the aisle. The 15th-century doorway of two orders has a four-centred head with continuous chamfers, and above it a niche with a splayed sill. The south porch has an outer arch of 13th-century work with half-round shafts and capitals and a line of dogtooth on the outer face.

The west tower is of the 15th century, of three stages, 9 ft. 9 in. square inside, with a vice in the north-west angle. The tower arch is of two orders with a hollow chamfer and wave moulding, octagonal responds, and embattled capitals, and the west window of the ground stage is of two cinquefoiled lights, with a square-headed window of two trefoiled lights above it in the second stage. In the north wall of this stage is a small light, and in the south wall a clock face. The four belfry windows are alike, of two cinquefoiled lights with a quatrefoil in the head. The parapet is embattled, and from within it springs a very high and steep octagonal stone spire with two tiers of gables and crocketed spirelights, the upper part having a marked entasis. The roof of the chancel is of high pitch, covered with Collyweston slates, all others being low pitched and leaded. All parts of the church have embattled parapets, and the

¹ Lay Subs. R. 153, 154; P.C.C. Wootton, 366.

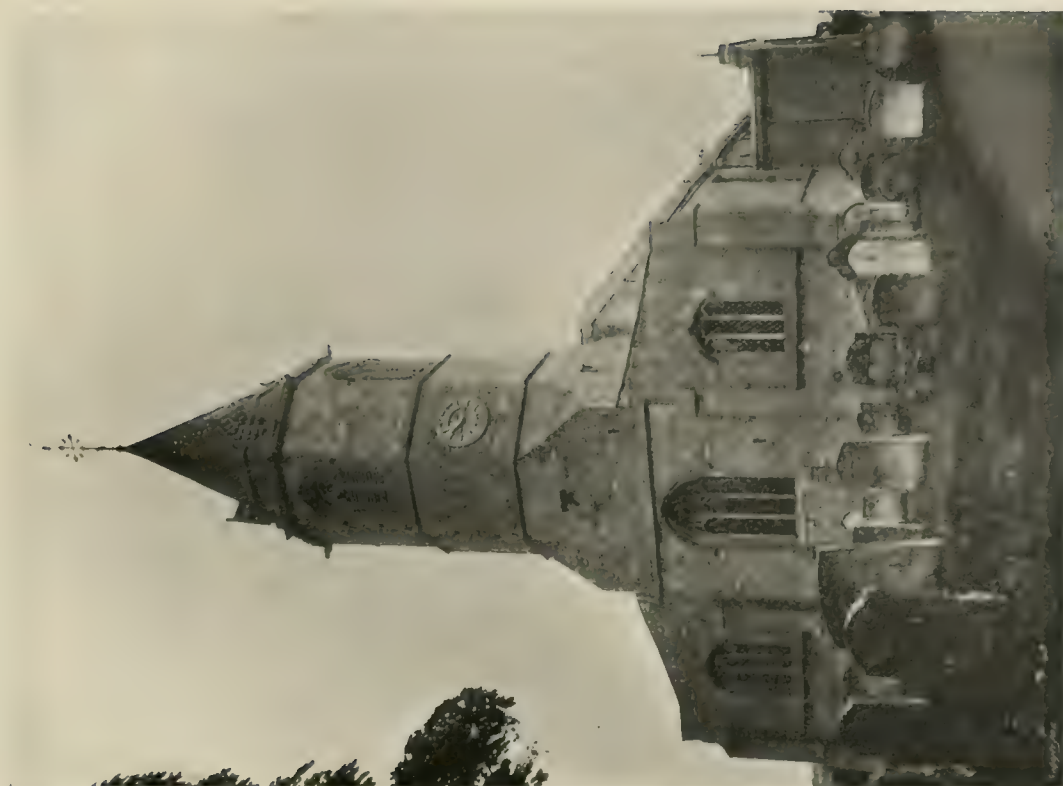
² Perhaps the efforts of this family had something to do with the local saying in connexion with the bells of this region; 'Helpston cracked pippins and Northborough cracked pans, Glinton fine organs and Peakirk tin pans.'

³ See will of Agnes Strete (1526) in Northampton Probate Office, Bk. C, fol. 132. Also will of John Harbie, Bk. C, fol. 132.

⁴ The wall here is very thin, only 1 ft. 9 in. and it is possible that it may belong to an earlier state of the church than any other part of the building.

⁵ A modern doorway has been cut through the south end of the east wall.

⁶ The weathering of a steep-pitched roof, older than the existing arcades and clearstory, is to be seen on the tower.



HILPSTON CHURCH : EXTERIOR FROM THE WEST



HILPSTON CHURCH : THE TOWER AND SPIRE



clearstory gargoyles are large and well carved. The aisle roofs retain some ancient timbers, and the porch roof is of the 15th century, but the nave roof dates from 1847, and that of the chancel is modern, as is all woodwork of pews, etc.¹ In the south aisle are two old wooden chests, one of deal, the other of oak, the latter being a log, 8 ft. long by 13 in. square, hollowed out.

There are no remains of ancient glass or painting.

The font at the west end of the south aisle has a square bowl on a square base, and is of the 12th century, with shafts at the angles of the bowl, while the sides are covered with ornament in low relief, zigzag and sunk star on the east and west, and two saltire patterns on each of the other two.

In the churchyard are two much-damaged stone effigies of the 14th century; one, south of the church, representing a woman with falling headdress and wimple, and hands clasped in prayer; the other, west of the south porch, a man in civil dress with a horn slung to his right side, and above it a mutilated object which hangs diagonally across his body, and on the left side a long staff or bow.

There are six bells by Thomas Osborn of Downham in Norfolk 1798-9.

The plate consists of a silver communion cup of 1710, inscribed Glinton, 1711, a standing paten of 1711, inscribed Glinton, 1712, a flat paten of 1868,

and a flagon of 1871. There is also a brass alms-dish.

The first book of the registers contains baptisms and burials from 1567 to 1796 and marriages from 1567 to 1754; the second, marriages from 1754 to 1814; and the third, baptisms and burials from 1797 to 1814. There are churchwardens' accounts from 1659 to 1813.

Glinton church-land consists of *CHARITIES*. land and tenements containing about 30a. producing £70 13s. 6d. in 1902, which are applied to church repairs and other expenses.

Anne Ireland, by will of 1 January, 1711, left £100 for a charity school in the parish of Glinton-cum-Peakirk.

Upon the Glinton enclosure an allotment was made in lieu of land belonging to the school, and similarly in respect of this land upon the Borough Fen enclosure. The joint rents, amounting to £47 4s. 7d., are used for educational purposes. The official trustees hold a sum of £50 19s. 2d. consols, arising from investing proceeds of sale of land.

Ann Scott's charity, founded by will in 1870, consists of £192 10s. 4d. consols (official trustees), the proceeds of which are used for the provision of fuel for the poor of Glinton.

HELPESTON

Helpston (until xv cent.).

This parish covers 1,860 acres, of which 1,091½ are arable, 494½ pasture, and 100½ woodland. The soil is gravelly with a rocky substratum. Artesian wells have been bored, and water of good quality obtained at an average depth of 80 feet. A small amount of stone was formerly quarried here, and there were also brickfields, but both these and the quarries are now disused. A large amount of lime-stone is found, and lime-burning is carried on, while paper-making on an extensive scale forms an important industry. The population was 623 in 1901.

The King Street passes through the entire parish in its westernmost portion from north to south, and an ancient dike called Ramdike comes within the eastern limit. The Midland and Great Northern Railways, running alongside, pass through the northern part near the boundary.

The situation of Langdyke Bush, marking the meeting place of the hundred court of Nassaburgh, is pointed out in this parish.

The village of Helpston is grouped about four cross roads, and has many points to render it attractive to the eye. The buildings are mostly of the local grey stone, and in the centre of the village near the church, with its wooded graveyard, is an ancient stone cross, and also a monument to John Clare, known as 'the Northamptonshire peasant poet.' Clare was the son of a farm labourer, and from childhood showed great interest in the beauties of nature and a genuine power of versification. Through the influence, not always judicious, of kindly patrons he was able to publish in 1820 'Poems of Rural Life and Scenery.' This met with success, largely due to

¹ The marks of the position of the rood-loft are very noticeable.

interest in the phenomenon of a peasant poet. It was followed in 1821 by 'The Village Minstrel,' in 1827 by 'The Shepherd's Calendar,' in 1835 by 'The Rural Muse,' all superior in merit, but commercial failures. In spite of an annuity of £45 a year, due chiefly to the generosity of Lords Exeter and Spencer, Clare, who had married in 1820, suffered from severe poverty. His place of work failed; a small farm which he was led to take only made him poorer, and to support a large family he underwent great privation himself. He had become known to many literary men, and his shelves filled with their works, which they had presented to Clare, partly hid from the visitors to the cottage how destitute he really was. He removed to the neighbouring village of Northborough in 1832, but was no more successful there, and repeated illnesses ended in such mental weakness as led to his becoming an inmate of St. Andrew's Hospital, Northampton, where he spent the last 23 years of his life. Clare was a genuine poet, 'full of high thoughts unborn,' as he sang; but often the thought was born with fine and true expression. The bulk of his verse is a faithful transcript of the scenery round Helpston, and of his own life and surroundings. His keen observation was blended with a wistfulness of strain which raises his verses into poetry. The sight of nature about him was suffused, as his own lines say, with

The thought of summers yet to come which I shall never see.

The parish was enclosed in 1820; the award is in the custody of the clerk of the parish council.

There are Primitive and United Methodist chapels, built in 1871 and 1863, and a mixed Council school.

Half a mile from the east end of the village is the station, and near this are the large mills of Messrs. Towgood for the manufacture of paper and boards.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

The village cross dates from c. 1300, and has an octagonal base raised on four steps, with a crocketed gablet flanked by pinnacles on each face, the finials of the gablets and pinnacles ending below an embattled cornice. Above is a plain octagonal plinth, from which springs a tapering octagonal shaft, now headless.

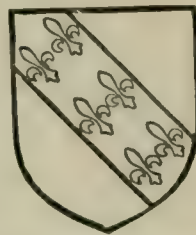
The following place names occur: Lauemannes, Luentifote, Guegir Roods, Haircrofts, Comgreve, and the Huskay.

CLAPHAM'S MANOR.—Wulfhere, **MANORS** by his charter of 664, is said to have granted the village of Helpston to the abbey of Peterborough,¹ but the Ingulph chronicle speaks of it as part of the property of St. Pega's monastery which was alienated from it in 1048 by the wrongful claim of one Hugolinus the 'treasurer,' perhaps the minister of that name of Edward the Confessor.² The same authority tells also of one Sir Helpo,³ from whom the village would doubtless have been named, but Helpo's town is absent alike from the charter of Edgar to Peterborough, Domesday Book, and the 12th-century survey of Northamptonshire. Between 1125 and 1128 Payne of Helpston was the holder of one third part of a fee,⁴ and at a somewhat later time Roger son of Payne held this same amount in Helpston of the abbot of Peterborough.⁵ This holding, described as a fourth part of a fee, was confirmed to the abbey by the charters of Richard I and Henry III as held by Roger of Helpston.⁶ In 1243 John son of Roger was holding this land, and he was still living ten years later.⁷ About 1300 Roger of Higham did homage to the abbot for lands in Helpston,⁸ for which, in 1309, his son John obtained a grant of free warren.⁹ About 1316 Elizabeth the widow of John of Higham, holding the manor for life as the inheritance of her son, married Thomas Wake of Deeping, who appears as her representative in transactions connected with it.¹⁰ After her death, and the death of her elder son John, Thomas of Higham, perhaps a younger son, granted the manor about 1350 to Robert of Thorpe,¹¹ who was succeeded by his nephew, William.¹² About 1383 William of Thorpe transferred the manor to John Tyndale,¹³ a member of the family who held the forestership of Cliff Bailliwick in fee, and it was held by his descendants until 1544,¹⁴ when Thomas Tyndale and Ann his wife enfeoffed Thomas Taylor of it.¹⁵ Joan, only child and heiress of Thomas Taylor, was married to Daniel Clapham,¹⁶ proctor in the

court of Arches, at some time in the reign of Henry VIII or Edward VI,¹⁷ and the manor descended to their son, Thomas Clapham, who, according to the representation of one John Fridaye, a mason, who was party in a suit against him, was a formidable opponent of a 'poore man,' being a 'gentleman of great lyvyng, friendship, and allegiannce in the countie.'¹⁸ It was presumably this Thomas Clapham who, in 1572, sold the manor to William Fitzwilliam,¹⁹ with whose descendants it has remained, being described on some occasions as the 'manor of Clappum,' or as 'Clapham's manor.'²⁰

There was evidently some confusion in the reign of Elizabeth between the boundaries of this manor and that of the Queen's manor of Torpel in Ufford. In 1597 the court of Torpel fined the jurors of the court of Clapham's manor in Helpston for 'wrongfully placing' a stone on certain ground 'within the perambulation of Torpel manor, where they have no right of common.'²¹ An investigation had also taken place a few years previously to discover whether land in the occupation of Robert Styles belonged to the manor of Torpel or that of Helpston.²²

WOODHALL.—There was a second holding in Helpston, sometimes called the manor of Woodhall. In 1146 the fee of Eylsi in Helpston was confirmed to the abbey of Peterborough by a papal grant.²³ In 1203-4 Roger son of Elias, described further in a deed of 1226 as son of Elias of Helpston,²⁴ was a landholder,²⁵ but in what manner or to what extent is not determined. In 1252-3 Avice, the widow of Walran de la Woodhall, appears holding land in Helpston; this is the first intimation of the name afterwards given to the manor.²⁶ In the reign of Richard I, Waleran of Helpston, son of Ralph, was represented by Robert de Mortimer in a suit against Geoffrey of Southorpe.²⁷ Ralph de Mortimer, probably grandson of Waleran de Mortimer,²⁸ with John Kingthorp, was holding an eighth of a fee in Helpston and Ufford of the manor of Southorpe in the middle of the 14th century.²⁹ In 1386 this land was conveyed by a Richard of Balderton and Ann his wife to Hugh of Sulgrave.³⁰



CLAPHAM. *Argent a bend azure with six fleurs-de-lis or thereon.*

¹ Birch, *Cart. Sax.* No. 22. See introduction to Soke.

² Fulman, *Scriptores*, p. 62.

³ Ibid. p. 113.

⁴ *Chronicon*, p. 171.

⁵ Cott. Vesp. E. xxii, fol. 99b et seq.

⁶ Cart. Antiq. DD 17; Chart R. 11 Hen. II, pt. i, m. 19.

⁷ According to Bridges (ii, p. 514) a John of Helpston was holding in 1296.

⁸ Cott. Vesp. E. xxii, p. 46. The inscription on the tomb of this Roger can still be seen in the church of Helpston.

⁹ Chart R. 3 Edw. II, m. 8, No. 24. In a suit about 1297 (De Banco, 25 Edw. I, Hil. m. 1) Roger of Higham states that John of Helpston, brother and heir of William of Helpston, enfeoffed him with the advowson of the church of Helpston, a messuage and some land there; the transfer of the manor may have taken place at the same time. In 1316 Alice widow of John of Helpston was still holding one third of the manor in

dower (Feet of F. Northants, 9 Edw. II, No. 233).

¹⁰ Cott. Vesp. E. xxii, fol. 110; Chart R. 4 Edw. III, m. 41, No. 103.

¹¹ Feet of F. Northants, 23 Edw. III, Nos. 365, 366.

¹² Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 38, fol. 110.

¹³ William of Thorpe granted the manor to trustees (Feet of F. Northants, 7 Ric. II, No. 13) who enfeoffed John Tyndale (Close, 20 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 12 d.).

¹⁴ Chan. Inq. p. m. 3 Hen. V, No. 7; Ibid. 5 Hen. VI, No. 31.

¹⁵ Feet of F. Northants, Trin. 36 Hen. VIII, No. 31.

¹⁶ Metcalfe, *Visit. of Northants*, p. 13.

¹⁷ Dict. Nat. Biog.

¹⁸ Chan. Proc. (Ser. 2), Bdle. 46, No. 7.

¹⁹ Feet of F. Northants, East. 14 Eliz.

²⁰ Chan. Inq. p. m. (Ser. 2), ccclxxxiii, 113.

²¹ Ct. R. (Gen. Ser.), Bdle. 195, No. 85, P.R.O.

²² Exch. Dep. Hil. 35 Eliz. No. 12.

²³ Sparke, *Scriptores*, p. 78.

²⁴ Anct. Deeds, B. 4228.

²⁵ Feet of F. Northants, 5 John, No. 176.

²⁶ Ibid. 37 Hen. III, No. 622.

²⁷ In a plea of 6 Ric. I (*Abbrev. Plac. Rec. Com.* p. 9) Robert de Mortimer appears in place of his father. In 8 Ric. I Waleran son of Ralph appears as plaintiff in the same suit (Pipe R. 8 Ric. I, m. 9). In 1 John the plaintiff is called Waleran of Helpston (*Cur. Reg. R. Rec. Com.* ii, 193). Robert was therefore possibly the son of Waleran.

²⁸ Chan. Inq. p. m. 19 Edw. II, No. 39; Inq. a.q.d. file 1x, No. 9. See Ufford.

²⁹ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 38, fol. 150b, 158.

³⁰ Feet of F. Northants, 10 Ric. II, No. 95. This portion is here described as a moiety of the manor of Helpston, called Westhall, the only time this place-name occurs. It might possibly be a mistake for Woodhall.

John Sulgrave paid sheriff's aid to the abbey of Peterborough as lord of the hundred of Nassaburgh in 1396 for land in Helpston, once held by Richard de Mortimer.¹ About 1440 Thomas Molesworth did homage for two fees in Helpston and Peterborough;² the land in Helpston was probably that called the manor of Woodhall, for ten years later a suit was brought relative to the testamentary dispositions of a Robert Molesworth, whose widow, Elizabeth, was married to Richard Ireton, and who claimed the 'chief messuage called Woodhall' in Helpston for her life.³ In 1541 John Molesworth possessed the manor,⁴ and it remained with the Molesworth family⁵ until, in 1576, John Molesworth and Margaret his wife, and Antony Molesworth granted it with a mill and three dovecotes to Sir William Fitzwilliam,⁶ who already held Clapham's manor in Helpston, and it remains in the possession of the Fitzwilliam family at the present day.

All the land held by the Fitzwilliam family in Helpston was given by the late Earl Fitzwilliam in 1857 to his second surviving son, George, who was succeeded by his son, the present possessor, in 1874.

The church of Helpston, under the *ADVOWSON* patronage of St. Botolph,⁷ was presented to by the holders of the manor⁸ until about 1374, when John Knyvet, Richard Tretton,⁹ and others obtained leave to give one acre of land in Helpston and the advowson of the church there to three chaplains of a newly-made chantry in the said church.¹⁰ Soon after this the advowson passed into the hands of Christ's College, Cambridge, who are still the lay rectors, but the vicarage in 1893 was united to the rectory of Etton, of which Mr. Fitzwilliam of Milton is the patron.¹¹

The church of St. Botolph consists of *CHURCH* chancel, nave with aisles and south porch, and west tower, and seems to have grown to its present plan from a small aisleless nave and chancel with a west tower. The nave measured about 32 ft. by 14 ft. inside, the line of its east wall being marked by the break in the present north arcade, and its dimensions were very nearly the same as those of the pre-Conquest naves of Wittering and Peakirk in its immediate neighbourhood. The oldest work now to be seen in the west tower, which was rebuilt with the old materials in 1865, belongs to the beginning of the 12th century, the date of the tower of Maxey, but its base, uncovered in 1865, is reported to have had long and short work on the north, south, and west sides, and may therefore be of pre-Conquest date. If this is so, the tower was rebuilt about 1100 to 1110. The south doorway of the nave dates from the end of the 12th century or perhaps a little later, and appears to be in situ, which goes to show that the nave had aisles and consequently arcades at least as early as this time. The present nave arcades are of the 13th century, the south arcade c. 1220, and the north some 30 years later. About 1280-1300 a

rebuilding of the chancel was begun round and to the east of the old chancel, but not coming as far west as the old chancel arch. On its completion the arch was pulled down, and the north and south walls of the nave continued up to the line of the new chancel arch, being carried on narrow arches resting on corbels in the new wall. The aisle walls were at the same time rebuilt and carried westward to enclose the tower on both sides. About 1330 the west tower was rebuilt, only the ground story of the old work being retained.

The chancel is 34 ft. long by 18 ft. wide inside, and is built on a scale quite out of proportion to the rest of the church. The walls seem to have been lowered, probably at the date cut on the flat head of one of the south windows, 1609, but the east gable has been set up again in modern times, and the arched head of the east window replaced. It is of three trefoiled lights with cusped tracery belonging to the transition from geometrical to flowing lines, enough of the old work remaining to mark its character.¹² There are three other windows of the same date, one in the north wall and two in the south, each of two tall lights with flat heads and light modern tracery; they probably had arched heads originally. At the eastern angles and between the south windows are tall buttresses without sets-off, finished at the top with modern flat heads, another evidence in favour of the lowering of the walls. On the north of the chancel was a contemporary vestry, which is now destroyed, leaving only the marks of its roof, and a blocked doorway which led from the chancel to its south-east end.

There is a third window on the south side of the chancel, west of the two already noted, of late 15th-century date, with two cinquefoiled lights under a four-centred head, and below it is a blocked low side window retaining its iron grate. Close to it on the east is a small doorway of the date of the chancel. In the south wall is a piscina with two projecting drains under a single trefoiled head, and adjoining it three sedilia with moulded trefoiled arches and clustered shafts of very good detail. Opposite them in the north wall are three recesses with trefoiled heads, nearly as large as the sedilia, their jambs and in two instances their sills being rebated for doors. On either side of the east window are brackets for images. Within recent times there were stone seats along the north and south walls of the chancel, but only their stone ends now remain, shaped above and carved with monsters, after the fashion of that at Sutton.

The chancel arch is lofty with clustered responds, moulded capitals and bases, and an arch of two chamfered orders. The nave is 37 ft. long by 14 ft. wide, with north and south aisles 11 ft. 3 in. and 10 ft. 9 in. wide respectively, both overlapping the west end of the chancel.

The north arcade has three bays irregularly spaced, the western arch, which is pointed, being somewhat narrower than that adjoining it, which is round. The

¹ Cott. Nero, C. vii, fol. 130.

² Add. MS. 25288.

³ Chan. Proc. bdle. 13, No. 2.

⁴ Chan. Inq. p.m. (ser. 2), lxxvi, 44; Feet of F. Northants, Trin. 16 Eliz.

⁵ Feet of F. Northants, Trin. 16 Eliz.

⁶ Notes of F. Northants, East. 18 Eliz.

⁷ Will of Richard Taylor (1530), Northants Wills, Bk. D. fol. 332. See also will

of Clement Stocks (1530), Bk. D. fol. 332. Bacon (*Liber Regis*) gives St. John the Baptist as the invocation of this church.

⁸ Assize R. No. 1180, m. 5 d.; Feet of F. Northants, 23 Edw. III, No. 365.

⁹ Probably feoffees of the Thorpes, who held the manor at this time, as they were on other occasions. (Close 46 Edw. III, m. 22, 23, 24.)

¹⁰ Inq. a.q.d. file 381, No. 2.

¹¹ *Accts. and Papers*, 1897, lvi, pt. vi, p. 973.

¹² This window can hardly be earlier than the first decade of the 14th century, and the rebuilding of the chancel must have spread over a considerable time, as the differences in detail which it presents are marked.

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details in both are however the same, and they seem to be of one build, *c.* 1250. East of them and separated from them by a rectangular pier is a small and narrow pointed arch, with a half-round respond at the west, and a moulded corbel at the east; the reasons for its existence have been suggested above. In the south arcade is a similar arch opposite to it, but continuous with the other two bays of the arcade, which have round arches of two chamfered orders *c.* 1220, and circular shafts with moulded capitals and bases. The arches are of equal span, and are set further east in the nave wall than those of the north arcade,¹ and this may be the reason for the different treatment of the narrow eastern arches on the two sides. That on the south was designed as a continuation of the south arcade of two bays, the east respond being replaced by a circular shaft, and the details of the arcade copied, while the arch on the north was made to balance that on the south, corresponding to it both in size and detail, instead of being treated as a continuation of the north arcade. The nave clearstory has three windows a side, those on the north of two lights, cinquefoiled in the middle window and trefoiled in the other two, with a quatrefoil in the four-centred head of each window, while the south windows have square heads enclosing a four-centred tracery arch over two cinquefoiled lights, the spandrels over the arch being pierced. Both sets of windows belong to the 15th century.

The north aisle has no east window, the vestry having abutted against its east wall. In the north wall are three square-headed windows with geometrical tracery, one of three lights, and the others of two, of the date of the rebuilding of the aisle. The tracery has soffit cusps, and is mostly ancient, some of the original grisaille glass remaining in the spandrels. The west window is an insertion of *c.* 1480 of three cinquefoiled lights. The north door is blocked, and has a plain chamfered arch with label and mask dripstones. In the south-east angle of the aisle is a squint to the chancel, and in the north wall a square locker rebated for a door. On the east wall of the aisle are the royal arms of James I in a wooden frame.

The south aisle has on the south three square-headed two-light windows like those in the north aisle, but with modern tracery. The east window is a beautiful example, *c.* 1320, of two cinquefoiled lights with flowing tracery under a segmental head, with shafts in the jambs and moulded rear-arch. Below it is a string with ball flowers, which is continued round an image-bracket south of the window. On the north is a second bracket, but quite plain and roughly worked, and in the south wall near by is a plain arched piscina with a label and masks. The west window of the aisle is like that in the north aisle, and the south doorway has a pointed arch of two moulded orders with nook-shafts and capitals with transitional foliage. It opens to a south porch of the middle of the 13th century, rebuilt with the old materials in 1901. It has an outer arch of two chamfered orders with clustered responds, and stone seats on the east and west; the north end of the east seat being part of a moulded plinth, perhaps the pedestal for a holy water stone.²

The tower is of four stages, about 11 ft. square inside, with north and south walls 3 ft. 8 in. thick, and east wall 3 ft. 10 in., and a vice in the south-west angle. It opens to the nave with a pointed arch of two chamfered orders, probably dating from the rebuilding of the upper part of the tower, *c.* 1330, and replacing an early 12th-century arch whose responds with three half-round shafts and early volute capitals still remain. In the north and south walls of this stage are round arches dating from the rebuilding of the tower in 1865, and the west window is of the 15th century, with three cinquefoiled lights and tracery over. Above it are built into the inner face of the wall some early 12th-century voussoirs with lozenge and stud ornament. The outer face of the west wall of this stage has two pilaster strips like those at Maxey or Northborough, cut off by the sill of the 15th-century west window, an embattled moulding being worked on their tops when the window was inserted. The second stage of the tower and all above it belongs to the 14th-century rebuilding. It has a square opening enclosing a quatrefoil in each face, and its angles are cut back from half height, the plan of the tower changing from a square to an octagon at the top of the stage.

The third stage is blank, and the fourth has two-light windows in the cardinal faces, with trefoiled lights and a quatrefoil over. The tower is finished with a plain low parapet having a cornice of ball flowers below it and projecting gargoyles at all the angles of the octagon. From it rises a short stone spire with gabled two-light spirelights in the alternate faces.

The clearstory has embattled parapets of the 15th century, while those of the aisles have small stepped battlements probably of 17th-century date; they are shown on a drawing made in 1721. A moulded string runs round the aisles and chancel below the windows, and belongs to the date of the rebuilding of the chancel. The buttresses of the south aisle are like those of the chancel, but those of the north aisle though contemporary are stepped. On the south-west and south-east buttresses of the south aisle are incised dials.

There is no ancient woodwork in the church, and all the roofs are plain. The south door of the nave is inscribed in a panel 'W.G. fecit 1708.'

In the chancel floor are some pieces of a pavement of glazed tiles, shaped to form geometrical patterns. They have a red body with impressed patterns filled in with a white slip, and over it a yellow or green glaze, and may be coeval with the chancel, though not in situ.

There are several gravestones in the nave, the finest being in the north aisle, with a French inscription of *c.* 1320 to Roger de Hegham,³ now partly hidden by pews. In the middle aisle is a casement for a brass showing a single figure with an inscription round it, and in the south aisle a large incised slab with a much worn inscription; the name of the person commemorated seems to be Chinscote.

In 1865 a number of coffin slabs and headstones were found built into the tower, many of 13th-century date, but some of the 11th century or earlier. Two fragments of these early stones, with interlacing

¹ This fact, and the irregularities in the western bays of the north arcade, may be due to the former existence of 12th-

century arcades, the piers of which the later columns and responds would be set out to avoid.

² See Bainton for a similar feature.

³ So spelt on the stone. Elsewhere in this account the form Higham is used.

ornament, still lie exposed to the weather in the churchyard, and others have disappeared.

The plate consists of a silver cup, apparently of 1768, two patens of 1828 (Edinburgh mark), and a flagon of 1830 (Newcastle-on-Tyne), the last three given by the Rev. Charles Mossop in 1847.

There are three bells, the treble by Thomas Norris of Stamford, 1671, the second by Warner of London, 1866, and the tenor by Tobie Norris, 1618.

The first book of the registers contains baptisms from 1685 to 1781, marriages from 1685 to 1780, burials from 1685 to 1733, from 1742 to 1774, and from 1778 to 1780; the second, baptisms and marriages from 1781 to 1800, and burials from 1781 to 1798; the third, baptisms and burials from 1801 to 1812, and the fourth, marriages from 1802 to 1812.

There are no deeds relating to the **CHARITIES** original Poor estate in Helpston,¹ but enclosure allotments were made by a deed of 30 March in 1820, on the enclosure of Maxey with Deepingate, Northborough, Glington with

Peakirk, Etton, and Helpston, and the rents used to be expended in a dole of coal for poor widows. Bonner's charity which produced 5s. per annum for poor widows was founded before 1786. Ten pounds for the use of the poor was also bequeathed by some benefactor unknown before 1786. John Porter, by will of 21 June, 1811, left a yearly rent-charge of £2 on property at Helpston as a money gift to the poor of the parish of over forty years of age, a preference being given to widows. These various benefactions have now been consolidated in the Helpston Poor estate, now consisting of cottages and 22 acres of land, which produces about £41 5s. and is entirely devoted to educational purposes.

Charles Mossop and Daniel Webster by deed, dated 17 July, 1858 (enrolled), granted to the vicar and churchwardens of Helpston, and rector and churchwardens of Etton, 3 acres 3 roods of land in Etton, upon trust to apply the profit thereof in moiety for the benefit of the coal and clothing clubs in each parish. The land is let at £4 per annum.

MARHOLM

Marram (xiii cent.); Marham (xii–xviii cent.).

The parish of Marholm covers an area of 1,412 acres, of which 637½ acres are arable, 571½ pasture, and 148¼ woodland. The soil is light and sandy, with a substratum of the great oolite limestone. To the west of the Belham wood rises a spring from which a rivulet flows along the outskirts of the wood in a north-easterly direction.

The village of Marholm is built in a very irregular manner almost in the centre of the parish, and has no houses of special interest. The manor-house is a picturesque L-shaped building, but has nothing ancient to show beyond a few beams and a massive chimney-stack. In front of the Fitzwilliam almshouses lies the base-stone of the shaft of a mediæval cross. The best piece of domestic architecture is a farmhouse at the east of the village, with thatched gables and red-brick chimney-stacks. On it is a stone tablet dated 1633, with an elaborate monogram.

There are schools in the village, and an Independent chapel. The population, numbering 146 in 1901, is entirely engaged in agriculture.

The tithe map is preserved with the parish register in the church safe.

The 'vill' of **MARHOLM** is alleged **MANOR** to have been confirmed to Peterborough by Wulfhere in 664,² but part at least of the land there was held before the Conquest by the abbey of Ramsey. About 1053 that abbey exchanged with the abbey of Peterborough 'certain land in Marham between Stanford and Burg situated in the midst of beautiful woods,' which Ramsey had possessed for a long time by a good title, for 9 virgates of land

in 'Loddington.'³ According to Hugo Candidus, the monk chronicler of Peterborough, Marholm was given to the abbey in ancient times by Wluric child.⁴ It is not mentioned in Domesday Book, nor directly in



FARMHOUSE EAST OF THE VILLAGE OF MARHOLM.

the description of the lands of Peterborough in the early 12th century, but Leofric of Marholm is said to be a tenant of the manor of Glington.⁵ In 1146 Marholm was part of the fee of Ascelin de Waterville.⁶ This family figures very prominently in the Northamptonshire records of the 11th and 12th centuries, an 'Azelinus,' holding of Peterborough in 1086 at Achurch and Titchmarsh,⁷ was probably the founder of the family. About 1125 Ascelin de Waterville was holding over 13 hides of Peterborough,⁸ this fee included lands in Thorpe, afterwards called Thorpe Waterville, Clapton, Upton, Titchmarsh, and Achurch, as well as Marholm. De Watervilles, perhaps a

¹ According to Bridges a benefaction of £3 yearly originally given for the repair of the church was afterwards used for poor relief.

² Birch, *Cart. Sax.* No. 22, see Introduction to Soke.

³ *Chron. Ram.* (Rolls Ser.), 165. Probably Lutton.

⁴ Sparke, *Scriptores*, 44.

⁵ *Chronicon*, 162.

⁶ Sparke, *Scriptores*, 78.

⁷ *I. C. H. Northants*, i, 316.

⁸ *Chronicon*, 169.

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branch of the same family, held in Longthorpe near Peterborough, in Overton (Orton) Waterville in Huntingdonshire, and elsewhere. William de Waterville, abbot of Peterborough, was a member of this house.

By 1189 Ascelin had been succeeded by Hugh,¹ who married Isabella, daughter of Richard de Pec.² Hugh brought a suit against Abbot Andrew³ of Peterborough for the stewardship of the abbey which ended in a compromise by which Hugh for twelve marks of silver agreed not to assert his claim during Abbot Andrew's life.⁴ In 1255 Richard son of Hugh, whose lands in Northamptonshire were confiscated in 1216⁵ for refusing to comply with the king's demand for service in the absence of the abbot of Peterborough,⁶ obtained a grant of free warren in his demesne lands at Marholm.⁷ By 1241 he was dead, leaving a widow Alice, afterwards married to Richard de Barnack, to whom Reginald de Waterville, the successor of Richard, granted the manor of Marholm for life 'except the Park and the wood called Luadril.'⁸ In 1261 Reginald and Strangia his wife exchanged with Roger de la Hide and Sarah his wife, the manor of Marholm, except the advowson of the church, for the manor of Sudborough for the lives of Roger and Sarah.⁹ By 1284 the manor was again in the hands of Reginald, who settled it on himself and his wife Isabella and the heirs of their bodies, with reversion to the heirs of Reginald if he died without an heir by Isabella.¹⁰ In 1287 'Lord Reginald de Waterville' died, and 'was buried in the church of Burg.' The manor was given for life to his widow, who shortly afterwards married Edmund Gasthelyn,¹¹ and on her death it was divided between the three daughters and heiresses of Reginald, Joan, Elizabeth, and Margery, who married respectively Robert de Veer, Robert de Wykham, and Henry de Titchmarsh. Robert the son of Robert de Veer sold his share of the manor to Richard de la Pole; the son of Robert de Wykham disposed of his to Simon de Drayton, who enfeoffed Robert of Thorpe; and John de Titchmarsh, son of Margery, the third daughter, enfeoffed with his share William of Thorpe, either the brother or nephew of Robert.¹² The de la Pole share was also acquired by William of Thorpe,¹³ and in 1384 the whole manor was in his possession.¹⁴ At his death in 1391 he left to John Wittelbury, his kinsman, Longthorp, Milton, and Marholm, provided the said John should bear his arms and maintain two chantry priests, one at Marholm and the other at Thorp and Milton.¹⁵ From



WATERVILLE. Gules powdered with crosslets fitchy argent a fesse dancetty argent.

this date the descent of the manor follows that of Milton in Castor, and the owner of Milton House is still the lord of the manor. In 1522 Sir William Fitzwilliam obtained confirmation of Henry III's grant of free warren in Marholm.¹⁶

The advowson of the church of **ADVOUSON** Marholm has always belonged to the lords of the manor.

There was a chantry called St. Guthlac's chantry in Marholm church, founded by Sir William of Thorpe and Dame Anne his wife. It is mentioned in his will, dated 1391.¹⁷ In 1397 James de Roos and others who acted as trustees for Sir William obtained leave to grant a messuage and land called the Hermitage Place of St. Guthlac in Marholm to the chaplain of the chantry lately founded there, the messuage being held of the abbot of Peterborough by the service of one red flower.¹⁸ In 1549 the chantry was served by Roger Aspden, 'meanly learned and having no other living'; it was in the parish church, and houseled persons to the number of 140.¹⁹

The church of our Lady²⁰ stands a short distance to the south-west of the village, and consists of chancel, nave with aisles and south porch, and west tower.

The tower and chancel are faced with ashlar, and the nave is of rubble masonry with ashlar dressings. The nave and chancel roofs are of flat pitch, leaded, with stone parapets, that of the chancel being embattled, and the aisle roofs are covered with Collyweston slates.

The tower is the oldest part of the church, c. 1180-90, and measures 10 ft. 9 in. from north to south by 11 ft. 9 in. from east to west inside.²¹ The nave, 32 ft. 6 in. by 18 ft. 6 in., with the chancel arch, dates from c. 1240, and shows no remains of any work contemporary with or earlier than the tower. The chancel, 36 ft. by 20 ft., is on a scale altogether too large for the rest of the church, having been rebuilt about 1530 by Sir William Fitzwilliam. The aisles of the nave were burnt and their outer walls pulled down, apparently at some time in the 16th century, the arcades being blocked and windows from the destroyed aisles built into the blocking. This arrangement continued till 1868, when the blocking was removed and the aisles rebuilt. At the same time the south porch, which seems to have been of Elizabethan date, was pulled down and a new one was built.²²

The chancel has a large east window of five cinquefoiled lights with tracery under a four-centred head, two four-light windows on the north, and two on the south, of similar design and detail. Between the windows on the south side is a small doorway with a four-centred head, over which on the outside is a large painted 18th-century sundial. The chancel arch has clustered responds with moulded capitals and

¹ Cart. Antiq. DD. 17.

² *Ped. from the Plea Rolls* (Ed. Wrottesley), 482.

³ Abbot from 1194-99.

⁴ *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 3.

⁵ Close, 18 John, m. 5.

⁶ Swapham, fol. 269.

⁷ Chart. R. 19 Hen. III, m. 3.

⁸ Feet of F. Northants, 25 Hen. III, No. 460.

⁹ Ibid. 45 Hen. III, No. 742.

¹⁰ Ibid. 12 Edw. I, No. 105.

¹¹ *Chronicon*, 142, 149.

¹² Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 38, fol. 160b; Cott. Vesp. E. xxii, 112.

¹³ Feet of F. Northants, 29 Edw. III, No. 414.

¹⁴ Feet of F. Div. co. 7 Ric. II, No. 13.

¹⁵ *Northants N. and Q.* iv, 141.

¹⁶ Pat. 13 Hen. VIII, pt. ii.

¹⁷ *Northants*, No. 2, iv, 141.

¹⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. 20 Ric. II, No. 73.

¹⁹ Chant. Cert. 35, No. 32.

²⁰ Richard Lytill (1516) left his body to be buried in the churchyard of our Lady

of Marholm. *Northants Wills*, Bk. A, fol. 316. See also Bk. B, fol. 102.

²¹ Its east wall is some 5 inches thinner than the other three, a feature which generally points to the inclusion of the west wall of an earlier nave in the east wall of an added tower, but in this case there seems no evidence that the thinner wall is of a different date to the rest.

²² A good description of the church before the alterations of 1868 is given in Sweeting's *Parish Churches in and around Peterborough*, 5-8.

bases, and an arch of two chamfered orders with labels. The greater part of the masonry is modern, but what remains of the old work belongs to the same date as the nave arcades, *c.* 1240.

The nave has arcades of three bays, with details like those of the chancel arch, a good part of the work being ancient. Over both arcades are three 15th-century clearstory windows of three cinquefoiled lights under four-centred heads; those on the south are larger than those on the north, their sills being only a short distance above the crowns of the arches, while those of the north windows are at a considerably higher level.

The aisle walls are modern, but at the east of the south aisle is a small window of two uncusped lights with a quatrefoil in the head, which was formerly inserted in the blocking of the east arch of the south arcade, and probably belonged to the original 13th-century aisle. From it the other windows in the aisles have been copied.

The south porch and doorway are modern, but the mask dripstones to the label of the doorway are ancient. The tower is low, of two stages, with battlements and plain angle pinnacles, which do not appear to be ancient, and it is probable that it was designed to have a third stage. At the base of the parapet is a string course which seems to be original, having a roll under a square fillet, and in the second stage are narrow loops with pointed heads on the north, south, and west. On the ground stage are small round-headed windows on west and south, widely splayed within. The western angles of the tower have shallow clasping buttresses, and string courses run round below the sills of both upper and lower windows. The tower arch is of two square orders, the masonry of the arch being modern, but the half-round responds are ancient, and have capitals with volute foliage, and an effective leaf-pattern on the abacus of the north respond.¹

Above the tower arch is a stone figure with raised right hand, and holding a book in the left. It is of late date and poor detail, and may have been a roof-cornel. The pitch of a former roof, before the addition of the clearstory, is to be seen in the east wall of the tower.

The chancel roof is modern, with open tracery over the tiebeams, and the nave roof is flat with moulded rafters and purlins, mainly new. The wood fittings of the church are all modern, and no traces of mediaeval arrangements remain; but a trefoiled piscina of the 13th century has been built into the east wall of the modern north aisle. Parts of a 17th-century pulpit of foreign origin are now in the rectory, as is also a chained Bible of 1611.

The font is octagonal, on a short central column and four smaller shafts with roughly cut capitals and bases. On the lower part of each side of the octagonal bowl is a rosette with a leaf below, of poor design, the relief being obtained by sinking the face. The font may be of the 14th century, and the ornament of the 17th.

In the east window of the chancel is a good deal of heraldic glass, with Fitzwilliam alliances,

and fragments of borders, etc., mostly of the 16th century.

The church is rich in monuments. In the chancel, at the north-east, is a canopied marble altar-tomb, of a type common in the latter part of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th. All the examples show such a similarity of detail that it is probable that they were made in large numbers at some centre, most likely in London, and were thence sent to all parts of the country. This tomb has been damaged, doubtless in the civil wars, and bears a brass plate recording its repair in 1674. It is in memory of Sir William Fitzwilliam, and has at the back, below the canopy, the kneeling brass figures of Sir William and his wife. He wears a tabard of arms, and his wife a mantle with heraldry, and on scrolls proceeding from the mouths of both figures is the inscription 'prohibere nephas.' Between the figures is a brass plate recording a repair of the monument in 1674. The inscription on the tomb is:—

'Syr Wylliam Fitzwyllyams Knyght decessyd the ix daye of August in the xxvi yere of o' Soverayn lorde Kyng Henry the VIII in Anno Dni M ccccxixliiii and lyeth beurbed under thys tombe.'

Between the two windows on the north of the chancel, and partly overlapping them, is the large white marble monument of William, Earl Fitzwilliam, 1719, and his wife Anna. Two life-sized figures of white marble stand under a cornice with a broken pediment, carried by grey marble columns with Corinthian capitals. At the end of the long Latin inscription is the name of the sculptor, James Fisher, of Camberwell.

In the south-east angle of the chancel is a panelled altar-tomb with the recumbent stone effigies of Sir William Fitzwilliam, 1577, and his wife, daughter of Sir William Sidney. Sir William is represented in armour, and holds his wife's hand; both effigies have been painted red.

To the west of this tomb is the white marble tomb of Edward Hunter *alias* Perry, 1646, with a portrait bust and cherubs carrying a shield of arms. The tomb is surmounted by a black marble obelisk, and bears on a black marble panel this inscription:—

Grassante bello civili.

To the courteous souldier.

Noe Crucifixe you see, noe Frightful Brand
Of supition's here. Pray let mee stand.

Over the south door of the chancel are two helmets, a sword, gauntlet and spur.

In the east bay of the south aisle of the nave is a panelled stone altar tomb, for the most part modern, on which is an effigy, described and illustrated in vol. i, 409, of this history, and said to be that of John Wittelbury.²

In the churchyard, north of the tower, are three grave slabs, one with an inscription to Sir Roger de la Hide, and the other two uninscribed, but with floriated crosses having the scrolls on either side of the stem which are common in the county. All three slabs belong to the 14th century.

¹ In consequence of the former destruction of the south aisle the south side of the tower has gone over, and a flying buttress, built to support its south-east angle, is now encased in the rebuilt west wall of the aisle.

² This effigy, before the rebuilding of the aisles, stood in a recess in the wall blocking the eastern arch of the south arcade. A drawing, dated 1721, in the British Museum (Add. MS. 32467, fol. 156) shows it in that position, with above

it a coat of arms of 11th-century style, surmounted by a coronet. It is there called the tomb of the earl of Southampton, and rests on a mass of unplastered rubble with no signs of an altar-tomb as at present.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

The church plate consists of a silver communion cup and cover paten of 1687, a silver bread holder, with indistinct date letter, perhaps of 1633, and a silver flagon of foreign, perhaps German, manufacture, which has been assigned to c.1750. On each of the three first is engraved 'Qui hoc alienabit Anathema sit.'

There is one bell by Tobie Norris, 1673.

The earliest register begins in 1566. The second volume, given by Earl Fitzwilliam in 1747, extends to 1812.

Sir William Fitzwilliam, who died in **CHARITIES** 1534, charged the Merchant Taylors' Company, of which he was a member,

with an annual payment for the support of four almshouses. In the commissioners' survey of 1549 this charity is called William Fitzwilliam's charity. The recipients consisted of one priest and four poor secular men. The income at that date was £17 18s. 4d. Adam Potts, the priest, aged seventy, 'unmeet to

serve the cure and hath no other living,' received £7, and the four poor men 54s. 4d. each. The almshouses were rebuilt by a later Fitzwilliam, and £5 per annum was deducted by him as rent for the buildings. The income of this charity used for the support of the almshouses is now £12 8s. 4d.

Christopher Hodgson's charity, founded by will in 1849, is represented by £54 3s. 5d. consols held by the official trustees, and the dividends, subject to repair of tombstone, are for the use of the poor of Marholm.

Under the will of Lady Dorothy Fitzwilliam, proved in 1883, the income of £300 in Canada 4 per cent. bonds, and £59 12s. 6d. consols, both held by the official trustees, are used for purposes of education in Marholm.

William Budd, in 1638, left £10 for the poor. The interest of £10 15s. 4d. consols held by the official trustees is applied in the purchase of coal for the poor at Christmas.

MAXEY

Makesey (xii to xiv cent.).

This parish with the hamlet of Deeping Gate has an area of nearly 2,174 acres, of which 13 are covered by water, 1206½ are arable land, and 845½ pasture. The soil is a fertile loam, upon alluvium, and corn, pulse and roots are alike grown successfully, and gravel is worked, but to no great extent. A portion of the North Fen extends into this parish. The King Street, a branch of the Ermine Street, a Roman highway, runs north and south through the parish, the famous Lolham Bridges being on this road at a short distance to the south of Lolham House. There are four sets of arches, built not on account of any river but to afford a passage over a part of the road liable to floods.¹ They are supposed to have been originally constructed by the Romans who made the road, but they were reconstructed in the 17th century, and repaired in the 18th, as is testified not only by the style of building but also by two stone tablets, one of which sets forth that 'These several Bridges were built at the general charge of the whole County of Northampton in the year 1652'; and the other, 'This was built at ye County charge, Charles Kirkham and John Tryon, Esq. being Trustees, 1721.'

In the present day it is not often that the floods are sufficiently high for the water to flow beneath the bridges, and in their normal state they merely offer an easy passage dry-shod from one side of the embankment to the other. They are of plain and simple construction, and it is by the absence of ornament and moulded work that (apart from the tablets) their date may be conjectured.

The village of Maxey is built in an irregular manner and lies at some distance north-east of the church. There is a Congregational chapel erected in 1809 and rebuilt in 1862, and a Council school for about a hundred children. In the early 16th century among other field names recorded in the accounts of the royal manor of Maxey and elsewhere are those of

Crackholme, Craneholm, Ladybridgeclose, Marketstead-furlong, Gattessacre, Cock's Pit Close, Ardern Gordy, and Ardernwong. From the eastern extremity of the village Pounds Lane leads northward to Castle End, where is the site of the ancient moated manor-house of Maxey or Maxey Castle, for which, in 1374-5, a licence to embattle was granted to William of Thorpe, then lord of the manor.

The Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII, and lady of the manor, once lived here, and here also John earl of Angoulême lived as a prisoner, letters being dated by him from the castle in 1420, and in several of the following years.²

The hamlet of Deeping Gate, a separate civil parish, is situated about 1½ miles north-east of Maxey on the right bank of the Welland, which is crossed here by two bridges. At the west is Maxey House, the residence of Mr. E. Sutton, standing in large grounds, the remaining houses being mainly occupied by a small agricultural population. Here also is the site, near the south end of Deeping St. James Bridge, of an ancient free chapel of St. Mary.

Lolham Hall is at the junction of the King Street and the branch road to Maxey. The hamlet of Nunton, consisting of Nunton Hall and Nunton Lodge with a few cottages, is situated in the fields between Maxey church and the low marshy land in the south of the parish. The population of Maxey in 1901 was 356, and that of Deeping Gate, 172.

The parish was enclosed in 1814.

MAXEY is not mentioned in **Domesday**,³ but early in the 12th century Ralph de la Mare, a knight of Peterborough Abbey, was holding three knights' fees in Northamptonshire;⁴ and by 1146 Geoffrey de la Mare, his successor, held fees partly in Maxey, while Roger de Torpel, another knight, then a minor, also had some land there.⁵ The de la Mare fee in the reign of Henry II was in the hands of a Geoffrey, and was

¹ That these bridges were not unnecessary is shown by two cases of drowning at Lolham Bridges entered in the Maxey registers. Both were in the 17th century and in both cases the victims

were 'strangers.' *Maxey Reg.* (ed. Sweeting), 30.

² Add. Chart. 312, 336, 3532, 3610, 3626.

³ For earlier references of suspicious

authority see Birch, *Cart. Sax.* 22, and Fulman, *Scriptores*, 56-62.

⁴ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 60, fol. 19.

⁵ Sparke, *Scriptores*, 78.



MARHOLM CHURCH : THE CHANCEL AND FITZWILLIAM MONUMENTS



MAXEY CHURCH FROM THE WEST

also held by Geoffrey de la Mare when it was confirmed by Richard I in 1189 to the abbey of Peterborough.¹ In 1227 Brian de la Mare died possessed of Maxey and was succeeded by his son Geoffrey, whose family all died childless except Peter, the fifth son, who was accidentally drowned in 1280 while with the royal army in Wales, leaving two sons, Geoffrey and Peter. Rival claims to the wardship of Geoffrey were set up by the abbot of Peterborough and the lady of the manor of Ketton, who had the overlordship of the de la Mare property in Rutland. She was, however, ordered by the king to deliver the ward to the abbot, who disposed of the custody to Geoffrey of Southorpe, also a knight of Peterborough.²



DE LA MARE. Or a fesse between two gimmel bars azure.

This Geoffrey de la Mare in 1294 made a claim in connexion with the constableness of the abbey, which office had been hereditary in his family,³ but he shortly afterwards relinquished his right with all its privileges, including that of taking timber at Peakirk for the repairs of his house-property and for fuel.⁴ A grant of free-warren was made to him for his lands in Maxey in 1294-5.⁵ His son Geoffrey was married three times, and having repudiated his third wife Margaret previous to the birth of her infant, a suit was brought after his death by his daughters against the claim of the infant Geoffrey on the grounds of an alleged irregular union between their father and Margaret. Abbot Adam de Boothby (1321-38) championed the cause of the infant, and after three years of litigation compelled the half-sisters to desist from their claim. He was then plunged into a further contention with the Earl of Hereford, who was overlord of the deceased Geoffrey de la Mare in his Essex estates, the earl going to the length of abducting the child. At length the abbot compromised at law with him for the sum of £100, which the earl, repentant on his death-bed, restored to the abbey of Peterborough. The abbot afterwards married his ward to the daughter of Geoffrey Scrope, one of the king's justices.⁶

The time and cause of the cessation of the de la Mare holding are unknown, but in 1371-2 all lands in Maxey which had been held by Geoffrey de la Mare were in the hands of Robert of Thorpe,⁷ who was succeeded by his nephew William, the same who in 1374-5 obtained a royal licence to embattle his manor-house at Maxey.⁸ About ten years later William of Thorpe is found in possession of the de la Mare property in Maxey, and also of that formerly held by Roger de Torpel, now called Ardernes Manor.⁹ This is described about 1242 as an eighth part of a fee, and was held at that date as under-

tenant by Robert de Colville.¹⁰ The overlordship of this portion passed with Torpel¹¹ into the hands of Eleanor, queen of England. About 1288 Robert's successor, William de Colville, granted his manor in Maxey to Nicholas de Etton and Margery his wife, who was a daughter of William.¹² The son of Nicholas and Margery was Sir Nicholas de Etton, whose widow Jane became the second wife of Sir John Arderne,¹³ while Nicholas de Etton her son married Margaret, daughter of Sir John, and died leaving no children. In 1347-8 the manor was in the hands of Peter de Arderne,¹⁴ a cousin of Margaret, who, in a suit at law two years previously, had contended that the right form of his name was de Ardene, and not de Arderne, which the jurors, however, disallowed, saying that he had always been known as Peter de Arderne,¹⁵ a dictum somewhat overbearing in view of the fact that Peter was a member of an important Cheshire family holding large estates, including Hawarden, in that county, though but recently possessed of Northamptonshire property. Ten years later the manor was transferred by Richard de Wever and Margaret his wife, the daughter of Peter de Arderne, to Robert of Thorpe.¹⁶

Between 1408 and 1410 both the de la Mare fee and Arderne fee were in the possession of John, earl of Somerset, who was one of the heirs of the Torpel estate, the former being held of the abbey of Peterborough, while the latter was held of the manor of Torpel.¹⁷ Both fees, known henceforth collectively as the manor of Maxey, continued to follow the Torpel descent, and passed in due course into the hands of Margaret, countess of Richmond. After her death and the nullifying of her testamentary dispositions to St. John's College, the manor remained in the hands of her grandson Henry VIII,¹⁸ who granted it before 1525 to his illegitimate son Henry, duke of Richmond, who died a few years later.¹⁹



BEAUFORT. France quartered with England in a border gobony argent and azure.

In 1550-51 the manor of Maxey was granted by Edward VI to his half-sister, the Princess Elizabeth,²⁰ who upon her accession granted it in 1561-2 to Sir William Cecil,²¹ afterwards Lord Burghley, and it continued with the Cecils²² until, upon the marriage of Elizabeth Cecil early in the 17th century to Thomas Howard, earl of Berkshire, it passed to his family.

After the death of William Howard, son of Thomas earl of Berkshire, Maxey was settled by his son Craven on his two sisters, Anne and Dorothy, who married respectively Sir Gabriel Silvius *alias* Woods and James Graham. In 1699 it was sold by Dame Anne Silvius and James Graham and his wife with view of

¹ Cart. Antiq. DD. 17.

² *Chronicon*, 9, 61, 72.

³ *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 391.

⁴ Cott. Vesp. E. xxii, fol. 1.

⁵ Chart R. 23 Edw. I, No. 88.

⁶ Sparke, *Scriptores*, 226.

⁷ Pat. 45 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 4.

⁸ Abbrev. Orig. R. (Rec. Com.), ii,

333.

⁹ Feet of F. Div. co. 7 Ric. II, No. 84.

¹⁰ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 60, fol. 251.

¹¹ For Torpel see Ufford.

¹² *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 215b;

Feet of F. Northants, 17 Edw. I, No. 257.

¹³ Ormerod, *Parentalia*, 94.

¹⁴ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 38, fol. 157b.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* fol. 213.

¹⁶ Feet of F. Northants, 31 Edw. III, No. 454.

¹⁷ Chan. Inq. p.m. 11 Hen. IV, No. 44.

¹⁸ Nichol, *Royal Wills*, 488.

¹⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, pt. 1, p. 67.

²⁰ Pat. 4 Edw. VI, pt. iii. Grant rescinded in following year, but renewed 1552 (Pat. 6 Edw. VI, pt. iii).

²¹ Pat. 3 Eliz. pt. 10, m. 29.

²² Feet of F. Div. co. Hil. 9 Jas. I, East. 21 Jas. I; Chan. Inq. p.m. (ser. 2), ccccxiv, 84.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

frankpledge to William Lord Fitzwilliam,¹ whose descendants still possess it. It was transferred with the rest of the Northamptonshire property of the Fitzwilliams from the elder branch to a cadet line in 1857. Mr. George Fitzwilliam is the present owner.

LOLHAM. Leaulme, Leiham, Leum, Lohelin (xiii cent.); Loholm (xiv cent.); Loham (xvi cent.). Lolham appears in the charter of King Wulfhere as an appurtenance of Maxey,² but the first authentic mention of it which has been found is in 1191, when Roger de Torpel gave to the monastery of Peterborough rent from land in Lolham held by Hugh son of Martin.³ Between 1200 and 1210 Geoffrey son of Ralph was knight of Lolham,⁴ perhaps the same Geoffrey who in 1243 was holding a quarter of a knight's fee in Lolham of the heir of Roger de Torpel.⁵ This land appears to have been acquired some time in the reign of Henry III by Ralf son of Roger of Lolham, who shortly afterwards sold it to Geoffrey, at one time lord of Southorpe.⁶ After the acquisition of the manor of Torpel by Queen Eleanor, Geoffrey agreed to hold the manor of Lolham from her at a rent of £10 a year with all other services which pertained to the manor.⁷ He also granted to the queen seven pounds' worth of land in Lolham,⁸ probably the 'cultura called Hilhaugh,' which she is said to have acquired from him.⁹ Geoffrey died in 1291, leaving as his heir John, a minor, a ward of the abbot of Peterborough.¹⁰ In 1331 Robert son of John was holding this manor of Edmund earl of Kent, the possessor at that time of the manor of Torpel.¹¹ Robert was succeeded by his son John,¹² who was possibly identical with the John Paby who was holding one fee in Lolham of the manor of Torpel in 1397.¹³ Either he or a successor of the same name was in possession of Lolham in 1412,¹⁴ and is the last tenant who has been found for the manor of Lolham for nearly a century. In 1414 Lolham was included among the possessions of Elizabeth, widow of John, earl of Kent, but no holder is given,¹⁵ and it is also mentioned as part of the Torpel fee held by the Duchess of Clarence in 1428.¹⁶ It apparently descended with Torpel to Margaret countess of Richmond and Derby, and was bought from her by her half-brother Oliver St. John, who settled it on his wife Elizabeth for life, with reversion to his son John,¹⁷ who died holding this manor in 1512.¹⁸ His son John in 1529 sold the manor to Thomas Hatteclyffe, Robert Browne, and John Hatte-

clyffe.¹⁹ In 1543 John Turnor, who also owned land in Barnack, left the manor of Lolham to his wife for her life with remainder to his great-nephew William Turnor.²⁰ In 1568 William sold it to the Claypoles of Northborough,²¹ who held it until late in the 17th century. On 20 February, 1681, Lord Fitzwilliam bought the manor from John Claypole,²² and his descendants still possess the manorial rights. The present lord of the manor is Mr. George Wentworth Fitzwilliam of Milton Hall.

The hamlet of **DEEPING GATE**, by tradition at least, has been associated with Maxey from the earliest times,²³ and most of the land was held of the manor of Maxey. The abbey of Peterborough had a toll at Deeping, which was repeatedly confirmed to them by royal charters.²⁴

The well-known family of Fairfax had a house and estate in Deeping Gate during the 14th century.²⁵ In 1505 their possessions passed to the Worsley family, through the marriage of Margaret, the daughter and heiress of William Fairfax, to Miles Worsley.²⁶ This family remained in possession of the property till the middle of the 17th century.²⁷ There is still a house in Deeping Gate called Fairfax House, now in the occupation of Dr. E. Barrett.

There was a free chapel, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, at Deeping Gate, which is said to have been founded by John Anable and Beatrice his wife, John their son, a clerk, and William Jackson.²⁸ There is an inscription to a Thomas Anable at Maxey church, dated 1402,²⁹ and Anables are mentioned in the 14th century court rolls of Longthorp.³⁰ This chapel, with lands in Maxey, Deeping Gate, Bainton, and Glington formerly belonging to it, and the lead and bells remaining in the chapel were granted about 1550 to Sir William Cecil.³¹ No trace of the building now remains.

The hamlet of **NUNTON**.—The name of Nunton³² is first mentioned in the 13th century, when Geoffrey of Northburgh is stated to hold half a fee in Northburgh and Nunton of the heir of Torpel.³³ This land was sold by Geoffrey to Walter de St. Edmund, abbot of Peterborough, and was assigned by his successor, William de Hotot, to the office of chamberlain.³⁴ It must have been granted subsequently to William de Goldingham, for in 1290 Hugh de Acle, nephew of William de Goldingham, did homage to the abbot for his 'manor' of Nunton, which he had of the gift of William de Goldingham.³⁵ In 1346 Robert de Thorp was holding $\frac{1}{4}$ of a fee in Nunton of the

¹ Deed at Milton Hall. The negotiations for this sale were begun in the life of Sir Gabriel, and there are several deeds relating to it.

² Birch, *Cart. Sax.* No. 22.

³ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 38, fol. 44.

⁴ Swapham, fol. 103.

⁵ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 60, fol. 251b.

⁶ Pat. 16 Hen. III, m. 7d.; Chan. Inq. p.m. 29 Edw. I, No. 110; De Banco R. No. 362, m. 80d.

⁷ Feet of F. Northants, 17 Edw. I, No. 252.

⁸ *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 220.

⁹ Cott. Vesp. E. xxii, 16.

¹⁰ Chan. Inq. p.m. 20 Edw. I, No. 21.

¹¹ Ibid. 4 Edw. III, No. 41.

¹² De Banco R. No. 362, m. 80d.

¹³ Chan. Inq. p.m. 20 Ric. II, No. 30, m. 17.

¹⁴ Lay Subs. R. 342.

¹⁵ Chan. Inq. p.m. 12 Hen. IV, No. 35, m. 26.

¹⁶ Misc. Bks. Exch. K.R. iv, 235.

¹⁷ Collins, *Peerage*, vi, 48. Will quoted in full. Margaret Beauchamp, mother of Oliver, married afterwards John, duke of Somerset.

¹⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. (ser. 2), xxviii, 40.

¹⁹ Feet of F. Northants, Mich. 21 Hen. VIII.

²⁰ Chan. Inq. p.m. (ser. 2), lxxvi, 41.

²¹ Notes of F. Div. co. East. 10 Eliz. For Claypoles see Northborough.

²² Deed at Milton Hall. The Claypoles were in financial difficulties at the end of this century and appear to have raised money from John Clitherowe on the manor of Lolham (Feet of F. Northants, Trin. 20 Chas. II). The Clitherowes could not have been in actual ownership, for their name does not appear in the transfer to Lord Fitzwilliam, but their connexion was more than temporary, for Bridges states in 1720 that John Clitherowe was the possessor of the manor and Lolham House.

²³ Birch, *Cart. Sax.* No. 22.

²⁴ Cart. Antiq. DD. 17; Chart. R. 11 Hen. III, pt. i, m. 19.

²⁵ Chan. Inq. p.m. (ser. 2), vii, 79.

²⁶ Ibid. xxx, 49.

²⁷ Ibid. cccxxx, 175.

²⁸ Chant. Cert. 35, No. 34.

²⁹ Sweeting, *Maxey Church and Parish*, 10.

³⁰ Ct. R. in custody of dean and chapter of Peterborough.

³¹ Pat. 3 Edw. VI, pt. v, m. 11-18.

³² It is mentioned in the charter of Wulfhere as an appurtenance of Maxey.

³³ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 60, fol. 251.

³⁴ Ibid. No. 38, fol. 94, Walter was abbot from 1233 to 1246.

³⁵ *Chronicon*, 146. This and once in a rental of Peterborough Abbey (Cott. Nero C. VII, 202d.) are the only occasions on which the holding in Nunton is called a manor.

chamberlain of the abbey which had formerly belonged to William de Goldingham,¹ and from land in Nunton he assigned a few years later rents to the chapel of St. Mary in Maxey.² Nunton from henceforth probably followed the descent of the manor of Maxey; the name occurs frequently in accounts referring to that manor,³ and it is now in possession of Mr. George Fitzwilliam, lord of the manor of Maxey.⁴

The advowson originally belonged to **ADVOWSON** Roger de Torpel, or was claimed by him, for in 1190 he released to the abbot of Peterborough all right in the church of Maxey.⁵ The vicarage of Maxey was ordained in 1191, and the church assigned to the office of almoner of the monastery for the maintenance of hospitality.⁶ During the abbacy of Acharius there was a petition of the parishioners of Maxey, headed by Geoffrey, son of Ralf of Lolham, against the use of Maxey churchyard as a road for the carts and animals belonging to the almoner, and the churchyard was in consequence enclosed at the expense of the parishioners.⁷ The advowson was granted to the present patrons, the dean and chapter, in 1541,⁸ and they appear to have generally leased both the right of presentation and profits of the rectory until the beginning of the 19th century.⁹

The church hall on the south boundary of the churchyard was the house belonging to the rectory. In 1651 it was sold to Charles Skipwith by the commissioners for the sale of bishops' lands, having been in the tenure of John Hatcher, to whom it had been leased by the dean and chapter with the tithes of the rectory.¹⁰

It has contained a hall, parlour, and kitchen, with chambers over, and belongs in part to the 15th century, though now divided into three cottages. The old vicarage house forms part of the present vicarage, which stands in the village at some distance from the church. It is a small 15th-century building, measuring 39 ft. by 20 ft. over all.

There was a chantry in the chapel of St. Mary at Maxey founded at the end of the reign of Edward III by Sir Robert of Thorpe.¹¹ The chapel of St. Mary of Maxey had been endowed in 1277 by Geoffrey de la Mare with land in Maxey and Northborough;¹² this grant probably accounts for the statement in the certificate of 1548 that the chantry was founded by Geoffrey de la Mare and Robert of Thorpe,¹³ though there is no mention of a chantry in Geoffrey's grant. In 1548 it was served by William Brughe, 'unlearned, and with no other living,' and people were houseled to the number of 180.¹⁴

There appears to be another chantry in this parish in a chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin half a mile from the parish church,¹⁵ and near the old manor house, with which it was closely connected, for the

salary of the chaplain is mentioned in the ministers' accounts of Maxey.¹⁶ There is no record of the foundation of this chapel, and no trace of the buildings now remains. In 1549 a grant was made by the king to William Cecil of 'a site and capital messuage of the former chantry of Maxey,' and a 'small chapel and the cemetery in which the chapel stands,' and various lands and rents in Maxey and the surrounding districts.¹⁷ It appears possible that the possessions of the two foundations may have been granted together in this patent.

The church of St. Peter and St. Paul¹⁸ **CHURCH** has a chancel with north chapel and south vestry, nave with aisles and south porch, and west tower overlapped on the south side by the aisle. The tower is the oldest existing part of the church, probably not later than 1110, and was attached to an aisleless nave, of which the western angles still exist. A north aisle was added about 1125, and a south aisle and clearstory some forty years later. Of the early chancel no traces remain, but the present chancel was begun about 1210-20, a north chapel being added to it late in the same century, and about 1280 its south wall was rebuilt a little to the south of its former line, and a small vaulted vestry added at the south-east angle. Both aisles of the nave were rebuilt in the 14th century, and the north chapel probably at the end of the same century. The latest addition is the belfry stage of the tower, which belongs to the 15th century; the west window of the tower and a vice in the north-west angle were built at or about the same time. The present clearstory was added in the 15th century, and the south door of the nave belongs to c. 1500. The church underwent 'restoration' in 1863.

The chancel has a late 15th-century east window of three cinquefoiled lights inserted in an early 13th-century wall, which retains the springing of a high-pitched gable, destroyed when the roof-pitch was lowered in the 15th century. The original angle buttresses are now destroyed, but a central dwarf buttress below the east window and an external string at the level of the sill have survived unaltered. Inside there is a string in a similar position, and to the south of the window a late 13th-century piscina, placed here because its normal position at the east end of the south wall is taken up by a doorway to the vestry.

In the north wall is a 14th-century arch of two moulded orders, having filleted shafts in the responds and moulded capitals and bases. In the south wall of the chancel are two two-light windows, that to the east, c. 1280, having trefoiled lights and a six foiled circle in the head with a wide inner splay and pointed segmental rear-arch with a label; the other has trefoiled lights with a quatrefoil in the head, and filleted shafts in the jambs with foliate capitals of early 14th-

¹ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 381, fol. 57b.

² Close, 46 Edw. III, 22d.

³ Mins. Accts. 3-4 Hen. VIII, No. 84 et seq.

⁴ A little land in Maxey, with some in Northborough, formed a manor held by Peterborough Abbey. For history see Northborough.

⁵ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 38, fol. 44.

⁶ *Suwapham*, pp. 77-78.

⁷ Ibid. p. 103.

⁸ Pat. 33 Hen. VIII, pt. iii, m. 14-17.

⁹ Account dated 27 Hen. VIII, in custody of the dean and chapter of Peterborough; Feet of F. Northants.

Trin. 23 Chas. II; Ibid. East. 1 Geo. I; Sweeting, *Maxey*, p. 5.

¹⁰ Close, 1651, pt. lix, No. 3.

¹¹ Pat. 41 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 9; Harl. Chart. 56, I 32; Linc. Epis. Reg. Buck. 86.

¹² Harl. Chart. 43, G 27.

¹³ Chant. Cert. 35, No. 34.

¹⁴ Ibid. It is stated in the *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com. p. 286) that this chantry was founded by Henry, duke of Richmond, but this does not appear to have been the case.

¹⁵ Chan. Cert. 36, No. 19.

¹⁶ Mins. Accts. 27-8 Hen. VIII, No. 10.

¹⁷ Pat. 2 Edw. VI, pt. v, m. 11-18.

¹⁸ The full dedication appears to have been St. Peter and St. Paul. Ronald Malison in 1513 left his body to be buried in the churchyard of St. Peter and St. Paul in Maxey (Bk. A, fol. 158). John Burn (1537) mentions the churchyard of the 'Apostulls Peter and Paul in Maxey' (Bk. F, fol. 65. Wills in Northampton Probate Office). In the Peterborough records, however, St. Peter alone is mentioned as the patron saint.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

century style. Below the sills is a moulded string which is made to range with that on the east wall, but has a different section. The vestry at the south-east angle is a small vaulted building, ashlarfaced externally, with trefoiled lancets on east, south, and west, and has a squareheaded doorway to the church, but no other entrance. The three sedilia are immediately west of the vestry door, and have trefoiled arches with soffit cusps under crocketed gables with tall finials, flanked by buttresses once surmounted by pinnacles. West of the sedilia, and between the windows, is a square locker. West of the second window, and below the string, is a blocked low side window, squareheaded within and without, with a flat sill and splayed jambs. It is close to the south-west angle, and adjoining it in the west wall is a square recess.

The north or Lady chapel is two steps below the chancel, and to the east of the arch by which it is entered from the chancel is the half-round respond of a late 13th-century arch, with a half-octagonal capital, and a base buried in the pavement, showing that the floor level was at one time still lower than at present. The respond must have taken an arch springing northwards, which was destroyed with the rest of the earlier north chapel when the present building was erected. The east window of the north chapel is of four trefoiled lights with a transom and tracery, and on the north are two three-light windows of similar design, having external labels with masks,¹ a late instance of the survival of a detail common in the neighbourhood. At the north-west angle of the chapel is a modern doorway, and at the west a wide arch of two orders, with feathered cusps and shafted jambs, of the date of the rebuilding of the chapel.

The chancel arch, central with the nave, and before the rebuilding of its south wall with the chancel also, is plain work of the 13th century. It has been stilted some 6 ft. at the springing in the 15th century, at the time of the insertion of a roodloft, and the old arch reset at the higher level.

The nave has north and south arcades of two bays; that on the north, *c.* 1125, has heavy scalloped capitals with round pillars and responds, and moulded semi-circular arches of two orders; the crown of the western arch has been rebuilt. The south arcade has scalloped capitals with recessed angles and more finely cut details; the arches are semi-circular, having in the outer order a line of large nailhead ornament. Over each arcade, but visible only from the aisles, are four narrow clearstory windows, spaced symmetrically with the arcades, with a string below their sills intended to act as a weathering to an aisle roof. The details of the clearstory are the same on both sides, and it was probably added at the time of the building of the south arcade. The west window on the south side has been destroyed. Above these windows is the present clearstory, having on each side three 15th-century windows of two cinquefoiled lights with a quatrefoil in the head.

In the north wall of the north aisle are two square-headed 14th-century windows of three trefoiled lights with soffit cusps and moulded rear-arches. The west window of this aisle has modern net tracery. The north doorway is of the 14th century, of two moulded orders with a label, and a segmental rear-arch.

The south aisle has a two-light east window of early 14th-century style, the tracery being entirely new, as are the two two-light windows in the south wall. The

south doorway has a panelled arch, *c.* 1500, retaining its old door, and quite out of centre with the south porch, opening to its north-west corner. The porch is large, with a plain pointed outer arch with chamfered angles, difficult to date from the absence of detail, but perhaps contemporary with the aisle.

The west end of the aisle overlaps the tower and serves as a vestry, having formerly been a schoolhouse. It is lighted by two two-light windows with modern tracery. The tower is of three stages, the two lower belonging to the beginning of the 12th century. The tower arch has been replaced by a pointed arch of two chamfered orders, probably of the 13th century, but the original half-round responds remain, flanked by nook-shafts and having capitals with volutes and early foliage. The tower is ashlarfaced, with, on the ground stage, three narrow pilaster buttresses on the north and south sides, and two on the west. Half way up this stage is a chamfered string with two rows of lozenge ornament. The buttresses stop about 2 ft. below the string at the base of the second stage, which is square in section with shallow billets cut on it, and projects 6 in. from the wall, having below it a row of corbels. The second stage is more elaborately treated on the north, east, and west, the sides visible from the main road, than on the south. On the south there is a two-light opening in the middle with a round-arched head between two blank arcades with shafts and plain chamfered labels, while on the other sides are a pair of blank arcades on either side of the central two-light opening with moulded arches and lozenge ornament on the labels. This stage of the tower has also a wall arcade in the interior. The belfry stage is an addition of the 15th century, with windows of two trefoiled lights with a quatrefoil in the head on each face. It has an embattled parapet and flat lead roof, and below the parapet a reused cornice of 13th-century date with large dogtooth ornament. In the 15th century the north-west angle of the tower was rebuilt, with a vice entered from within the tower by a doorway with a crocketed ogee head. The west window of the ground stage is also of this date, and has three wide cinquefoiled lights with a transom and tracery in the head.

Except for a few old poppyhead benches under the tower, and one in the north chapel, none of the wood fittings are ancient. The roof of the north chapel has plain heavy timbers, and all the other roofs are modern, except that of the nave, which has moulded tiebeams and intermediates, with braces to the tiebeams, and is doubtless contemporary with the clearstory. There are remains of vices leading to the roodloft,² and apparently to the roof also, at both the eastern angles of the nave; and on the south side, at the level of the loft and just west of the doorway which opened to it, is a trefoiled piscina in the wall proving the former existence of an altar in the roodloft.

Besides the sedilia, etc., already noticed in the chancel, there is a cinquefoiled piscina in the north chapel, and a trefoiled piscina (reworked) in the south aisle with a wide segmental-arched recess to the west of it open down to the floor level. At the east end of the north aisle is a 14th-century bracket, and another at the north-east angle of the south aisle, and in the north wall of the chancel an ogee arch with

¹ For a still later instance, see Peakirk.

² For an account of the rood screen, see Bridges, *Hist. of Northants*, ii, 523.



MAXEY CHURCH : WEST ARCH OF NORTH-EAST CHAPEL



feathered cusps and square embattled cornice enclosing carved spandrels over a recess in the wall with panelled back and blank shields. The recess contains an altar tomb with panelled front, and probably served as a place for the Easter sepulchre. It dates from the 15th century, and is worked in clunch.

There are a few fragments of 14th-century glass in the east window of the south aisle, and in the east window of the north chapel two small standing figures under canopies.

The font is modern, square, with marble angle shafts, and stands under the tower. At the east end of the south aisle is a disused 18th-century cup-shaped font.

There are several floor slabs in the north chapel with indents or inscriptions. One has

‘Hic jacet Thomas Anable qui fecit hunc tumulum fieri mense decembris anno domini milll^o cccc secundo cuius aie ꝑꝑicietur deus amē.’

Another is in memory of John de Byker,¹ a former vicar, and is not dated, and pieces of a third incised slab are to be seen. Of the indents of brasses, one shows a man and woman under crocketed canopies with shields over them, another has a small half-length figure, and a third three figures side by side.

The plate² consists of a silver communion cup of 1570, an interesting silver gilt secular cup of 1601 with shallow bowl and baluster stem, a silver-gilt paten of 1878, a silver paten of 1893, a pewter flagon, a pewter almsdish of Flemish workmanship with inscriptions repeated round the rim and centre, two pewter plates, and a gilt metal plate.

There are six bells—the treble by C. and G. Mears of London, 1853; the second and fifth by Thomas Osborn of Downham, 1800; and the third, fourth, and tenor, by Thomas Norris of Stamford, 1661.

The first book of the registers contains baptisms from 1552 to 1712, burials from 1538 to 1713, and

marriages from 1538 to 1712; the second, marriages, baptisms, and burials from 1713 to 1756; the third, baptisms, marriages, and burials from 1757 to 1780; the fourth, baptisms and burials from 1780 to 1812; the fifth, marriages from 1754 to 1812.

The church estate in Maxey consists *CHARITIES* of residuary estate left by William Gerard of Nunton by will of 10 January, 1484, in Maxey, Ufford, and Ashton, for church repairs and works of charity. In 1903 the land and cottages rendered £83, of which £6 11s. was contributed to the Sunday-school, and the rest used for church purposes. The official trustees hold a sum of £10 consols arising from a sale in 1898 to the School Board of 243 square yards adjoining the school. John Dunning left land in 1623 for the poor of Maxey, which is treated as part of the foregoing charity.

Susan Worsley by will of 20 December, 1666, left estate in three places in Lincolnshire for the poor of Maxey. As the result of an exchange effected in 1840 the endowment now consists of about 20 acres in Northborough. The rents of £30 are distributed in money.

Mary Walsham in 1745 gave £100, £1 of the interest of which is paid for a sermon and the remainder distributed with the produce of Worsley's charity to the poor. The official trustees hold £156 5s. consols in respect of this charity.

Mrs. Jane Baines, by will proved 8 August, 1823, left the interest of £19 19s. for poor widows in receipt of parish relief.

Elizabeth Bellars, by will proved in 1875, left the income of £104 14s. 2d. consols (official trustees) for the poor of Maxey and Deeping Gate, which is distributed in coal.

The Rev. Charles Cookson, by will proved 1881, left the income of £89 15s. 11d. consols (official trustees) for the same purpose.

NEWBOROUGH

The parish of Newborough covers 5,530 acres and was cut off from the Borough Fen on the enclosure of the latter in 1822 under the provisions of an Act passed in 1812 and amended in 1819.³

The soil is light upon an alluvial substratum, 3,478 acres are arable land, and 813½ pasture. The population in 1901 numbered 682.

The village, which is small and straggling, is built along the Gunton Road, which runs in a northerly direction from Peterborough, with the church and school about the centre. There is a Primitive Methodist chapel at the hamlet of Milking Nook which lies to the west of the village. Mr. G. C. W. Fitzwilliam and the Marquis of Exeter are the principal land-owners. At Decoy Farm, which has been occupied for several generations by the family of Williams, a wild-fowl decoy is still worked.

The church of St. Bartholomew was *CHURCH* built in 1821 from funds raised by sale of part of the Borough Fen,⁴ the advowson being in the hands of the crown. The church is of brick, with a shallow chancel, nave, south porch, and west tower. The parish registers begin in 1830, and the plate consists of two plated cups and patens and a brass alms dish.

A school here was endowed with *CHARITIES* part of the proceeds of the sale of the Borough Fen estate consequent upon the enclosure of 1822. A Church of England elementary school, established in 1873 and rebuilt in 1898, is allowed, under a scheme of the Charity Commissioners, £20 of the income of the previous school, and £7 17s. from the same source is applied for scholarships. The official trustees hold a sum of £928 13s. 8d. consols in respect of the Borough Fen and Newborough School Charity.

¹ Near the north rail of communion table in Bridges's time.

² Markham, *Cb.* Plate of Northants, 190.

³ For previous history of this land see Borough Fen.

⁴ *Ibid.*

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

NORTHBOROUGH

Northburg' (xii cent.), Narborow (xiv cent.).

This parish, covering 1,205 acres, has a soil principally composed of alluvial deposit. There are 801½ acres of arable land and 320½ of pasture. Cereals and pulse are the chief crops grown. The Car-dyke, said to be a Roman work, runs through the parish in a northerly direction towards the River Welland, and there is also an ancient bridge of several arches upon the road from Lincoln to Peterborough, the main road through the parish.

The village of Northborough, with its buildings of grey stone, is of very attractive appearance. In the centre are the church and rectory house, and there is also a Primitive Methodist chapel built in 1869. At the west end is a council school for boys and girls, and at the point where the Peterborough road enters the village stands the manor-house, probably built by the de la Mare family in the 14th century, and later inhabited by the Claypoles, who were lords of the manor during part of the 16th and 17th centuries. At the east end of Northborough, not far from the place where the Car-dyke crosses the extremity of the village, is the cottage once owned and inhabited by John Clare,¹ the well-known pastoral poet, and still occupied by some of his descendants.

The North Fen, on which some of the abbot's tenants of Northborough had common rights,² is partly in this parish. Other place names which occur are Great Clay Field, The Pingle, Sweeting Tree Gap, and Paradise. The enclosure award is dated 20 March, 1820, and is in custody of the rector. The population, which is entirely agricultural, numbered 198 in 1900.

NORTHBOROUGH is not mentioned **MANOR** in Domesday³ and only a very small portion of land without the name of a tenant is included in the 12th-century survey of Northamptonshire.⁴ It is given in 1189 as part of the de la Mare fee,⁵ and probably formed part of the possessions of this family at a much earlier date, for in 1125 Ralf de la Mare was holding 2½ hides in Northamptonshire⁶ and in the 13th century Geoffrey de la Mare is said to be holding the same amount in Maxey, Northborough, and Woodcroft.⁷

In 1295 Geoffrey de la Mare was granted free warren in Northborough, also a weekly market on Wednesday, and a yearly fair for three days from 14 August.⁸ This fair Geoffrey surrendered about seven years later to the abbot of Peterborough upon representation of the injury done by the Northborough fair to the abbot's fair at Peterborough.⁹

Northborough probably passed from Geoffrey de la Mare, grandson of the above Geoffrey, to Roger of Northborough, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, about 1351, in consequence of a debt owed by Geoffrey to the bishop which he was unable to pay.¹⁰ In 1389 the manor was in the hands of Hugh of Northborough,¹¹ possibly a connexion of the bishop, lord of the manor of Etton, remaining with the possessors of Etton until the beginning of the 16th century.¹² Roger of Northborough, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, was probably a relative of Hugh, and took his name from this village.¹³

In 1514, when Richard Pulter sold the manor of Etton to Sir William Fitzwilliam, a conditional arrangement was made also for the sale of the manor of Northborough to the same person, but the transaction was not completed until some years after the death of Richard in 1516.¹⁴

William Fitzwilliam died in 1534, seised of Northborough, which he settled on his second son, Thomas.¹⁵ In 1546 Thomas sold the manor to John Browne,¹⁶ a member of the family of Browne of Walcot.¹⁷ John Browne died in 1560, leaving as his heir his son Charles,¹⁸ who died without children, when Northborough descended to his brother John,¹⁹ by whom it was sold, in 1563, to James Claypole of King's Cliffe, yeoman.²⁰ James died in 1598, leaving as his heir John,²¹ who was knighted.²² John probably died without children, as the property passed to his brother Adam, who married Margaret, the daughter of Robert Wingfield of Upton.²³ Edmund, eldest son and heir of Adam, appears to have died without heirs soon after his father's death in 1630,²⁴ for in 1645 the Claypole property was in possession of John, his younger brother, who had formerly been a member of Gray's Inn, and had married Mary, daughter of William Angell,²⁵ member of a well-known local family.²⁶ The son of John and Mary was that John Claypole whose marriage with Elizabeth Cromwell,²⁷ daughter of the Protector, has principally created interest in this family. Claypole appears to have been far from Puritan in character. Mrs. Hutchinson described him as a 'debauched, ungodly cavalier.' He was certainly of a quarrelsome and violent disposition; he was involved in several quarrels with the clergy and people of Northborough²⁸ and the neighbourhood, and on account of his high-handed action in tearing pages out of the church registers on one of these occasions was described in that volume as 'a factious gentleman.'²⁹ He was created a baronet by his father-in-law in 1657, and was also a member of

¹ For an account of Clare see Helpston, his birthplace.

² Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 60, fol. 67.

³ For earlier but probably spurious references see Birch, *Cart. Sax.* No. 22, and Fulman, *Scriptores*, 56, 58, 62.

⁴ *V.C.H. Northants*, i, 367.

⁵ *Cart. Antiq.* DD. 17.

⁶ *Chronicon*, p. 169.

⁷ Sparke, *Scriptores*, 54. For descent of de la Mares see Maxey.

⁸ *Chart. R.* 23 Edw. I, m. 2, No. 14.

⁹ *Cott. Vesp. E* xxii, 76b.

¹⁰ Close, 24 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 6 d.; Close, 25 Edw. III, m. 15 d.

¹¹ Close, 13 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 9 d. See Etton.

¹² See Etton. The evidence is the same: the courts for the two manors are recorded on the same rolls.

¹³ For his life see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

¹⁴ Deeds at Milton House; Feet of F. Northants, Hil. 24 Hen. VIII. John Heydon and others acted as trustees for the Pulters.

¹⁵ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), lvii, 3.

¹⁶ Feet of F. Northants, Mich. 38 Henry VIII.

¹⁷ See Barnack.

¹⁸ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), C xxvii, 29.

¹⁹ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), C lvii, 24.

²⁰ Close, 14 Eliz. pt. viii.

²¹ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), CC lxii, 105.

²² Feet of F. Div. co. Mich. 2 Jas. I.

²³ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), CC lxii, 105.

²⁴ *Chan. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), D xxvii, 61.

²⁵ *Ibid.* Feet of F. Div. co. Hil. 21 Chas. I.

²⁶ See Peakirk.

²⁷ A symbolical portrait of her is preserved in the rectory at Northborough. She was her father's favourite daughter. *Cromwell Letters*, No. xli.

²⁸ *Exch. Dep. Mich.* 30 Chas. II, No. 5; *Ibid.* Trin. 30 Chas. II, No. 3.

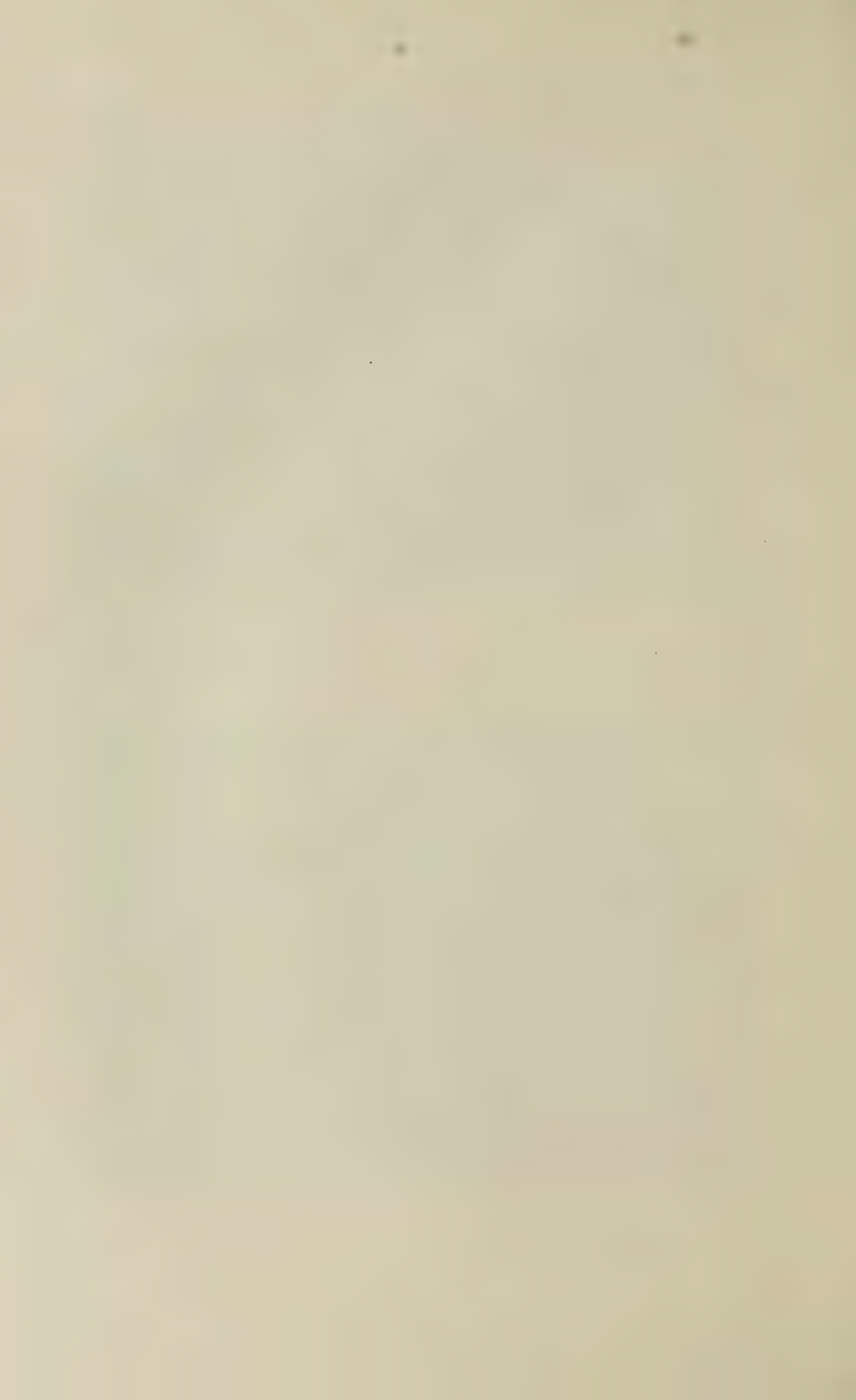
²⁹ *Bridges*, ii, 531. This volume of the registers has now been lost.



NORTHBOROUGH MANOR HOUSE : THE HALL



NORTHBOROUGH MANOR HOUSE : THE ENTRANCE GATEWAY



PETERBOROUGH SOKE

NORTHBOROUGH

Cromwell's House of Lords.¹ John died after his wife and his only son Cromwell, in 1688. Before his death he sold the manor of Northborough, in 1681, to Lord Fitzwilliam,² the ancestor of Mr. G. C. W. Fitzwilliam, the present lord of the manor.

There was a second small holding in Northborough held of the manor of Torpel. In 1243 Geoffrey of Northborough held half a fee in Northborough and Nunton of the heir of Torpel.³ Shortly afterwards he

chapter of Peterborough in 1541, after the dissolution of the monastery.⁶ In 1650 various small portions of land, said to be part of the manor of Maxey and Northborough, and also the manor-house or capital messuage of Northborough, with malt-houses and kilns, which had been let by the dean and chapter to Alexander Baker, and a messuage called Turvill's Cottage, in the parish of Maxey, with one hall, one little parlour, one kitchen, one buttery and four chambers, were sold to various persons by the commissioners for the sale of bishops' lands.⁷ This sale was rescinded at the Restoration.

This manor was taken over in 1853 by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who are now lords.

Of the manor-house only the hall and butteries are left, and of the enceinte only the gatehouse, but these are sufficient to indicate that it must have been a large and important building, and the supposition is borne out by the character of the work, of which the detail is excellent, while the crocketed gables and the charming chimney shaft and finial are more ornate than would have been suitable for an insignificant dwelling. The hall originally was a lofty apartment of one story, but in the 17th century an upper floor was inserted, and dormer windows introduced to light the rooms thus obtained. At the same time the traceried tops of the old windows were filled in to accommodate the new floor. The arrangement of the plan follows the usual type; at the entrance end of the hall was the passage called the screens, which gave access on one side to the hall itself, and on the other by three richly-ornamented doorways, which still remain, to the buttery, to a passage leading to the kitchen, and to the pantry. The kitchen and the offices connected with it have entirely disappeared, and the rooms in the buttery range are used as kitchen, pantry, and parlour. Over these rooms

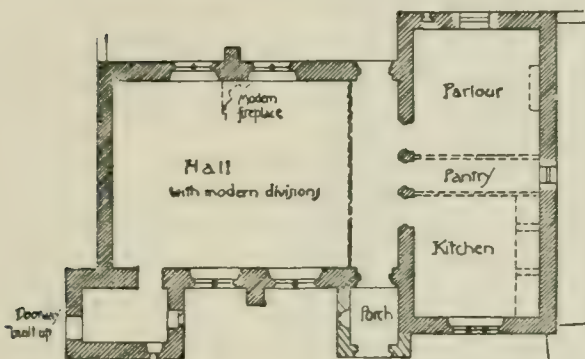
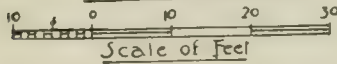
was an upper floor, of which one of the old narrow lights still remains. At the east end of the hall were the rooms used by the family, but these have all disappeared, except for a projection which may have contained the staircase, or may have been merely a passage connecting the hall with a return

wing. There are indications of a doorway on the first floor in what is now an exterior wall. There is also a quaint window or opening on the ground floor in the shape of a cross.

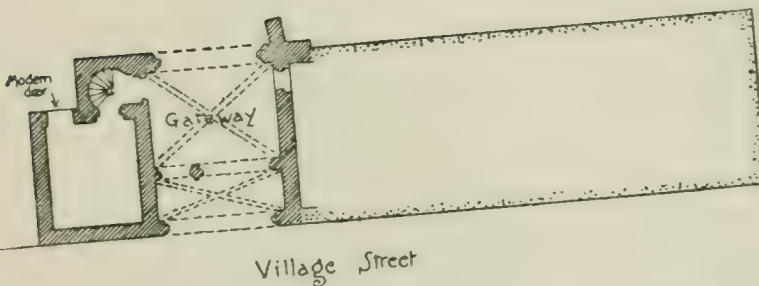
The gatehouse had neither portcullis nor draw-bridge, but such as it was it was relied on, together with the surrounding walls and buildings, to protect the house. Bridges speaks of the 'noble gatehouse with spacious stone arches and mouldings, and

NORTHBOROUGH

MANOR HOUSE



- c. 1320 Court Yard
- c. 1500
- 17th Cent



gave these lands, with a capital messuage, to Walter, abbot of Peterborough,⁴ whose successor, William de Hotot, assigned them to the office of chamberlain of the abbey.⁵ In the 16th and 17th centuries this land, with a little in the parish of Maxey, became known as the manor of Northborough and Maxey, and two court rolls for this manor, dated 1549 and 1634, exist at Peterborough. The manors of Northborough and Maxey were granted to the dean and

¹ *Diet. Nat. Biog.*

² Deed at Milton Hall.

³ *Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 60, fol. 251.*

⁴ Walter de St. Edmund, abbot from 1233 to 1246. *Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 38, fol. 94.*

⁵ Sparke, *Scriptores*, 127.

⁶ Pat. 33 Hen. VIII, pt. iii, m. 14-17.

⁷ Close, 1650, pt. xxxi, No. 31; Close, 1650, pt. xxviii, No. 27.

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chambers over it.' The chambers and vaulting are gone, but the circular stairs remain, leading to a dilapidated loft. He also mentions stone stairs in the house, and a window 'at the east end, now almost filled up, where probably was formerly a chapel,' but there is now nothing by which this part of the building can be identified.

The builder of the house was probably Geoffrey de la Mare, who died in 1327, leaving a son Geoffrey only a few months old, who would hardly have been likely to do any building before 1350,¹ and, on architectural grounds, a date of about 1320 seems probable.

In 1349 Master Michael de Northburgh, the king's clerk, had licence to enlarge his mansions at Northburgh and Tyborn by 12 ft. towards the king's highway,² but it is not clear whether this entry can refer to Northborough manor-house.

WALDERAM HALL (Walraund, xiii cent.), now a dilapidated farmhouse on the right bank of the River Welland, is mentioned in the latter part of the 13th century, and frequently afterwards.³ In the time of Henry VIII £4 was paid to the bailiff of the manor of Maxey by Nicholas Baxter as rent of Walderam Hall, also 5s. for the 'crossing of travellers with merchandise from the country to the market of Deeping with carts and horses.'⁴ The hall was granted by Edward VI with toll and fishery to David Vincent for twenty-one years, and in fee to Sir William Cecil in 1561 by Queen Elizabeth.⁵ It now belongs to the Fitzwilliam family, and has lately been transferred from the civil parish of Maxey to that of Northborough, but for ecclesiastical purposes it is still in Maxey parish.

The advowson of St. Andrew's⁶
ADVOWSON church at Northborough was granted by Geoffrey of Northborough to Walter, abbot of Peterborough, in the 13th century.⁷ In 1248 William, abbot of Peterborough, and Philip, prior of Fineshade, agreed to present to this church alternately,⁸ but ten years later the prior of Fineshade quit-claimed to the abbot of Peterborough all right in the church.⁹ In 1384 the abbot granted the advowson to William Wright of Northborough, Joan his wife, and William their son for their lives.¹⁰ In the 16th and 17th centuries the right of presentation, as in the case of many other churches, was leased by the dean and chapter of Peterborough,¹¹ to whom the advowson had been granted in 1541 after the dissolution of the monastery.¹² The dean and chapter are still the patrons of the living.

The church of St. Andrew has a
CHURCH chancel, a large south chapel (the Claypole chapel), nave with north and south aisles and south porch, and a bell-turret on the west gable of the nave

The west wall of the nave is the oldest part of the building. It belongs to an aisleless nave of the beginning of the twelfth century, 22 feet wide, and probably of the same length as the present nave. The bell-turret on its west gable was built at the end of the same century, and north and south aisles were added in the second quarter of the 13th century.

The chancel also may have been rebuilt about the same time. The chancel arch, c. 1320, is central with the nave but not with the chancel, and there is evidence to show that at some time in the 14th century, after the building of the chancel arch, the north wall of the chancel was taken down and rebuilt a little inside its old line, thus throwing the arch out of centre. The east wall was rebuilt at the same time, but the east part of the south wall may have been left undisturbed. The clearstory of the nave is also of the first half of the 14th century. About 1340-50 the south chapel was added to the church. It is of the highest excellence, both in detail and proportion, but far too large for the rest of the building, which it completely overpowers. A rebuilding of the south aisle of the nave on the same scale seems to have been contemplated, but was never carried out, and the work remains unfinished, its date suggesting that it is one more example of the stoppage of church work caused by the Black Death. The only addition to the church after this date is the south porch, c. 1500.

The chancel has an east window of three lights, the mullions being of the 14th century; but the head of the window has been destroyed and replaced by a flat lintel. In the north wall are three 14th-century windows of two trefoiled lights with a quatrefoil in the head, and there is a similar window in the east part of the south wall, with a square-headed priest's door to the west of it. On the outside are traces of a pentise roof along the south wall and covering the doorway.

The external recess, east of the doorway, is probably modern, and may have been made to serve its present purpose of holding the tombstone of an 18th-century rector.

In the south-east angle of the chancel is a small arched piscina low down in the wall; it may be of the 13th century; and west of it, under the window, but at a higher level, a 14th-century piscina with a shelf and ogee head.

The south chapel opens to the chancel by a wide arch of two continuous orders with wave moulding; it has formerly been filled with a screen. To the west of it, in the south-west angle of the chancel, is a square recess in the wall. The chancel arch is of two chamfered orders with half-round responds, the capital on the north side being carved with 14th-century foliage, while that on the south is moulded.

The south chapel is faced with wrought stone within and without, and has on the east two large windows of three trefoiled lights with tracery in the heads under moulded segmental arches. The lines of the tracery generally are flowing, but vertical lines occur, marking the impending change of style. Between the windows are the remains of two tall richly-carved canopies for images above a projecting shelf with carved brackets at each end and a deep band of foliage beneath. The altar which stood below has left no trace, but in the south-east angle is a projecting piscina. In the south gable of the chapel is a large window of five trefoiled lights with flowing

¹ He was living in 1350. Pat. 24 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 37d.

² Pat. 23 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 20.

³ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 14; Cott. Nero, C. vii, 204.

⁴ Mins. Accts. 3-4 Hen. VIII, No. 84.

⁵ Pat. 3 Eliz. pt. x, m. 29.

⁶ This church is said by Bacon (*Liber Regis*) to be under the invocation of St. James and St. Andrew.

⁷ Swapham, fol. 219 d.

⁸ Feet of F. Northants, 32 Hen. III, No. 565.

⁹ Swapham, fol. 290.

¹⁰ Pat. 7 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 22.

¹¹ Accts. in custody of the Dean and Chapter at Peterborough.

¹² Pat. 33 Hen. VIII, pt. iii, m. 14-17.



NORTHBOROUGH CHURCH : INTERIOR OF DE LA MARE (CLAYPOLE) CHAPEL



NORTHBOROUGH CHURCH : GENERAL VIEW FROM THE SOUTH-WEST

tracery, a moulded segmental head and engaged shafts in the jambs, between two projecting octagonal angle turrets, which rise above the roof level and are finished with conical stone caps with finials. The western turret contains a vice leading up to the roof and down to a vaulted passage running east to a vaulted chancel under the east side of the chapel. This has two bone-shoots on the east and one on the south. A passage runs along the broad sill of the south window from the west to the east turret, which at this level contains a small chamber with a domed and ribbed vault. Beneath the south window are two arched recesses raised above the floor, and formerly containing low altar tombs intended to carry effigies.

On the west side of the chapel is an arcade of two bays with clustered shafts and moulded capitals and arches. The west wall of the chapel is immediately to the west of the arcade, and there are evidences in the masonry of a change of plan not easy to follow. In the south bay of the arcade is the west window of the chapel, like those on the east. The second bay of the arcade opens to the south aisle, but its arch is too high for the aisle roof and is blocked in the upper part. Between the middle pillar of the arcade and the east end of the aisle wall is a small space spanned by a narrow arch springing from the pillar, the lower part of the opening being filled with a stone screen.

The chapel has a cornice of ballflowers at the plate level inside, and externally has an embattled parapet with a similar cornice beneath, and another row of smaller ballflowers on the angle turrets.

The nave has north and south arcades of three bays with round pillars, moulded capitals and bases, and pointed arches of two chamfered orders. The clear-story has three windows aside of two trefoiled lights under a square head, *c.* 1330. On the south side there is an external cornice of dog-tooth ornament, old material re-used on the most conspicuous side of the church; the corresponding cornice on the north side is plain.

The east window of the north aisle is of three lights under a flat lintel, having lost its arched head and tracery. On either side of it is an image bracket. In the north wall is a two-light window with trefoiled lights and a quatrefoil in the head; below it is a square locker; a little to the west are two two-light square-headed windows set close together, and below them a wide round-headed recess with blank 14th-century tracery in the back, not sepulchral, and probably meant to serve as sedilia. The north doorway is plain work of the 13th century, and has had a wooden porch or pentise over it on the outside. The west window, also 13th-century, has two lancets with a quatrefoil over.

The south aisle is superior in detail and design to the north aisle, and has a double piscina and double sedilia of the 13th century. The piscina is partly blocked by the 14th-century work of the south chapel, and was formerly completely so, being carefully and intentionally hidden by a slab of stone, and only discovered by accident of late years. The central shaft of the sedilia has been cut away. The windows in the south wall are of two trefoiled lights with a lozenge in the head, and moulded rear arches and labels, the second window from the east having a much wider internal play than the other. The west window is of the same kind, but has a quatrefoil in

the head. The south doorway is of two orders with shafts in the jambs; it has had an external gabled head of steep pitch, projecting 6 in. from the wall face, with scrolls at the springing. Over the arch is a pedestal for a figure. It is now covered by the south porch, *c.* 1500, which has an outer archway with a straight-sided Tudor arch. On the jambs of the south doorway are two incised sundials, older of course than the building of the porch. The early west wall of the nave has clasping corner buttresses with angle rolls, and two pilaster buttresses 20 in. wide by 5 in. projection, spaced equally between them. A heavy chamfered string runs along the wall about 7 ft. from the ground level. In the upper part of the wall may be seen the angles of the bell turret before the addition of the clearstory in the 14th century. In the course of some repairs it was found that the pilaster buttresses which run up the face of the wall to the level of the openings in the bell turret were in no way bonded to the rubble wall behind them. The walling here is of large and coarse rubble, and has an early look—it is probably not later than the first quarter of the 12th century. The arrangement of the pilaster buttresses may be compared with a later example at Peakirk, and with the west towers of Maxey and Helpstone; the common origin of all is to be found in the pre-Conquest work at Barnack and Earl's Barton.

The bell turret has two round-headed openings under a gabled top of late 12th-century date.

All roofs are flat and leaded, and the parapets are simple, with hollow chamfered cornices below. On the south aisle this cornice is clearly of the date of the walls, with masks and other ornaments at intervals, and the plainer work elsewhere may also be contemporary.

The wooden roofs are not ancient, nor are there any ancient wooden fittings in the church, or any glass or wall paintings.

There is a monument in the north-east angle of the south chapel to James Claypole, 1594, with a heavy round arched canopy on a panelled base, surmounted by a cornice and the Claypole arms, gules a chevron between three pellets sable. There has been cresting or the like on the top of the cornice, now destroyed.

The font is octagonal, with a plain tapering bowl on an octagonal stem.

The plate consists of a silver cup and cover paten of 1776, a pewter flagon, and two pewter plates.

There are two bells, the treble being mediaeval, inscribed 'Ista Campana facta est in honore sta (sic) Andree,' and the tenor, dated 1611, is probably by Tobie Norris of Stamford.

The first book of registers for Northborough now existing contains baptisms from 1678 to 1764, marriages from 1671 to 1750, and burials from 1671 to 1764. An earlier book has been lost during the 19th century, for in 1831 there was a volume containing baptisms from 1586 and burials and marriages from 1538.¹ It must have been from this book that the entries from 1613 to 1646 were torn out by John Claypole, for which action he was fined £2 10s.² The present second book contains marriages from 1754 to 1812, and the third book baptisms and burials from 1764 to 1812.

¹ *Par. Reg. Abstract*, 233.

² *Bridges*, ii, 531.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

The origin of the town lands of *CHARITY* Northborough is unknown, but they were in existence at least as early as the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth.¹ The proceeds

were then, as they still are, used for church purposes. The property now consists of six acres in Maxey Outgang, and a piece of land in Newborough, producing together about £10 a year.

PASTON

The parish of Paston, bounded for some distance on the north by the alleged Roman Car-dike, included in 1831 the hamlets of Walton, Werrington, and Gunthorpe, and covered an area of 3,464 acres. These hamlets are all now separate civil parishes, and Werrington, since 1853, is also a separate ecclesiastical parish. Walton was at first annexed to Werrington, but since 1888 has been again attached to Paston,² to which also part of the hamlet of Dogsthorpe, in the civil parish of Peterborough Without, belongs for ecclesiastical purposes. The population of Paston in 1901 was 88, that of Gunthorpe 57, Walton 556, and Werrington 724.

The parish is flat, and very little wooded, except for a few plantations in the south-west corner. There are 1,713 acres of arable land, 1,342 of pasture, and 86½ of wood. The main road from Peterborough to Lincoln runs through the parish in a north-westerly direction, and along it both Walton and Werrington are built. The Syston and Peterborough branch of the Great Northern Railway traverses the parish a short distance to the west, almost parallel to the road; there is a station on this line at the north end of Walton village. The great increase of the population of Walton within the last ten years is largely due to the proximity of this railway.

The subsoil of the parish is Oxford clay in the northern and eastern portion, cornbrash in the southern, and great oolite in the western. The topsoil is mixed, the chief crops are wheat, barley, and pulse. The inhabitants are mainly engaged in agriculture, but many, especially of the newer residents in Werrington and Walton, are employed by the Great Northern and Midland Railways. Stone and gravel are both worked in the parish to a small extent, and there are two brickfields, the Star Pressed Brickworks in the east of Paston village, and Werrington brickyard in the north-west corner of that parish.

Paston and Gunthorpe were enclosed in 1794; the award is in the muniment room of the dean and chapter of Peterborough. The village of Paston is built along a road branching off the main road from Peterborough to Lincoln in an easterly direction south of Walton village. It is small, but its buildings are widely scattered. At the western extremity is the church, and at the eastern is the village green with its almshouses, the rectory house being about midway between them. Paston Hall, the residence of Mr. Iley, is to the north, and about half a mile to the eastward, at the end of Paston ridings, is Grenfell House, supposed to be on the site of an ancient manor-house, near which are Payne's Nook and the Shoulder-of-Mutton Farm. The rectory is an interesting building of H-shaped plan, though the hall which formed the central part is almost entirely destroyed. In the south wing are some moulded brick chimney-shafts of 16th-century date, but the house seems to have been refaced, if not mostly re-

built, about 1620, the east gable of the north wing being a pretty piece of work of that date, with a four-light mullioned window and shaped finials to the gable. Several rooms retain good oak panelling, and the chimney-pieces in the two ground-story rooms in the south wing are good examples of their kind.

In the village, north-east of the rectory, is a row of almshouses one story in height, founded by Edmund Mountsteven in 1630. The square-headed doorways, the mullioned windows, and the plain gables, are in keeping with the simple and unpretending buildings, set down on the edge of a tract of common land through which the road runs.

The village of Walton, now almost a suburb of Peterborough, and connected with it by an electric tramway, lies mainly about the road between Peterborough and Lincoln. Between 1853 and 1888 it was annexed for ecclesiastical purposes to the newly-formed parish of Werrington, but at the latter date was transferred to Paston. Services are conducted in a mission-room connected with the parish church of Paston. There is a Wesleyan chapel in the village. The manor-house stands on the east side of the Peterborough road; near it is a stone dovecote in a dilapidated condition. There is a school, built in 1901, for infants.

The village of Werrington is situated on rising ground on the high road between Peterborough and Lincoln, other roads leading from it to Paston, Newborough, and Walton, while a bridle-path connects it with Peakirk and Glinton. It is well built of the local grey stone, and has an attractive and well-cared-for appearance. In the midst of it stands the church, and there are also schools, vicarage house, and Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist chapels, opened in 1835 and 1860 respectively. To the north stands Werrington Hall, near the village green, while the manor-house is at the north-east extremity. A windmill stands at a short distance from the village to the north-west, upon the Lincoln road. 'Innhams' meadow in this parish claims to be tithe-free, as having formerly furnished grass or rushes to strew the church on the feast Sunday, which was the first after Midsummer Day, a custom for many years discontinued. Nearer to the village is Ham Field, with a farmhouse of the same name. The tithe which formerly belonged to Paston was transferred to Werrington in 1876. The enclosure award of 5 August, 1805, for Walton and Werrington is in the custody of the vicar.

The hamlet of Gunthorpe consists of two farmhouses and a few cottages, inhabited by their labourers, and is situated about a quarter of a mile north from Paston church.

The vill of *PASTON* is said to have been confirmed to the abbey of Peterborough by Wulfhere in 664, and by Edgar in 972.³ Ingulph states that the manor was part of the possessions of the monastery of St. Pega.⁴

¹ Partic. for leases 7¹/₂ (P.R.O.).

² Birch, *Cart. Sax.* No. 22; *A. S. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 220, see introduction to Soke.

³ *Accounts and Papers*, 1890-1, lxi.

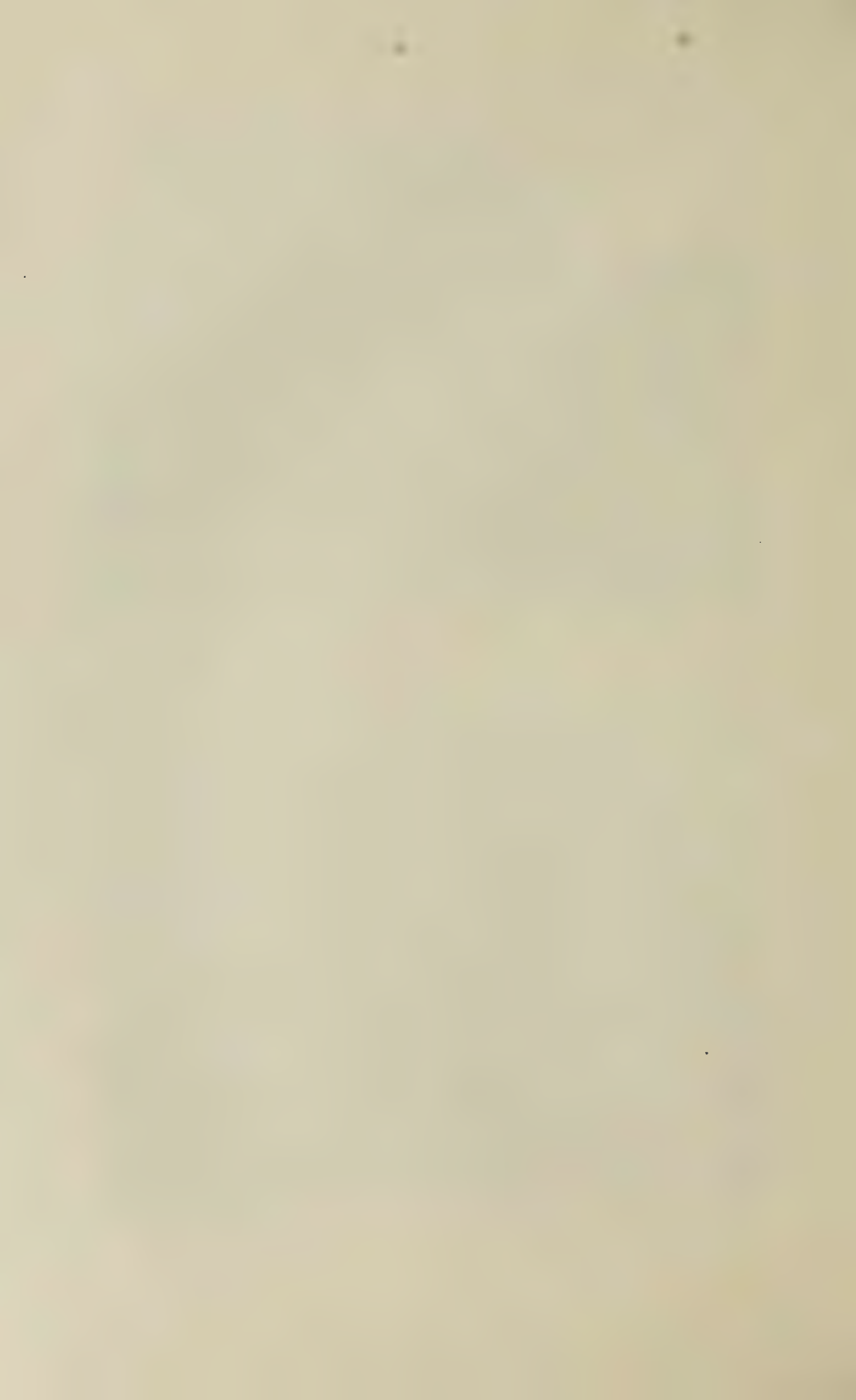
⁴ Fulman, *Scriptores*, 56.



PASTON : THE RECTORY FROM THE SOUTH-EAST



THE MOUNTSTEVEN ALMSHOUSES, PASTON



Paston is not mentioned by name in Domesday, but is probably included in the description of Werrington, to which over eleven hides are assigned.¹ Of these, three are held by four knights of the abbey, perhaps one of them was the founder of the Tot family, who are the first recorded holders of the manor of Paston.

About 1125 Geoffrey 'del Tot' held one hide on Northamptonshire of the abbey of Peterborough,² and in 1146 Pope Eugenius confirmed to the monastery the fee of Ralf de Tot in Paston.³ In 1189 one fee in Paston was held by Ellis de Tot,⁴ whose son Robert made an agreement with the abbot of Peterborough concerning the service of one knight's fee in Paston, Prestgrave, Dogsthorpe, and Peterborough. Robert agreed to do the service of half a knight, and to give the abbot 5s. and 30d. every Easter and Michaelmas.⁵ Robert also gave to the chapel of St. Mary de Parco pertaining to the infirmary, 7 acres of land in Paston,⁶ which the abbot granted to Hugh Dod.⁷ Geoffrey, son of Robert de Tot, quitclaimed to Robert,⁸ abbot of Peterborough, the services of Everard, son of Richard, for lands in Dogsthorpe.⁹ William, the heir of Geoffrey, was holding the half fee in 1243,¹⁰ he appears to have been the last member of his family to hold in Paston.¹¹

Sir Geoffrey Russell, at one time seneschal of Peterborough abbey, was the next holder of this land,¹² and during his tenure it became associated with a small amount of land in Milton, which afterwards appears to have become absorbed in Paston. This portion of land in Milton was probably that held by Robert de Stokes in the 12th century.¹³ Some land in Milton was in the hands of Geoffrey Russell by 1253,¹⁴ and in 1290 John, son of Geoffrey Russell, did homage to the abbot of Peterborough for land in Paston, Milton, and elsewhere.¹⁵ Next year Geoffrey Russell, with his wife and one son, took the cross before the high altar at Peterborough; the same year his brother, Sir Andrew Russell, died, and his son John did homage to the abbot for land in Milton and Paston.¹⁶

Shortly after this John Russell, who appears to have been in financial difficulties, granted all his lands in Milton and elsewhere to Robert de Waterville,¹⁷ who obtained a grant of free warren in Milton in 1304.¹⁸ Robert in 1307 granted half the lands to Bartholomew de Badlesmere and Margaret his wife, and also the reversion of the other half, which had been assigned to John de Insula for a debt, in which John Russell,

feoffor of Robert, was bound to him.¹⁹ In 1315, under this arrangement, Bartholomew was holding half a fee in Milton, and John de Insula, Richard de Marholm, and John de Houton half a fee in Paston of Peterborough.²⁰ Upon the disgrace and death of Bartholomew de Badlesmere, for taking part in the war against the king, his lands in Paston and Milton were confiscated,²¹ but they were restored to his son Giles, who, about 1329, died holding 'a certain manor in Milton and land in Paston,' which he had let to William Casse for his life and 20 years after.²² The heirs of Giles were his four sisters. In 1341 the manor of Milton, with land in Paston, was assigned as part of her share to Matilda, wife of John de Vere, earl of Oxford.²³ John died in 1361, seised of the 'manors of Paston and Milton.'²⁴ Maud died a few years later, and on her death these lands were described as 'the site of a manor destroyed in Milton and land in Paston.'²⁵ Her heir, Thomas earl of Oxford, granted the lands in Paston and Milton to William de Wynkefeld and Joan his wife for their lives at the rent of one rose.²⁶ Robert, the heir of Thomas earl of Oxford, the favourite of Richard II, by whom he was created Duke of Ireland, was outlawed by the Merciless Parliament in 1388, and all lands confiscated.²⁷ The lands in Milton and Paston were granted in 1399 to the king's esquire, John de Holand, for life.²⁸ They were later restored to the de Vere family. Richard de Vere, earl of Oxford, cousin of Robert, died in 1417, having granted the reversion of the manors of Milton and Paston, after the death of John de Holand, to William Buckworth. Buckworth, however, renounced his claim, and this grant never came into operation.²⁹ In 1428 John Sutton held the half fee in Paston which had belonged to the earl of Oxford,³⁰ and in 1439 Sir Robert Vere quitclaimed to Thomas Sutton and his heirs all right in the 'manors of Paston and Milton.'³¹ This is the last mention of Milton which has been found in the history of this manor, except in a grant to Richard duke of Gloucester of the manors of Milton and Paston, among many other possessions forfeited by John de Vere, earl of Oxford, for treason in 1462.³² This grant appears to have only been that of the overlordship of the manor, of which the Suttons were the real owners.

John de Holand and the Suttons held also another manor in Paston called the manor of *PEVERELS*, and in and after the 16th century this name appears to have been given to both manors together.



VERE. Quarterly gules and or with a molet argent in the quarter.



BADLESMERE. Argent a fesse between two gimel bars gules.

¹ *V.C.H. Northants*, i. 313b, 315a.

² *Chronicon*, p. 172.

³ Sparke, *Scriptores*, p. 78.

⁴ Cart. Antiq. DD. 17. Ellis was the son of Ascelinus de Tot, who gave to the sacristan of the abbey 'with the assent of Helia my son,' seven acres of land for the soul of Brithine his wife (Swapham, fol. 219; Pipe R. 2 John, m. 4).

⁵ Feet of F. Northants, 10 Ric. I, No. 76.

⁶ Swapham, fol. 220; Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 38, fol. 45.

⁷ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 38, fol. 45.

⁸ Robert de Lindsey, 1211-22.

⁹ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 38, fol. 105.

¹⁰ Ibid. No. 60, fol. 251; Egerton, 2733, fol. 125.

¹¹ Amicia de Tot appears as one party in a suit concerning land in Peterborough in 1284 (*Chronicon* p. 71).

¹² Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 60, fol. 153.

¹³ Cott. Vesp. E. xxii, fol. 99.

¹⁴ Feet of F. Northants, 37 Hen. III, No. 664-5.

¹⁵ Cott. Vesp. E. xxii, 46b.

¹⁶ *Chronicon*, p. 147.

¹⁷ Close, R. 32 Edw. I, m. 2, No. 23.

¹⁸ Chart. R. 34 Edw. I, m. 2, No. 23.

¹⁹ Close, 19 Edw. II, m. 32.

²⁰ Cott. Vesp. E. xxii, 112.

²¹ Parl. R. (Rec. Com.), i, 398.

²² Chan. Inq. p.m. 12 Edw. III (2nd nos.), No. 542.

²³ Fine R. 12 Edw. III, m. 8.

²⁴ Chan. Inq. p.m. 34 Edw. III, No. 84.

²⁵ Ibid. 40 Edw. III, No. 38.

²⁶ Ibid. 45 Edw. III, No. 45.

²⁷ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

²⁸ Pat. 1 Hen. IV, pt. i, m. 5.

²⁹ Chan. Inq. p.m. 4 Hen. V, No. 53.

³⁰ Misc. Bks. Exch. K. R. iv, 235.

³¹ Feet of F. Northants, 17 Hen. VI, No. 88.

³² Pat. 2 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 5.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

In the reign of Henry I, Walo of Paston held one hide and one virgate in Northamptonshire;¹ this land by a 13th-century scribe is identified as that held by the Peverels.² In 1146 Pope Eugenius confirmed the fee of Walo in Paston to Peterborough.³ In the 12th-century survey of Northamptonshire 'Peverel' is said to hold one knight's fee in Paston.⁴ In 1189 William Peverel held one knight's fee in Paston and Werrington,⁵ and in 1211 and 1243 Robert Peverel was the holder of this fee.⁶ In 1315 John Peverel held two parts of a knight's fee in Paston,⁷ and in 1348 the same or another John was holding the same amount.⁸ He seems to have been the last member of the Peverel family who held this land. In 1396 it was in the possession of John Holand,⁹ and he was followed, as in the other manor of Paston, by the Suttons.¹⁰

From the middle of the 14th century to the middle of the 15th no reference to these manors has been found but they apparently remained in the possession of the Sutton family, for in 1563 Andrew Byllesby of Byllesby, who married Elizabeth the heiress of the Suttons,¹¹ sold 'the manor of Peverel' with two water mills, two wind mills, four dovecotes, a free fishery in the water of Eye, common of pasture for all manner of cattle, and over 2,000 acres of land to John Mountstevens, registrar to the dean and chapter of Peterborough.¹² The extent of land most probably included the manors both of Paston and Peverell, no further reference has been found to a manor called simply the manor of Paston. Edmund Mountstevens, son of John, died in 1635, leaving the manor of Peverel to be sold within three years for the uses of his will. The will was disputed by a member of the Digby family, Mountstevens's heir-at-law, but the bill was dismissed,¹³ and in 1649 the manor was in the hands of Edward Palmer,¹⁴ and it probably remained with him till at least after 1663, when he was rated for eleven hearths in Paston.¹⁵ From Edward Palmer the manor was purchased on a 500 years lease by Sir Henry Massingberd, bart., who settled it on his third wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Timothy Rayner, who after Sir Henry's death in 1680, married William Ash.¹⁶

William Ash was living and in possession of the manor about 1720,¹⁷ and though it seems, according to the provisions of Sir Henry Massingberd's will that the manor should have reverted to his family,¹⁸ some other arrangement must have been made, for it remained with the descendants of William Ash,¹⁹ by another wife than Lady Massingberd, and by them was sold to Charles Cole and Henry Cole in 1797.²⁰ It remained with this family until 1875, when it was bought by F. St. Lawrence Pratt, whose daughter, Mrs. Le Maistre is the present owner.²¹

THWAITES OR PASTON.—This manor was formed from various tenements held by the abbey of Peterborough in Paston beyond the land granted out to the knights, and of a messuage and land called Cathweyt, afterwards known as Thwaites, which during the 12th and 13th centuries was part of the quarter fee held of Peterborough abbey in Barnack and Cathweyt, by tenants who took their name from the first-named place; but they resided at least part of their time in Cathweyt, for Gilbert of Barnack was granted leave by Acharius, abbot of Peterborough, to have an oratory in his demesne of Cathweyt with a chaplain to celebrate at his own expense.²²

In 1339 John, the holder at that time of the quarter fee, granted the reversion of the messuage and land in Cathweyt held for life by Richard of Crowland and Alice his wife to the abbot of Peterborough.²³ Thwaites is not mentioned in the grants to either the dean and chapter or the bishop of the see of Peterborough after the dissolution of the monastery, but the manor of Paston granted to the bishop in 1641²⁴ was probably formed of this land and other tenements which had been held of the abbey in Paston. In the commonwealth grant of the lands of the bishop of Peterborough there is no mention of a manor of Paston, but the manor of Thwaites with the site of a manor and a dovecote was sold with Gunthorpe to George Smith.²⁵ The manor of Thwaites or Paston during the 17th and 18th centuries was leased with Gunthorpe.²⁶ In the beginning of the 19th century the bishop's lands in this parish were known as the manor of Paston with Gunthorpe and Thwaites. Under the Act of 1836 the lands of the bishop in Paston were vested in the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1860,²⁷ and in 1863 the manor of Paston with Gunthorpe and Thwaites formed part of the endowment of the dean and chapter of Peterborough the present lords.²⁸

GUNTHORPE was confirmed to Peterborough by Wulfhere;²⁹ it is not mentioned in Domesday probably being included, like Paston, in the return for Werrington. The manor formed part of the Southorpe³⁰ fee till 1277, when Geoffrey of Southorpe sold it to Richard of London,³¹ who shortly afterwards assigned it to the office of almoner.³² At the end of the 14th century the manor was apurtenant to the office of treasurer,³³ and remained so until the dissolution,³⁴ when it was granted, with the special mention of a tithe barn, to the bishop of the newly-erected see of Peterborough.³⁵ In 1637 it was leased to Thomas Dove of Upton, and in the time of the commonwealth the manor with a capital messuage was sold by the commissioners for the sale of bishops' lands to George Smith.³⁶ This sale was rescinded at

¹ *Chronicon*, p. 171.

² *Ibid.* note.

³ Sparke, *Scriptores*, p. 79.

⁴ Cott. Vesp. E. xxii, 99b.

⁵ Cart. Antiq. DD. 17.

⁶ *Red Bk. of Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), p. 618; Soc. Antiq. No. 60, fol. 251.

⁷ Cott. Vesp. E. xxii, 112.

⁸ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 38, 162.

⁹ Cott. Nero. C. vii, 130.

¹⁰ Misc. Bks. Exch. K. R. iv, 285.

¹¹ A younger branch of the Suttons of Dudley (*Genealogist*, iii, 351.)

¹² Feet of F. Northants, East. 5 Eliz.

¹³ *Char. Com. Rep.* xxiv, 152.

¹⁴ Feet of F. Northants, Mich. 24 Chas. I. Edward Palmer, with the bishop and dean of Peterborough was one of

Mountstevens's executors. The will is printed in full in *Fenland N. and Q.* ii, 350.

¹⁵ Lay Subs. R. 284.

¹⁶ Proc. Com. for char. uses 48 (P.R.O.); Massingberd, *Hist. of Ormsby*, pp. 152, 398.

¹⁷ Bridges, ii, 532.

¹⁸ Massingberd, *Hist. of Ormsby*, p. 398, will quoted in full.

¹⁹ Feet of F. Northants, Hil. 4 Geo. III.

²⁰ *Ibid.* Hil. 37 Geo. III.

²¹ Mrs. le Maistre owns considerably less than was comprised in the 'manor of Peverel' in the 16th and 17th centuries. The manor probably became dismembered by degrees.

²² Swapham, fol. 211. Acharius was abbot from 1200-1210.

²³ Inq. aq. d. File cclv, No. 16.

²⁴ Pat. 33 Hen. VIII, pt. iii, m. 13.

²⁵ Close, 1649, pt. vii, No. 20. Sale rescinded at the Restoration.

²⁶ Feet of F. Northants, Hil. 37 Geo. III; Borough Fen Enclosure award.

²⁷ *Lond. Gaz.* 24 Feb. 1860, 641.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 24 Mar. 1863, 1670.

²⁹ Birch, *Cart. Sax.* No. 22.

³⁰ See Southorpe in Barnack.

³¹ *Chronicon*, p. 25, Richard of London, abbot from 1274 to 1295.

³² Swapham, fol. 165.

³³ Cott. Nero. C. vii, 130.

³⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 282.

³⁵ Pat. 33 Hen. VIII, pt. iii, m. 13.

³⁶ Close, 1649, pt. iii, No. 30.

the Restoration. In the 18th century the holders of the manor of Peverel in Paston were also lessees of this manor.¹ The manor was leased to Sir C. M. Clarke in 1838, and was then described as containing 113 acres.² The Ecclesiastical Commissioners under the Act of 1836 took Gunthorpe over in 1860,³ and since 1863 the dean and chapter have been lords of Gunthorpe as an appurtenance of the manor of Paston.⁴

WALTON is included as an appurtenance of Paston in the charter of king Wulfhere to Peterborough,⁵ and it is also mentioned in connexion with Paston in the charter of Edgar⁶ and the story of Ingulph.⁷ There is also one probably genuine pre-conquest reference to Walton: Edmund Ætheling gave 'three poles in the vill called Wealton' with some land in Peakirk to the new monastery of the Holy Trinity, the mother of our Lord and all saints.⁸

Walton is not mentioned in Domesday Book; it was probably included in the estimate given for Werrington. About 1125, 2 hides and 1 virgate in Walton of the fee of Peterborough paid geld to the king. There were eight full villeins, seven half villeins, and four socmen.⁹ Later in the same return the socmen of Walton are said to hold one virgate and to serve with the knights.¹⁰ Walton was confirmed to the monastery of Peterborough by Pope Eugenius in 1146,¹¹ and by Richard I¹² and Henry III.¹³

In a description of Walton in the 13th century there is said to have been 2 hides and 1 carucate of land there. William son of Thorold, probably the holder of one of the manors in Castor, held 1 virgate, and is called a socman. Among the other tenants was Henry Puttock, a member of a family who afterwards held land for many years in Werrington.¹⁴ In 1291 the manor of Walton, with the profits of court and stock, was worth £7 4s.¹⁵ By 1315 there was a capital messuage at Walton, and the value had increased to £12 16s. 11d.¹⁶ The manor of Walton was granted to the bishop of Peterborough in 1541 after the dissolution of the monastery.¹⁷

In 1648 the commissioners for the sale of bishops' lands sold the manor of Walton to Sir William Roberts, with a capital messuage which had been leased to John Sawson during the lives of William, Robert and Francis Underwood.¹⁸ This sale was rescinded at the Restoration.

The manor was vested in the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1860,¹⁹ and was given to the dean and chapter of Peterborough, the present lords, in 1863.²⁰

There was a holding in Walton held by knight's service of Peterborough Abbey which can be traced

continuously through several centuries. In the reign of Henry I, Swian was holding 3 virgates and 1 acre in Northamptonshire which is identified as a holding in Walton by a 13th-century scribe.²¹ In 1189 half a knight's fee in Walton and Woodcroft was held by Herbert and Roger of Woodcroft,²² and early in the 13th century, John, son of Herbert, was holding land in Walton.²³ In 1245 William son of John held a quarter fee of Peterborough.²⁴ In 1276 John of Walton did homage to the abbot,²⁵ he was perhaps the grandson of the William holding in 1243, for shortly before this time William son of William, son of John of Walton, gave to the abbey a place in the marketstede of Peterborough.²⁶ John was apparently the last of his family to hold this land, for Abbot Godfrey²⁷ granted it to Richard of Crowland, son of Benedict of Eye,²⁸ whose widow, Alice, held it in 1348.²⁹ By 1396 it was in possession of John of Wakerle,³⁰ whose family held it to the end of the 15th century.³¹ This family were perhaps succeeded by a branch of the Styles of Bainton who had a considerable estate in Walton from the 16th to the 18th century.³² Several members of the family are buried in Paston church.

WERRINGTON.—(Widerintone xi cent., Wytherington xiii to xvi cent.) The vill of Werrington was confirmed to Peterborough in the charters of both Wulfhere and Edgar,³³ and it is one of the manors stated by Ingulph to have belonged to the abbey in 1013 and to have shared in the devastation of the Danes.³⁴

Werrington seems to have been originally the most important of the collection of hamlets in the parish of Paston; it is the only one mentioned in Domesday, when the abbot of Peterborough had 8 hides and 1 virgate of land in Werrington,³⁵ as well as 3 hides held by four of the abbot's knights.³⁶ This probably included Paston and all its hamlets, as none except Werrington are mentioned in Domesday, and perhaps also some of the surrounding district, as several neighbouring places are also not mentioned in the return.

In the description of the possessions of Peterborough in the early 12th century, 3 hides and 1 virgate are assigned to Werrington. Part of the rent in kind due from the manor was paid jointly with Walton. Of this land 1 hide and half a virgate was held by 17 socmen who served with the knights.³⁷ Werrington and Walton and their appurtenances were confirmed to Peterborough by Pope Eugenius in 1146, and in his second bull in the same year the names of two tenants of Werrington are given, Aluric and Odo.³⁸ Werrington with a chapel, now mentioned for the first

¹ Feet of F. Northants, Hil. 37 Geo. III; Massingberd, *Hist. of Ormsby*, p. 152.

² *Lond. Gaz.* 24 Feb. 1860, p. 641.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.* 24 March, 1863, 1,670.

⁵ Birch, *Cart. Sax.* No. 22.

⁶ *A. S. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 220.

⁷ Fulman, *Scriptores*, p. 56.

⁸ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 60, fol. 42, printed in Dugdale, see Peakirk.

⁹ *Chronicon*, p. 165.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 173.

¹¹ Sparke, *Scriptores*, p. 78.

¹² *Cart. Antiq.* DD. 17.

¹³ *Chart. R.* 11 Hen. III, pt. i, m. 19.

¹⁴ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 60, fol. 188.

¹⁵ *Pope Nich. Tax* (Rec. Com.), p. 53.

¹⁶ Sparke, *Scriptores*, p. 185.

¹⁷ *Pat.* 33 Hen. VIII, pt. iii, m. 13.

¹⁸ Close, 1649, pt. iii, No. 36.

¹⁹ *Lond. Gaz.* 24 March, 1860, No.

5410.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 24 March, 1863, No. 1670.

²¹ *Chronicon*, p. 172 and note.

²² *Cart. Antiq.* DD. 17.

²³ Egerton MS. 2733.

²⁴ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 60, fol. 251.

²⁵ *Chronicon*, p. 22.

²⁶ Swapham, fol. 161b. During the abbacy of Richard of London (1272-95.)

²⁷ Abbot, 1299-1321.

²⁸ Add. MS. 25288, fol. 59.

²⁹ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 38, fol. 160 d.

³⁰ Cott. Nero. C vii, 130.

³¹ Misc. Bks. Exch. K. R. iv, 235; Bridges, ii, 536.

³² Lay Subs. R. 337, 354; Bridges ii, 536.

³³ Birch, *Cart. Sax.* No. 22; *A. S. Chron.* (Rolls ser.), i, 220.

³⁴ Fulman, *Scriptores*, p. 56.

³⁵ *V.C.H. Northants*, i, 313b.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 315a. The four knights were probably the holders of the Peverel and Tot fees in Paston, the Gunthorpe fee and either the holding in Walton or that of the Grip family, who held principally of the Tots, but are sometimes called knights of the abbey. (Swapham, fol. 221; *Chart. R.* 1 John pt. ii, m. 30.) In an agreement concerning amercement in 31 Edw. I it was decided that Werrington should pay $\frac{1}{2}$, Walton $\frac{1}{2}$, and Paston and Gunthorpe the rest (Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 60, fol. 153 d.)

³⁷ *Chronicon*, pp. 161, 173.

³⁸ Sparke, *Scriptores*, pp. 78, 83.

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time, was included in the charters of Richard I and Henry III to the monastery.¹

In 1291 the profits of this manor, with the stock, a mill, and the court, amounted to £13 3s. 7½d.;² on the death of Abbot Godfrey there was a capital messuage and a wind-mill belonging to the manor, and the value had risen to £20 9s. 4d.³

On the dissolution of the monastery the manor of Werrington was granted in 1541 to the bishop of Peterborough,⁴ who until the 19th century let on long leases the capital messuage and lands. In 1619 it was let to Christopher Sumer during the lives of William and Robert Sumer and John Wildbore, and was in their tenure when the manor and capital messuage were sold in 1649 by the commissioners for the sale of bishops' lands to Sir William Roberts.⁵ This sale was rescinded at the Restoration. The manor in 1860 was vested in the Ecclesiastical Commissioners⁶ under the Act of 1836, and in 1863 was transferred to the dean and chapter of Peterborough, the present lords.⁷

One or two families can be traced who resided in Werrington continuously for several centuries. The first bears the name of Salomon or Salman, probably from one of the earliest tenants Solomon, son of Ralph, who held land in Werrington in 1199.⁸ In 1270 a 'Salamone de Wytherington' was among the tenants of the manor,⁹ and in 1319 Robert Solomon and Joan his wife made an agreement with Nicholas of Cambridge concerning land in Werrington.¹⁰ A field in the parish bears the name of Salmon's wong.

In the 16th century a family of the name of Rawlins owned land here for some time,¹¹ part of which was called 'Puthokes Holt' commemorating some 14th-century tenants.¹²

The church of St. John the Baptist¹³ of Werrington was until 1853 a chapel of ease to Paston. It is mentioned with Paston as a chapel appurtenant to Peterborough Abbey in the charter of Richard I.¹⁴ The patron is the bishop of Peterborough.

The church stands on the north side of the village street, and consists of chancel with north chapel and vestry, and nave with aisles and south porch. On the east gable of the nave is a gabled bell-cot with two openings.

The oldest work belongs to a building of c. 1130, which had a chancel and a nave with south aisle. The bell-cot on the east wall of the nave was built towards the end of the 12th century, and the wall thickened on the east side to carry it.

In the 13th century the south arcade of the nave was rebuilt, a chapel added on the north of the chancel, and the north wall of the nave replaced by an arcade and north aisle. The chancel was rebuilt in the 14th century, and the south porch was added about the same time.

The dimensions of the present nave, 49 ft. 6 in. by 19 ft., are those of the 12th-century building, and the south aisle retains its original width of 7 ft. The chancel, 27 ft. long, is probably a little larger in both dimensions than the 12th-century chancel, but its north wall seems to be on the original lines.

The church has undergone many repairs in modern times. The west wall of the nave has probably been rebuilt, and a stone in its gable records repairs of 1680 and 1884. The north and west walls of the north aisle and the north wall of the north chapel are modern; there is a modern vestry on the east of the chapel, and the chancel was rebuilt with the old materials in 1901-2. The west wall of the south aisle is original, but the south wall has been rebuilt, and of the south porch only parts of the south end and gable are ancient.

The chancel has an east window of three trefoiled lights with net tracery, parts of which are ancient, and date from a rebuilding c. 1330. On either side are stone corbels for images, with human heads on the underside. The two south windows, of two lights with details like those of the east window, have new tracery, but the heads and jambs are original. At the west end of the south wall is a low side window with a square head and pointed rear arch. The sill is flat and the window rebated for a wooden frame on the inside.¹⁵

The north chapel opens to the chancel with a wide semicircular arch of two chamfered orders of early 13th-century date but much repaired, with half-octagonal foliate capitals and half-round responds with moulded bases. In its north wall is a square-headed window of three trefoiled lights with trefoiled tracery, c. 1340, and at the west an arch of two chamfered orders, dying into the walls at the springing, gives access to the north aisle of the nave. It appears to be of the date of the north arcade of the nave. The chancel arch, 6 ft. 2 in. wide between the responds, has a semicircular arch of two orders, the inner order having soffit and angle rolls, and the outer, which occurs on the west side only, a line of horizontal zigzag under a heavy roll-moulded label. The capitals are scalloped, with sunk star ornament on the south capital, and a chamfered abacus which is continued as a string along the west face of the wall. The inner order has half-round shafts on the jamb, and on the west side are nook-shafts to the outer order. The details are very like the contemporary work in Peterborough Cathedral. On the east side, as has been noted, the wall has been thickened some seven inches by the addition of an arch of 14 ft. span with plain chamfered abaci framing the chancel arch.

The nave has north and south arcades of three bays. The details of the south arcade are much superior to those of the north, and it is probably of earlier date, c. 1200-20. It has clustered piers of four engaged shafts, with good moulded capitals and bases, the capital of the second pier from the east having a line of nailhead on it. The arches are of two chamfered orders, so obtusely pointed as to be almost round, and over them are labels springing from bosses of carved foliage. It is to be noted that the tooling of the voussoirs of the outer order of these arches is diagonal, while that of the inner is vertical. At either end of this arcade the angles of responds belonging to a destroyed 12th-century arcade may be seen.

and St. John the Baptist as the dedication of this church.

¹ Cart. Antiq. DD. 17; Chart. R. 19 Hen. III, pt. i, m. 19.

² Pope Nicb. Tax. (Rec. Com.), p. 53.

³ Sparke, *Scriptores*, p. 184.

⁴ Pat. 33 Hen. VIII, pt. iii, m. 13.

⁵ Close, 1649, pt. iii, No. 36.

⁶ Lond. Gaz. 24 Feb. 1860, 641.

⁷ Ibid. 24 March, 1863, 1670.

⁸ Feet of F. Northants, 10 Ric. I, No. 84.

⁹ Abbrev. Plac. (Rec. Com.), p. 178.

¹⁰ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 38, fol. 81 d.

¹¹ Lay Subs. R. 155, 156; Chan. Proc. (Ser. 2), Bdle. 155, No. 16.

¹² Cott. Vesp. E, xxi, 79.

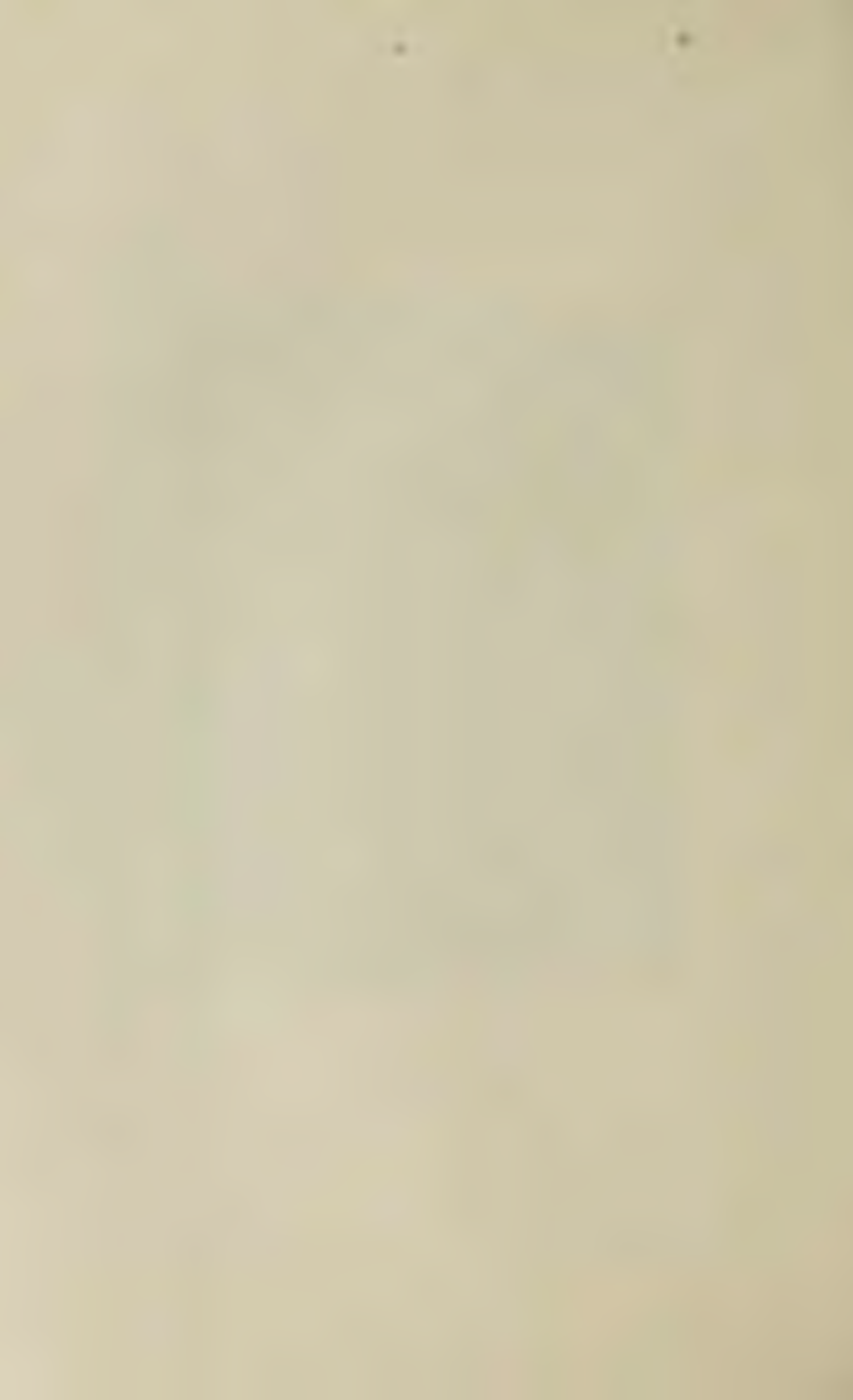
¹³ Bacon (*Liber Regis*) gives St. Mary

¹⁴ Cart. Antiq. DD. 17.

¹⁵ The description of the church in Sweeting's *Parish Churches in and near Peterborough*, published in 1868, mentions (p. 85) that there were stone seats round the chancel at that time.



WERRINGTON CHURCH : THE CHANCEL ARCH



The east and south walls of the south aisle have been rebuilt, and the windows are modern, copied from the north window of the north chapel, but the original south doorway remains, with a round arch of two orders, the inner being plain and the outer having a line of horizontal zigzag with a chamfered label and nook-shafts with scalloped capitals. The west wall of the aisle retains its original widely-splayed round-headed light.

The outer arch of the south porch has two chamfered orders with half-octagonal capitals and shafts, c. 1340.

The north arcade of the nave has heavy round shafts and plain capitals, with round arches of two chamfered orders. In spite of the shape of its arches it is probably later than the south arcade, and all tooling on it is vertical. Its western respond, with most of the western arch, has been rebuilt in modern times. The north and west walls of the aisle have been rebuilt and contain no ancient features, the west window of the aisle being a copy of the 12th-century light in the south aisle. The west window of the nave is also modern, having three lancet lights under a containing arch.

The bell-cot on the east gable of the nave has two round-arched openings for bells, with angle-rolls, and in the gable, which with its cross has been rebuilt, a small opening with a pointed head. On the west jamb of the outer arch of the south porch is a sundial, and there may be a second on the west capital of the 12th-century south doorway.

There is a trefoiled piscina in the south aisle; it looks earlier than the windows (perhaps c. 1280-1300) and may be re-used.

The font has an octagonal bowl carried on a central shaft and eight smaller shafts, all of which seem to have been renewed. They have moulded capitals and bases of 13th-century style, and stand on an ancient octagonal base.

The south door of the nave is the only piece of old woodwork in the church, and there are no remains of old glass or wall paintings.

The plate consists of a silver cup and cover paten of 1758; a bread holder of 1723, inscribed 'Paston Church Plate, 1723'; a plated flagon with a spout; a pewter flagon, inscribed 'ex dono Edmundi Pennye et franciscæ (sic) uxoris eius ad usum Capellie de Werrington, 1609'; a pewter plate, and a brass alms dish.

There are two bells, both blank, which from their shape seem to be mediæval.

The registers begin in 1877; before that date they are included with those at Paston.

The advowson of the church of All *ADVOWSON* Saints¹ at Paston belonged to the abbey of Peterborough, and was granted in 1541, after the dissolution of the monastery, to the bishop of Peterborough,² who is now the patron.

This church is called a chapel in the charter of Richard I,³ and is often similarly termed in the 12th-century documents.⁴

Paston church stands to the west of the *CHURCH* village, the only house near it being the rectory. It occupies the north-east part of the churchyard, which is bounded by

roads on the north, south and west, and has lately been enlarged on the east. No features of the building as it now stands are older than the 13th century, but several pieces of early 12th-century detail, and one which probably belongs to the middle of the 11th century, have been built into various parts of the church. The building comprises chancel with north vestry and chapel, nave with aisles and south porch and west tower with spire.

The difference of centre line in the chancel, nave and tower give some clue to the process of development, which seems to have been somewhat as follows. About 1220 a chapel was built on the north side of the chancel, its south wall being outside the line of the north wall of the chancel. The north wall was then pulled down, and the centre line of the chancel was thus moved northwards, and out of centre with the nave. In the latter part of the 13th century the chancel was lengthened eastwards, its east window being set approximately on the former centre line, in order to avoid a lopsided effect from the nave. The west tower was added to the nave early in the 14th century and the north and south aisles were built or rebuilt about the same time, the width of the north aisle being regulated by that of the north chapel. In the 15th century the nave was remodelled, the plan becoming more symmetrical, and bringing the centre line of the nave nearer to that of the chancel. The north wall of the north aisle being retained, the main span was set out with a width of 19 ft. 2 in. with aisles 11 ft. wide on either side, and the present arrangement was reached, the tower being thrown out of centre with the nave.

The chancel is 40 ft. long, 16 ft. wide at the east and 17 ft. 5 in. wide at the west.⁵ It has a north chapel 24 ft. by 14 ft. opening to the chancel by an arcade of two bays with an octagonal central pillar and capital, half-round responds, and arches of a single chamfered order. They are set in a wall only 1 ft. 8 in. thick. The chapel and arcade date from 1220-30, and in the north wall of the chapel is the west jamb of an original window, having to the east of it a 15th-century window of three cinquefoiled lights. East of the chapel is a modern brick vestry, on the site of a 14th-century building, into which a blocked arch, east of the 13th-century arcade, formerly opened.

The chancel seems to have been lengthened some 18 ft. eastward late in the 13th century, its former east wall having been a little east of the arcade opening to the north chapel. This extension is very irregularly set out, the east wall not being at right angles to the north wall, and the extension of the south wall not in line with its western part. The jambs of the east window are original, though the tracery is modern, and the window is set to the south of the centre line of the wall. The three sedilia belong to the same date, and have moulded arches, springing from circular shafts with moulded capitals and bases, all of very rough workmanship, and much like those at Ufford. To the east is a cinquefoiled piscina of the 14th century with a modern shelf, and a locker, of which the sill only is ancient, and to the south of the east window is part of a moulded image-bracket. In the south wall are three

¹ Will of John Rawlyns (1514), Bk. A, fol. 365. See also Bk. D, fol. 178.

² Pat. 33 Hen. VIII, pt. iii, m. 13.

³ Cart. Antig. DD. 17.

⁴ Chart. R. 1 John, pt. ii, m. 30; Swapham, fol. 111.

⁵ All measurements are internal.

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three-light windows, the main lights having trefoil heads, while above them are in each window six upright trefoiled lights under a square head, looking like late 15th-century work, but the details of the masonry point to a date not later than 1350. The labels over the windows have mask dripstones. In the sill of the west of these windows is a blocked square-headed low side window 26 in. by 13 in. with an internal rebate for a shutter, and a hole for the fastening bolt. The iron grate which filled the opening is still in position.

The chancel arch is lofty, of two chamfered orders with half-octagonal capitals and responds. It belongs to the date of the general rebuilding of the nave about the middle of the 15th century.

The nave is of four bays, with arcades of the same detail as the chancel arch, and over them a contemporary clearstory with four windows a side, each of three cinquefoiled lights.

The windows of both aisles are of the same design and date as those of the clearstory, but of larger size. The north wall of the north aisle is older than its windows and has buttresses and a plain north doorway of early 14th-century date. In the east wall of the south aisle is a small 14th-century arch, close to the low side window: it does not show on the inner face of the wall. The aisle was with this exception entirely rebuilt with the nave, and has one window at the east, three on the south, and one at the west of the design already noted. The south doorway has a four-centred arch and continuous mouldings, and over it is a contemporary porch with a four-centred outer archway, formerly fitted with doors for which the hooks remain.

The tower is of three stages with diagonal western buttresses, which, with the top stage, are ashlar-faced, the rest of the walling being of small rubble in the upper part of the second stage, and of coursed rubble below. This may point to a break in the work, but the tower is of one design and build, and there was probably no long interval during its construction. It has a vice at the south-east angle, which runs up to the base of the spire and is capped with a stone spirelet, the ballflower cornice at the base of the spire being carried round it. The spire has two tiers of spire-lights, the upper of single lights the lower of two lights with blank quatrefoils over them. The belfry stage has two-light windows with trefoils or quatrefoils in the heads.¹ The second stage has a large quatrefoiled circular window on the west, blocked within except for a small trefoiled opening, the lintel over which is formed by two early 12th-century shafts, one covered with a pattern of intersecting diagonal lines. In the ground stage the west window has lost its tracery, and is now a single wide light with a crocketed ogee label, and in the north and south walls are plain lancets. The tower arch has a plain chamfer, the outer order dying out above the springing, while the inner order springs from large corbels in the shape of crouching human figures.

The fragments of 12th-century carving built into east end of the south aisle are four, the largest being 2 ft. in length. Three are inside the church and one outside. All have the same detail, a round-arched arcade with cushion capitals and a 'nebuly' string

over the arcade, the scale being very small, so that the stones would seem to have belonged rather to a font than to an architectural member. The carved stone in the east wall of the church² is of great interest, as being an example of the 'spoon' ornament, specimens of which may be seen in situ in the late Saxon church at Stow in Lincolnshire, or at Barholme, in the same county, about 8 miles from Paston.

The roofs of the nave and aisles are contemporary with the 15th-century alterations, of low pitch with simply moulded timbers, the wall plates in the nave being embattled. The chancel roof is also of low pitch, retaining a few moulded beams, but is much patched. Across the chancel arch is a good 15th-century screen, also repaired, with solid panels below, and open arches with tracery above, the loft having been removed. The south doorway of the nave has a contemporary panelled door, but no other old wood-work remains, and there is no ancient glass or wall painting. In the north chapel are placed several early grave slabs, and in the chancel in front of the sedilia is an inscribed slab, 'Hic jacet Rogerus Hawville quondam rector ecclesie. . .'. Above the sedilia is a mural monument to Edmund Mountsteven, 1635, with a small figure kneeling under an arch with a projecting pediment carried by black marble columns. Below is a black marble slab with a long inscription.

The plate comprises a silver cup and cover paten of 1715, a cup of 1836 and a paten of 1845, of very ornate design, given by the Rev. Joseph Pratt in the latter year, and an alms dish of 1807, given by the same donor in 1836.

There are three bells, the treble by Tobie Norris of Stamford, 1607, the second undated, by Joseph Eayre, and the tenor by Hugh Watts of Leicester, 1601.

The first book of the registers contains baptisms and marriages from 1643 to 1703, and burials from 1643 to 1704; the second, baptisms from 1705 to 1788, marriages from 1705 to 1754, and burials from 1704 to 1788; the third, marriages from 1754 to 1813; the fourth, baptisms and burials from 1788 to 1813.

Edmund Mountsteven by his will
CHARITIES dated 9 February, 1635, left all his personal and real estate to be sold by executors for the uses of his will. Six almshouses were to be built on Paston Green for six poor persons of the parish, and land was to be bought producing £20, or at least £12 per annum. The £20 is now a rent charge on land in the parish; £15 is devoted to support of the almshouses, £3 for apprenticing children, and £2 for an annual sermon.

The church estate in Paston consists of rents of £20 from land in the parish of Whittlesea, used for church purposes.

The Rev. Joseph Pratt, by a deed dated in 1887, gave the interest on £128 16s. 3d. consols (held by the official trustees), to be used for church purposes.

Thomas Spicer by will of 20 September, 1693, left 10s. per annum from profits of Holland Woods in Gunthorpe for a money dole to the poor of Gunthorpe. In 1873 this rent charge of 10s. was withheld, and is still unpaid.

¹ Over the head of the south window, on the inner face of the wall, is the head

of an early 12th-century window with sunk star ornament, built in upside down.

² Now (1906) placed for safety in the north chapel.

John Goodwin by will of 26 August, 1755, bequeathed £100, now represented by £98 10s. 5d., consols with the official trustees, the interest of which is distributed among poor widows of Werrington.

The income of £105 consols (held by the official trustees) is distributed among the poor of Werrington,

given by M. A. Scotney, whose will was proved in 1876, augmented by Martha Allison.

Frederick St. Lawrence Pratt, by will proved 23 September, 1893, bequeathed £200, dividends to be applied amongst aged widows, represented by £199 19s., India 3 per cents., held by the official trustees.

PEAKIRK

Psychirche (xi cent.), Peykirk (xiii to xviii cent.).

The small parish of Peakirk, from which Glington was cut off in 1865, covers an area of 615 acres. It lies on flat ground surrounded on the north and east by the Fenland, above which it is very slightly elevated. The soil is a good fertile loam, with a subsoil principally of Oxford clay. There are 264 acres of arable land, 115½ of pasture, and 77 of woodland. Cereals and pulse are produced. Most of the inhabitants (numbering 239 in 1901) are engaged in agriculture, and gravel is worked to a small extent.

The village is small and compact, built of stone, except for a few houses of brick near the station. The church in the north-west corner, on account of the absence of any spire or tower and the thickness of the surrounding trees, is not at first sight a prominent feature. North-east of the church is the ancient hermitage, the traditional site of St. Pega's cell, but called in the only place in the records in which a title is attached 'the Hermitage of St. Bartholomew.'¹ The hermitage chapel is a small late 13th-century building of nave and chancel only, the internal measurements being, chancel 10 ft. 8 in. wide, by 16 ft. 4 in., and nave 14 ft. 7 in. wide, by 19 ft. 2 in. After having been in a ruinous state for many years, it has of late been repaired, and is now used as a reading-room. The nave is almost entirely modern, but the chancel retains some of its ancient features. The east window is of three trefoiled lights under an arched head, and in the south wall is a window of two trefoiled lights, the stonework nearly all new, a single trefoiled window which is ancient, and a small south doorway. There are no windows on the north side of the chapel, and the nave contains nothing worthy of note, except a stone cross on its west gable with trefoiled circles in the spaces between the arms. This is a pretty design of the 14th century, known locally as St. Pega's cross, and has served as the model for the head of a cross lately set up in the village, the shaft and base of which are copied from the ancient cross at Helpston.

In the chapel is kept part of a pre-Conquest cross-shaft, with tapering sides, and interlaced patterns on each face.²

The owner of the hermitage is bound to repair the vestry of the church and the two seats at the west

end of it. This obligation is mentioned in the registers in 1617 and in 1783; at the latter date William Sutton was the owner.

Beyond the hermitage, on the east side of the road to Northborough, there is a small osier bed, and a large dike or canal, known as Folly River, connected with the fen-draining operations, runs through the eastern part of the parish.



THE HERMITAGE, PEAKIRK

The station opened in 1840 on the Great Northern loop line is at the extreme end of the village.

The enclosure award, dated 1820, is in the custody of the rector.

Peakirk is principally interesting from its connexion with St. Pega, from whom its name is derived. St. Pega was sister of St. Guthlac, the founder of the monastery of Crowland, and she carried out his commands for his burial.³ A year afterwards she retired to a hermitage four leagues west of Crowland, traditionally identified with Peakirk, living there until her journey to Rome, where she died in 716. She was buried in a church built in her honour, the only other church except that in this village known to exist under her invocation.⁴

There is a tradition that there was a monastery on the site of St. Pega's cell, but this is supported only by the mention by Ordericus of the 'Pegelandae Coenobium' over which the Abbot Wulfgatus presided, and which he, with the consent of King Edward,⁵

¹ Swapham, fol. 218b. St. Bartholomew was traditionally closely connected with St. Guthlac, sister of Pega, and founder of Crowland Abbey. *Life of St. Guthlac*.

² See p. 189 of this volume.

³ *Vita St. Guthlaci* (ed. W. de G. Birch), p. 58.

⁴ Ordericus *Vitalis*, bk. iv, 22; Fulman, *Scriptores*, p. 5.

⁵ The Confessor, 1042-66.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

united to Crowland. Ingulph magnifies this statement into a monastery.

Apart from St. Pega, Crowland Abbey had traditionally a very ancient connexion with Peakirk. The spurious charter of Wiglaf in 833 confirmed to that abbey three virgates of land in Peakirk, the gift of Wulgetis, 'once my butler.'¹ This gift is mentioned in several later spurious charters; in 948 it is called two virgates of land.² In 1116 there was an arrangement between John, abbot of Peterborough, and Geoffrey, abbot of Crowland, concerning the socmen of Crowland in their demesne at Peakirk,³ and in the 13th century there were several agreements between the two monasteries in which reference is made to one virgate of land in Peakirk held by Crowland.⁴

The marsh of Peakirk, known more generally as the North Fen, extended far beyond the limits of the present parish of Peakirk, along the banks of the Welland from the north of Peakirk to Deeping Gate. It was confirmed to Peterborough Abbey by the spurious charter of Wulfhere⁵ and by the charters of Richard I and Henry III.⁶ In the time of Richard I Ralph Wake, as lord of Deeping, claimed common on this marsh. The abbot of Peterborough declared that none save his tenants of Peakirk, Glington, Maxey, and Northborough had right of common there, and the case was decided amicably in his favour by the judgment of several of the most distinguished knights of the abbey.⁷

Peakirk formed part of the manor **MANOR** of Glington, and its history is given under that place. No family can be traced as holding for any length of time in Peakirk, and probably the tenants of Glington were also tenants of Peakirk, as the two names seem to have been almost interchangeable.

In the 16th century a family named Angel, who intermarried with the Claypoles of Northborough, lived here.⁸ A branch of the Foe family also resided here during part of the 16th and the 17th centuries.⁹

The advowson of the church **ADVOWSON** of St. Pega¹⁰ belonged to Peterborough Abbey. The church, with its chapel of ease at Glington, is mentioned in the confirmation to Peterborough by Pope Eugenius in 1146.¹¹ On the dissolution of the monastery the advowson was granted in 1541 to the dean and chapter of Peterborough, to whom it still belongs.¹² Glington was made into a separate ecclesiastical parish in 1865.¹³

Seats in Peakirk Church were reserved for the folk of the Borough Fen before the creation of the parish of Newborough.¹⁴

Nathaniel Spinckes, one of the most learned and saintly of the non-juring bishops, was rector of Peakirk-cum-Glington from 1685 to 1690. His best known work is *The Sick Man Visited*, published in 1712.¹⁵

The church of St. Pega consists of **CHURCH** chancel with north vestry and north chapel, nave of three bays with aisles and south porch, and bell turret on the west gable of the

nave. Its architectural history goes back to pre-Conquest times, as the eastern angles of an aisleless nave of the 11th century or somewhat earlier still exist. It was 17 ft. 6 in. wide over all, and its length was probably much the same as at present, about 35 ft., but the west end of the nave is now of later date. Of the chancel of the first church nothing remains. A north aisle was added about 1170, and a north chapel to the chancel some years later. The west wall of the nave was rebuilt about the same time, and the bell turret is probably of the last years of the century. The chancel arch dates from the end of this century, and it is likely that the chancel was rebuilt at the same time. A south aisle was added to the nave about 1220, and the south porch is probably part of the same work. The north vestry was added in the 14th century, and the chancel again rebuilt in the latter part of the 15th, about 1475-80.

The chancel measures internally 25 ft. 6 in. by 12 ft. 9 in., and has an east window of five trefoiled lights with tracery, under a four-centred head, and two south windows of three cinquefoiled lights under four-centred heads. These windows date from c. 1480, and their external labels show a very late instance of the survival of the mask dripstone. In the south wall is a plain arched piscina,¹⁶ probably re-used from a former chancel, and in the north wall a square locker rebated for a door. The north vestry opens to the chancel by a small four-centred doorway, and has also a modern west doorway to the north chapel. It is lighted on the east by a window of two trefoiled lights. Adjoining the vestry on the east is the north chapel, of the end of the 12th century, but retaining no features of that date except the arch to the chancel, which is pointed, of two orders, the outer chamfered and the inner moulded with keeled rolls on the angles and a rounded roll on the soffit. The capitals are scalloped and recessed at the angles. The north window of the chapel has three wide trefoiled lights, and a four-centred head, probably of the later part of the 15th century.

The chancel arch has well-designed foliate capitals and a moulded square-edged abacus recessed at the angles, c. 1180. The responds are half-round, and have been heightened, probably at the time of the insertion of a rood loft. The arch is pointed, of two chamfered orders, probably 13th-century work rebuilt.

The nave of three bays has a north arcade with round pillars and scalloped capitals with recessed angles. The arches are semicircular, of the same detail as that to the north chapel, except that the angle-rolls on the inner order are not keeled. The south arcade has pointed arches of two chamfered orders, with round pillars and moulded capitals and bases; the nailhead occurs on all capitals except that of the east respond. The south-east angle of the early nave, with long and short quoins, is well seen from the outside, in the angle between the chancel and the south aisle; the north-east angle is covered with whitewash, but its jointing can be made out with little difficulty. The clearstory is an

¹ Kemble, *Cod. Dip.* i, 301.

² Ibid. ii, 280. ³ Swapham, fol. 118.

⁴ Feet of F. Northants, 7 John, No. 195; Ibid. 31 Hen. III, No. 548; *Abbrev. Plac.* p. 39 (Rec. Com.) For subsequent history of this land see Glington.

⁵ Birch, *Cart. Sax.* No. 22.

⁶ *Cart. Antiq. DD.* 17; *Chart. R.* 19 Hen. III, pt. i. m. 19.

⁷ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 60, fol. 57b. Among the knights were Anketil de St. Medard, Roger de Torpel, and Geoffrey de la Mare. ⁸ Lay Subs. 166, 153.

⁹ Ibid. 153, 157, 272.

¹⁰ Bacon (*Liber Regis*) states this church to be under the invocation of All Saints. See also will of Thos. Chapman (1528), Northants Wills, Bk. D, fol. 206.

¹¹ Sparke, *Scriptores*, p. 79.

¹² Pat. 33 Hen. VIII, pt. iii, m. 14-17.

¹³ Order in Council, 7 Jan. 1865.

¹⁴ *Northants, N. and Q.* ii, 24.

¹⁵ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

¹⁶ In the head of this piscina is a small flue, first noted by Mr. J. T. Irvine, as if a lamp had been set in the recess. See a similar feature at Castor church.



PEAKIRK CHURCH : SOUTH VIEW



STAMFORD ST. MARTIN : THE BURGHELY ALMSHOUSES FROM THE RIVER

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addition of the 14th century, with single trefoiled lights, four on the south side and two on the north. In the north aisle is a square-headed window of three lights with modern mullions; it may be originally of the 14th century, and at the west end of the aisle is a restored 13th-century lancet. The east and south windows of the south aisle are of three uncusped square-headed lights, but the details of the south window are exceedingly good, with well-designed mouldings, and on the head of the window a line of ball flower. The date is c. 1320, and it is an interesting example of a type not uncommon in the district. The west window of this aisle is a widely-splayed lancet, of the date of the aisle. The north doorway of the nave has a plain round head, the arch cut out of one stone, with a label with masks over it; its rear arch is segmental. It may be of the 14th century, but the unusual construction of the outer arch suggests a later date. The south doorway is of the 12th century, moved from the south wall of the older nave. It has a semi-circular arch of two orders enriched with lozenge and zigzag, and a label with a double scale pattern. The arched head is filled in with a tympanum, having three fan-shaped designs in an arched border of cable moulding and pellets. The lower edge of the tympanum is hatched, and below it on either jamb are roll-corbels. The jambs have nook-shafts with scalloped and foliate caps. The porch over this doorway is of the 13th century, and had at first a steep pitched roof, but the side walls have been raised and the pitch lowered. The west wall of the nave is a later example of the type occurring at Northborough, and has three tall shallow buttresses, irregularly spaced; one at the north-west angle of the nave, one on the central line, and a third a little to the south, carrying down the line of the southern angle of the bell turret above. The west window of the nave, a single lancet, is moved northward to avoid the buttress. The effect within the church is not satisfactory, as the reason for the lop-sided position, i.e. the arrangement of the central buttress, does not appear. The bell turret has three round-headed openings, one above and two below, and is finished with a gable.

The roofs of the nave, chancel, and south aisle are of low pitch, leaded, the woodwork being in no case ancient. At the west end of the north chapel is a screen containing some 15th-century tracery, but otherwise, with one exception, the fittings of the church are all modern. The exception is the lectern, a rare and interesting example of the first half of the 14th century. The old revolving desk is unfortunately lost, but the wooden stem, composed of eight slender filleted shafts with moulded capitals and base, is in fairly good condition, and stands on an original moulded stone base, an octagon set diagonally on a square. Traces of red paint remain on the wood.

In the vestry is a communion table of the 17th century with turned legs.

The font, at the west end of the south aisle, has an octagonal bowl with mouldings at the base on a tall octagonal stem. The surface has been

tooled over, but the font is ancient, perhaps of the 14th century.

In the east wall of the north chapel are two plain stone brackets for images. A curious feature is the quatrefoil opening in the external north-east angle of the chancel, close to the jamb of the east window, and just above the level of the sill. It is 9 in. high by 12 in. wide with an internal splay, now blocked up, and no sign of it is to be seen inside the church. All round the opening are pinholes as if for a metal grating. It is about 6 ft. above the present ground level.

The plate consists of a silver communion cup of 1710 inscribed Peakirk 1711, a paten of 1711 inscribed Peakirk 1712, and two alms-dishes, one of 1791, the other of 1852, both presented in 1852.

There are two bells, the treble an early 17th-century bell, inscribed 'Thankes be to God,' and the tenor by Thomas Norris of Stamford, 1677.

The first book of the registers contains baptisms from 1560 to 1617, and also two marriages and five burials in 1617. The second book contains burials from 1561 to 1641, and baptisms and marriages from 1618 to 1641. The third, marriages, baptisms, and burials from 1642 to 1699. Three other books contain baptisms, marriages, and burials from 1700 to 1812.

Mr. Henry Walton of the Borough *CHARITIES* Fen, who died about 1800, left the interest on £100 consols for the repair of his tombstone and a grant to the poor.

Mary Barnard's charity founded by will in 1837, consisted of the interest of £109 consols which is distributed in fuel to the poor. It is subject to the repair of the tomb of the Rev. Benjamin Barnard. These two sums of stock are held by the official trustees.

Peakirk Church estate of about seven acres produces rent amounting to £15 per annum, which is applied for church purposes.

Peakirk shares with Glington in Ireland's school charity.

By deed dated in 1898, the Rev. Edward James gave £100 consols (with the official trustees) for the benefit of the poor of Peakirk, to be called 'The Mrs. Emily James Charity.'

Mrs. Tyldesley de Bossett, by will proved 30 March, 1867, bequeathed to the rector and churchwardens £500, to be invested and the dividends applied for the benefit of the Parochial National School for Peakirk cum Glington, founded by deed dated 27 June, 1845. A sum of £400 consols was transferred to the official trustees in respect of this legacy, and under an order of the Charity Commissioners of 25 February, 1896, a sum of £232 16s. 10d. stock was sold out towards providing for the enlargement and improvement of the school buildings, to be replaced within twenty-seven years from the date of the order.

The Rev. James Tomson Smith by will, proved 22 August, 1901, bequeathed £100, dividends to be distributed among the poor, invested in £106 2s. consols with the official trustees.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

ST. MARTIN'S STAMFORD BARON.

Stamford south of the bridge (until xv cent.).

The ecclesiastical parish of St. Martin Stamford Baron, containing the three civil parishes of St. Martin Stamford Baron in the administrative county of Lincoln and municipal borough of Stamford, St. Martin's Without and Wothorpe, both in the administrative county of the Soke of Peterborough, covers altogether about 1,700 acres. There is no marked elevation in the parish, most of it varying between 100 and 200 ft. above the ordnance datum. The soil is varied on a subsoil of upper lias and inferior oolite, producing chiefly wheat, beans and peas. There are many old quarries and sand and gravel pits scattered over the parish.

The population of St. Martin's Stamford Baron in 1901 was 1,011, that of St. Martin's Without 243, and that of Wothorpe 121.

The Roman Ermine Street can be faintly traced through Burghley Park in a north-westerly direction, reaching the Welland immediately west of Stamford. It is sometimes known as the Forty-foot way.¹ The main roads now running through the parish are from Oundle in the south skirting the west boundary of Burghley Park, and from Easton in a south-easterly direction, which joins the road from Oundle in Stamford Baron. A road to Barnack passes between the northern boundary of the park and the river. The terminus of the Wansford branch of the Great Northern Railway is in this parish, and there is also a station on the Syston and Peterborough branch of the Midland Railway.

Stamford Baron on the south bank of the Welland is now practically part of Stamford, but it has had an entirely separate history. It was never within the walls of the ancient borough, though Peck considered that some of the borough customs may have prevailed south of the Welland,² and in 1086 it is called the sixth ward of Stamford, and paid all dues with the borough except *gablum* and toll, which belonged to the abbey of Peterborough.³

The only main street, the High Street, runs south-east from the bridge, the other streets branching off from it on either side. Close by the bridge, Water Street, anciently called 'Este-by-the-water,' strikes off east, and is the only street, except the High Street, marked in Speed's map. Here the old church of All Saints south of the Welland used to stand. St. Martin's Church is on the east side of the High Street, and in former days the Hospital of St. Giles stood to the south of it, the house of St. Sepulchre to the north, and opposite to it St. Mary Magdalen's Chapel, which may have been attached to one of these institutions. There are still many picturesque 17th and 18th century stone houses in the street, and a late Gothic doorway remains on the west side a little below the church. The Burghley Hospital adjoining the bridge over the Welland on the west side is an L-shaped building, with a picturesque row of gables, and fronts the river on the north. At its north-east angle are remains of a much older building, c. 1130, with a round arch spanning a backwater of the

stream, and a pilaster buttress remaining to nearly its full height. In St. Martin's, which runs south-east at right angles to the bridge, are other interesting old houses, notably the Hermitage, occupied by Lieutenant-Colonel Costobadie, and No. 40, the residence of the Hon. Miss Dundas. The Lady Anne's House is now in the occupation of the dowager Lady Exeter.

Though Stamford Baron was never walled, Peck thinks it was defended by five gates as well as the castle, one in the Water Street, one at the opening leading to Burghley by the 'Butts,' one between St. Giles's Hospital and the High Street, one opposite St. Martin's Church towards Little Wothorpe, and the last at the south end of the bridge. The first three of these he identifies as the Webstergate, Burleygate, and Highgate, often mentioned in old deeds.⁴ The fortification, on the site afterwards occupied by the nunnery of St. Michael, was thrown up in 922 by Edward the Elder: 'This year between the rogation days and midsummer King Edward went with a force to Stamford and commanded the burgh to be wrought on the south side of the river.'⁵

Wothorpe, at one time a separate ecclesiastical parish, is situated on the south of the Welland west of Stamford Baron. It used to be divided into Great and Little Wothorpe—Little Wothorpe being that part nearest Stamford which belonged to Peterborough, and in which was the nunnery of St. Michael; and Great Wothorpe the part nearer Easton, where at one time there was a village church and nunnery. These have all disappeared, but the district is now repopulated by the outlying buildings of Stamford Baron. On the site of St. Michael's Nunnery there now stands a modern house known as The Nuns, occupied until recently by Lieutenant-Colonel F. A. White, agent of the Marquis of Exeter.

Burghley Park occupies the whole eastern portion of the parish. The parish boundary between Barnack and St. Martin's Without passes right through the house, which is in about the middle of the park to the west.

MANOR OF STAMFORD BARON.—

MANORS The charter of Wulfhere in 664 confirmed to Peterborough 'all that part of the vill of Stamford which is against Medeshamstede on this side of the bridge with lands and mills adjacent and the churches of St. Martin and All Saints. The boundaries of the possessions of Peterborough in Edgar's charter of 972 must have included all Stamford south of the bridge,⁶ and according to Hugo Candidus this land was confirmed to them also by Thurkil, who was made earl of the East Anglians by Canute.⁷

In 1086 the land of Peterborough in Stamford is thus described: 'There are six wards in Stamford, five in Lincolnshire and the sixth in Hamtonshire, which is beyond the bridge, and pays all customs as the others except *gablum* and toll, which the abbot of Burg has.'⁸ The abbot of Peterborough is said to have also in Stamford 10 'manses' pertaining to Lincoln,

¹ *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 204.

² Peck, *Stamford*, i, 35.

³ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i, 336b.

⁴ Peck, *Stamford*, iii, 33; xii, 22; xix, 29; *Cal. of Anct. Deeds*, D. 482.

⁵ *A. S. Chron*; *Chron. Flor. Wig.* (ed. Thorpe), i, 128.

⁶ Birch, *Cart. Sax.* No. 22; *A. S. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 200. See introd. to Soke.

⁷ Sparke, *Scriptores*, p. 44.

⁸ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i, 336b.

with a mill; this probably refers to land north of the bridge, for about 1125 Peterborough had in Stamford forty-two men having houses with land and seventeen without land, except 'manses,' all in Northamptonshire, and in Lincoln five men with 'manses' and two 'manses' vacant.¹ In 1146 Pope Eugenius confirmed to Peterborough in Stamford 49 'manses' of land with mills, churches, toll and coinage of money, and in Lincoln 7 'manses.'² Some claim appears to have been made against the abbot's rights in the latter part of the 12th century, for, according to Hugo Candidus, Abbot William of Waterville redeemed with money all the vill on this side of the bridge of Stamford, and beyond the bridge 14 'manses' which were claimed by a certain knight as his inheritance.³

In 1182 William de Humez, du Hommet or de Humeto, constable of Normandy, at that time lord of the vill of Stamford, agreed that the abbot of Peterborough should hold his land beyond the bridge and in the vill of Stamford in Lincoln with sac and soc, toll and team, infangenthef and outfangenthef and other liberties.⁴ Richard I in 1189 and Henry III in 1227 confirmed to Peterborough all Stamford south of the bridge with the churches of St. Martin and All Saints, and beyond the bridge 14 'manses.'⁵ The manor continued in the hands of the abbey until 1539, when the profits of Stamford, of which Richard Cecil was bailiff, were £18 14s. 4d.⁶ It was granted in 1541 to the dean and chapter,⁷ but does not, however, appear to have remained long in their hands, for in 1598 William Cecil Lord Burghley died seised of the manor of Stamford Baron, late parcel of the possessions of Peterborough Abbey.⁸ He probably acquired it about 1550, for the latest court roll of the dean and chapter is dated 1549.⁹ The Marquis of Exeter, descendant of Lord Burghley, is now lord of the manor.

There was a mint in Stamford Baron belonging to the abbot of Peterborough for a long period before the Conquest. It was granted to the abbey by King Edgar in 972,¹⁰ and was confirmed to them by Turkil, earl of the East Anglians, in the reign of Canute.¹¹ It was included among the appurtenances of the abbey's land in Stamford about 1125,¹² and is mentioned in the confirmation by Pope Eugenius¹³ of the possessions of Peterborough. Many Anglo-Saxon coins minted here exist; they decrease in number after the Conquest, but there are a few as late as Henry II.¹⁴

BURGHLEY.—(Burghlea, xi cent.; Burle, xii-xv cent.). Burghley is mentioned by name as part of the possessions of Peterborough in the spurious charter of Wulfhere in 664,¹⁵ and must have been included within the boundaries of the liberty of Peter-

borough given in the charter of Edgar in the 10th century.¹⁶ The monastery apparently lost it in some way between this time and the reign of Edward the Confessor, for Leofric, who ruled the abbey from 1057 to 1066, gave the king 8 marks of gold for Burghley, which had been granted to Elfgar, one of the queen's chaplains, for life.¹⁷ In spite of this gift, on the death of Elfgar the king and queen tried to take the land away. In 1086 Geoffrey was holding three virgates of land of the abbot;¹⁸ he may probably be identified with the Geoffrey of Winchester, whose fee in Burghley and Armston was confirmed to Peterborough by Pope Eugenius in 1146.¹⁹ In the reign of Henry I this land was held by William of Burghley, who also claimed to hold the reeveship of Stamford in fee for £10.²⁰ In 1189 and 1211 the fee was still held by a William of Burghley.²¹ Between 1177 and 1184 William of Burghley pledged all his land in Stamford which he held at farm to Benedict abbot of Peterborough for 40 marks of silver to acquit him against the king and 36 marks to acquit himself against the Jews of Stamford, by whom he would have been disinherited without this loan.²² About 1260 Roger son of William of Burghley quit-claimed all right in this land to John de Caux, abbot of Peterborough for a further loan of 40 marks.²³ Roger died in 1280²⁴ and was succeeded by Peter, who, in 1309, obtained a grant of free warren in his desmesne lands of Burghley next Stamford.²⁵ His son Geoffrey did homage for his lands in 1322,²⁶ but he can have enjoyed them only a short time, for in 1330 his widow Mary, then the wife of John of Titchmarsh was holding Burghley for life of the inheritance of her son Peter.²⁷ He, in 1356, sold his estate under the name of 'the manor of Burlee parva juxta Stamford,'²⁸ to Robert Wykes of Stamford. This is the earliest occasion of which the name of Little Burghley is mentioned, though it was frequent later and it has sometimes been thought in consequence that there were two manors in Burghley. This does not seem to have been the case, but the Wykes family leased the manor or part of it to tenants, while they themselves continued to pay the dues to Peterborough,²⁹ perhaps because of the entail created by Robert Wykes about 1362.³⁰ They were a family of some consideration in Stamford, Gervase Wykes, grandson of Robert being first alderman of Stamford under its new constitution in 1401.³¹ His father, Thomas, or possibly his grandfather had leased Burghley to Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, who granted it for life to Alice widow of Sir John Nevill who returned it to him and his brother Edmund for 100 marks yearly.³² In 1388, when the earl was attainted for treason, he was found to hold the manor of Little Burghley at farm of Thomas Wykes and the abbot of Peterborough for rent to each.³³ In 1390 the king granted a messuage, 120 acres of land, and one rood

¹ *Chronicon*, p. 165.

² Sparke, *Scriptores*, p. 78.

³ *Ibid.* p. 92.

⁴ Cott. Cleo. C. ii, 156b.

⁵ Cart. Antiq. DD. 17; Cart. R.

¹¹ Hen. III, pt. i, m. 19.

⁶ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 282.

⁷ Pat. 33 Hen. VIII, pt. iii, m. 14-17.

⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), cclvii, 91.

⁹ Ct. R. at Peterborough.

¹⁰ Birch, *Cart. Sax.* No. 1,258. It has been often stated, on the authority of Stow, that there was a mint in Stamford in the reign of Athelstan. Stow, however, does not mention Stamford by name, though he says Athelstan placed 'in every

good town one coiner' (ed. 1615, p. 82), which may include Stamford.

¹¹ Sparke, *Scriptores*, p. 44.

¹² *Chronicon*, p. 165.

¹³ Sparke, *Scriptores*, p. 78.

¹⁴ *Arch.* xviii. 2.

¹⁵ Birch, *Cart. Sax.* No. 22.

¹⁶ *A. S. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 200.

¹⁷ Sparke, *Scriptores*, p. 42.

¹⁸ *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 315a.

¹⁹ Sparke, *Scriptores*, p. 78.

²⁰ *Chronicon*, p. 169.

²¹ Cart. Antiq. DD. 17; *Red Bk. of Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), p. 618.

²² Swapham, 246 d.

²³ *Ibid.* fol. 263 d.

²⁴ Peck, *Stamford*, ix, 8; Cott. Vesp. E. xxii, 46 d.

²⁵ Chart R. 3 Edw. II, m. i, No. 35.

²⁶ Cott. Vesp. E. xxxi, 78 d.

²⁷ *Quo. Warr. R.* (Rec. Com.), p. 509;

Close, 30 Edw. III, pt. i.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 29 Edw. III, m. 8 d.

²⁹ Chan. Inq. p.m. 11 Ric. II, No.

131; Cott. Nero C. vii, fol. 130 and

202 d; Misc. Bks. (Exch. K.R.), iv, 235.

³⁰ Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, p. 79, quoting from documents in possession of the Cecil family.

³¹ Peck, *Stamford*, xiii, 5.

³² Close, 2 Ric. II, m. 12 d.

³³ Chan. Inq. p.m. 11 Ric. II, No. 131.

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of meadow by the name of the manor of Little Burghley, late the possession of Michael de la Pole, to John de Hermesthorp and others,¹ and in the same year Michael, son of the attainted earl with his wife petitioned for the restitution of the manor, the reversion of which had been granted to Richard le Scrope, Edmund de la Pole and other trustees before his father's attainder, to be settled on him and his wife.² The petition was apparently favourably answered, for in 1398 the trustees recovered the manor of Little Burghley against Baldwin Harrington and Richard Fourneys,³ and in 1434 it was settled on William de la Pole, son of the petitioner in 1390, and Alice his wife.⁴ They sold it a few years later to Ralph Lord Cromwell,⁵ from whose heirs, Joan, the wife of Sir Humphrey Bouchier and Maud, wife of Sir Gervase Clyfton, all right in the manor was bought by John Milton *alias* Laurence, husband of Elizabeth daughter and heiress of Gervase Wykes, real owner in tail of the manor.⁶ She survived her husband, and died holding Burghley in 1490, leaving as her heir Henry Wykes, son of John Wykes, brother of Gervase.⁷ He died without heirs and the manor passed, by his will, to Margaret, grand-daughter of Richard, youngest brother of Gervase Wykes, the wife of Henry Chambers *alias* Hampport and to Thomas Williams, junior.⁸ These two sold the manor in 1526-8 to David Cecil, grandfather of William, first Lord Burghley, the minister of Queen Elizabeth.⁹

Burghley House is one of those great houses which sprang up in such remarkable profusion during the reign of Elizabeth, and which were in many cases the work of her great officers of state, or of her judges and other officials connected with the law. There were detractors of Lord Burghley who took exception to the amount of building in which he indulged, and who called attention to the fact that, in addition to Burghley House, he had a large residence in London and another within a short distance at Theobalds. He took occasion, in the year 1585, to answer these detractors in a letter to a friend,¹⁰ wherein he pointed out that Theobalds had outgrown its original dimensions owing to his having to entertain the Queen there so frequently; that his house at Westminster was so old that 'it should not stir any'; and that Burghley was his mother's, who lived there and was the owner; that he had but set his walls upon the old foundation, and that one side still remained as his father left it him.

In thus making light of his work at Burghley, the lord treasurer must have allowed his modesty to obscure his veracity, for by the year 1587—that is two years after he wrote this letter—the house was completed on its present extensive lines, indeed on

lines even more ample, and it must have covered an area some five times larger than that of his father's mansion. The older house occupied what is now the east side of the inner court, and no doubt some of its walls still remain incorporated in the present building, for an earlier window and some decoration of the second quarter of the 16th century have escaped destruction, and may yet be seen in a room over the saloon, approached with difficulty from the stairs leading to the minstrels' gallery of the hall. Shortly after his father's death, which occurred in 1553, Sir William Cecil must have begun to enlarge the old house, since a considerable number of letters are preserved among the state papers¹¹ referring to building operations between the years 1556 and 1564. To this period may be ascribed the great hall, the kitchen, the range of rooms between them, and also the remarkable stone staircase on the north front. The great hall is a fine apartment, large and lofty, with an open timbered roof designed after the manner to which carpenters had been accustomed for some centuries. The screen at the entrance still remains, but the dais, which invariably occupies the upper end of the hall, has disappeared. The kitchen is vaulted with stone ribs supporting an octagonal eye in the centre, above which is the ventilating lantern, a construction which is also reminiscent of mediæval methods. The stone staircase, with its coffered vaulting, is unique of its kind in England, but it is a type which was very prevalent in France in the time of Francis I. Cecil was keenly interested in architecture, and more than one letter of his contains a request to correspondents in France to send him a copy of the latest books on the subject. Nothing is more likely, therefore, than that he obtained the idea of this staircase from a French source.



CECIL. Barry of ten pieces argent and azure six scutcheons sable with a lion argent in each.

After this enlargement of the old house there was probably an interval of some ten years before further building was begun, but by the year 1577 the whole of the three other sides of the inner court must have been started, since that date appears on the stone vaulting of the west entrance; and during the next ten years the court must have been in progress, as the date 1585 occurs on the clock-tower, and 1587 on the parapet over the north entrance, thus marking the completion of the work. The character of the design is fairly typical of the period; it stands halfway between the plain mullioned treatment of the simple manor-house and the over-elaborate ornament of some of the great houses, such as Wollaton near Nottingham. Heraldry is, as usual, introduced in many places. The Cecil crest, derived from a Winston ancestor—a garb supported by two lions—does duty in the parapet, as also does a tower, which is a charge from one of the quarterings of the family (Carlyon). The Cecil shield of arms, surrounded by the garter, serves as a clock face in the tower, and this shield is supported by two huge lions, well modelled and standing in silhouette. The coffered arches of the tower are also adorned with heraldic badges, and the compartments of the vaulting at the west

¹ Pat. 13 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 18.

² Chan. Inq. p.m. 13 Ric. II, No. 41; Harl. Chart. 54 C. 9.

³ Close, 21 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 2.

⁴ Harl. Chart. 43 E. 19; 45 I. 12; 50 H. 27; 50 H. 28; 54 I. 15; Add. Chart (B.M.), 2016.

⁵ Feet of F. Div. co. 21 Hen. VI, No. 7.

⁶ Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, p. 79; Feet of F. Northants, 3 Edw. IV, No. 17. Peck quotes from documents belonging to the Cecil family.

⁷ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), v. 64.

⁸ Peck, *Desiderata*, p. 79.

⁹ Feet of F. Div. co. Mich. 18 Hen. VIII, East. 20 Hen. VIII.

¹⁰ S.P. Dom. clxxi, 42. It is printed at length in the *Biographia Britannica* and in *Gent. Mag.* vol. cvi, pt. i, p. 149.

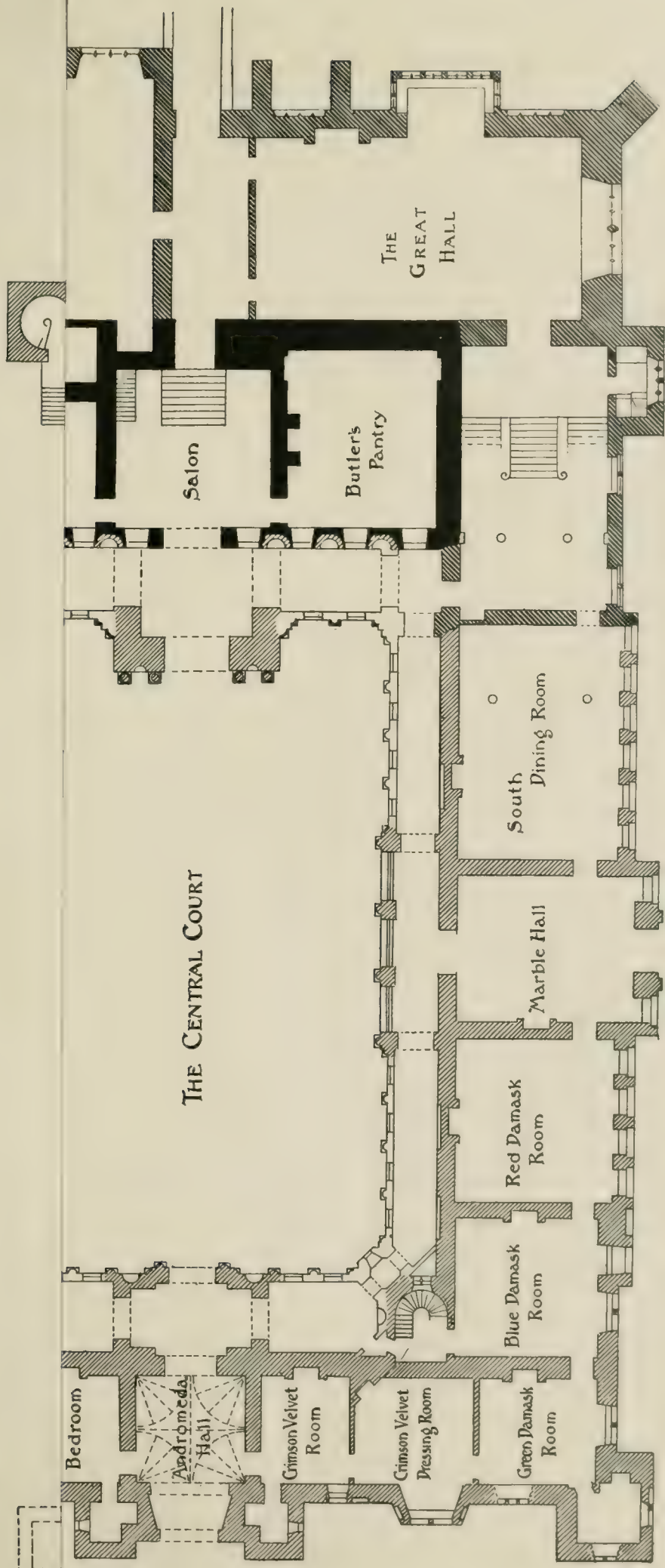
¹¹ Printed in *Trans. R.I.B.A.* vol. vi (New Ser.), 1890.



BURGHLEY HOUSE



WOTHORPE HOUSE : THE RUINED CENTRAL BLOCK

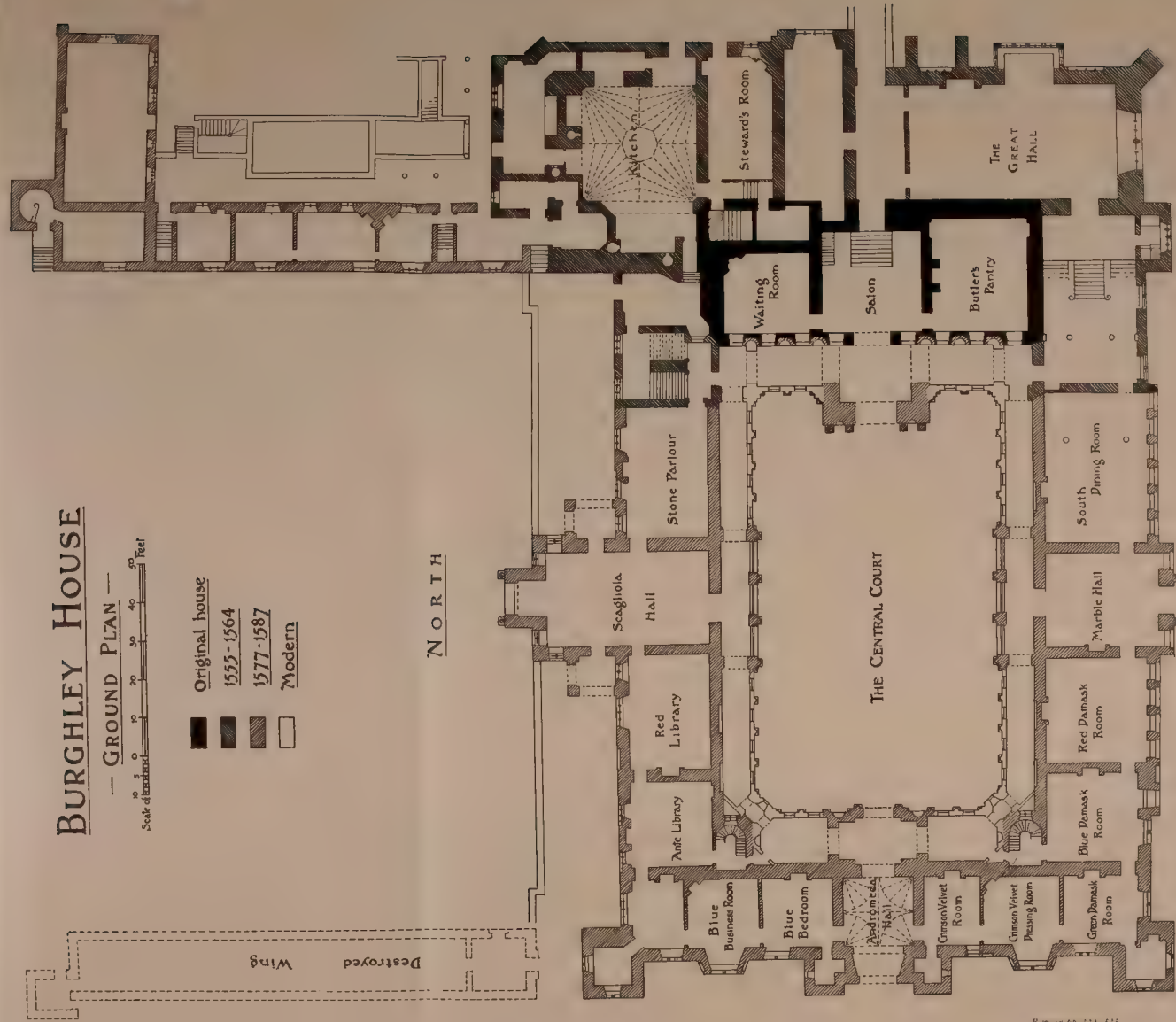


BURGHLEY HOUSE

— GROUND PLAN —
Scale of Feet
0 5 10 20 30 40 50

Original house
1555-1564
1577-1587
Modern

NORTH



entrance contain shields of the owner's ancestors and alliances.¹

The house was one of first rank in point of size and lay-out. Some of its outlying buildings have been removed, and although they were not lofty, nor very commodious, they helped to form courts and added to the stateliness of the whole fabric. The north court, for instance, which is now open on two sides, was originally enclosed on the west by a low wing to match that which remains on the east. On the west front of the house, where there is now only a lawn, was another court, enclosed by a building on the north, and by walls on the west and south sides. Beyond these courts were large formal gardens with ponds, canals, bowling-green, wilderness, pheasantry, and vineyards, and outside all was the park planted with long and wide avenues, some of which lent dignity to the house, and others were continued to afford views of special interest from its windows and terraces. The ancient character of the surroundings has completely disappeared, and has given place to the style of landscape gardening of which 'Capability' Brown was the most famous exponent. There are preserved in the house some views, and a plan of the park and lay-out made by J. Haynes in 1755, which give an excellent notion of its arrangement and appearance, while the plate by Tillemans in *Bridges' History*² also gives a good idea of the house and its surroundings before all the walls and the formal disposition of the gardens were destroyed by Brown about the beginning of the last quarter of the 18th century.

The only piece of formal gardening left is a piece in front of the temple attributed to Lady Sophia Cecil (afterwards Pierrepont), only daughter of the 'Cottage Countess,' and probably made about 1810. The gardens have been much developed recently; the present Lady Exeter has arranged a very beautiful rose garden with pergolas, and Lord Exeter has constructed a formal garden on the south of the house. The old walled fruit garden in the usual position to the south-east of the house was swept away by Brown to make room for his semicircular piece of water, and a new one of 14 acres in extent made in the park a mile or more away to the south-east.

Burghley contains a great number of treasures of historical and artistic interest. Of the large collection of pictures which fill the house, among the most prized are a portrait of Van Eyck, by himself; Carlo Dolci's painting of our Lord holding the cup at the Last Supper; a portrait of Martin Luther, by Kranach; St. Hubert and the stag, by Albert Dürer; Charles the First's children, by Stone; William Cavendish duke of Newcastle, by Van Dyck; several fine examples of Angelica Kauffmann; Sir Thomas Lawrence's paintings of the Cottage Countess

and her daughter, of her children (unfinished), and of the Duchess of Hamilton, who was the third wife of the first marquis. In the kitchen hangs a painting by Rubens of the carcase of a bullock as such appear in butchers' shops. There is also in the house a great deal of tapestry of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Among the furniture special mention should be made of the Chippendale bedstead in the crimson velvet bedroom.

Burghley has been celebrated for its plate. The earls and marquesses of Exeter have been hereditary grand almoners, and at almost all the coronations up to that of George IV, the silver gilt dish used on such occasions became their perquisite. There are five of these in Lord Exeter's possession besides one which he had made in commemoration of the coronation of the present sovereign. Two are from the coronation of James II, possibly owing to the unusual lavishness then displayed; one is from the coronation of Queen Anne; one from that of George I, and one from that of George IV. They vary very much in design; that of George I being the most simple, and those of James II and George IV the most elaborate. Here, too, is the paten of silver gilt presented to the chapel of the house in 1609, in memory of the first Lord Burghley. Round the back are written memorial verses in the eulogistic style of the period describing Lord Burghley as—

The only faithful watchman of the realm
That in all tempests never quit the helm.

Here also is the largest of the so-called wine-coolers which is known to exist except the famous one at St. Petersburg. The one at Burghley, said to weigh 3,000 oz., is of the date of Queen Anne, and highly ornamented.

The interior of the house has undergone many alterations from time to time, and retains hardly any of its original embellishments, except a little Jacobean panelling in some of the inferior rooms. The disposition of the rooms themselves has also been changed; the long gallery, for instance, which formerly occupied the whole length of the west front, is now divided into a number of moderate-sized apartments. Some of the rooms are panelled with woodwork of the time of William III, and adorned with carving by Grinling Gibbons, and there are several fine ceilings by Verrio and Laguerre, the former of whom is said to have been resident here for twelve years while engaged upon his labours. No house can show better examples of this style than Burghley.³ Such modern work as there is cannot be called noteworthy in its character, but the corridor which surrounds the inner court has added immensely to the convenience and comfort of the house.

¹ There are 16 of these compartments, in four groups of four divisions. The four groups represent:—

1 Cecil and its ancient alliances (1, Cecil; 2, Winston; 3, Carlyon; 4, Vaughan). Lord Burghley's great-grandfather, Philip Sitsilt, married a Vaughan. Philip's grandfather married a Winston. Carlyon is brought in by Winston.
2 Lord Burghley's mother's family (1, Eckington; 2, Walcot; 3 and 4, not identified). Lord Burghley's mother was Jane Eckington. Walcot is brought in by Eckington.

3 Lord Burghley and his own sisters (1, W. dom. de Burghley, 1577; 2, Cave, impaling Cecil; 3, Wingfield, impaling Cecil; 4, White, impaling Cecil). Anna Cecil married Roger Cave of Stanford. Elizabeth married Robert Wingfield of Upton. Agnes married Thomas White, of Tuxford, Notts.
4 Lord Burghley's own family (1, Cecil, impaling Cheke; 2, Cecil, impaling Nevill; 3, Cecil, impaling Coke; 4, De Vere, impaling Cecil). Lord Burghley's first wife was Mary Cheke. The only child

of this marriage was Thomas Cecil, who married Dorothy Nevill. Burghley's second wife was Mildred Coke. The only children of this marriage who married were Anna, who married Edward de Vere, earl of Oxford, and Robert, who, however, was not married until 1589, or twelve years after this work was executed.

² Op. cit. ii, 586.

³ Most of this work was done for John, the fifth earl, who was a splendid patron of the arts, and to whom the large collection of pictures at Burghley is mainly due.

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The house stands in a park of 1,500 acres which has long been divided into three parts: the High Park, containing a herd of 300 fallow deer; the Middle Park, adjacent to which lies Waterloo Plain, so called from the great resemblance it was considered to have to the field of Waterloo, a resemblance now much diminished by the felling of trees; and thirdly the Low Park, extending from the house to the town of Stamford, which has for many years been opened to the people of Stamford as a place of recreation. The park is finely timbered, and of an undulating character, especially near the house.

Burghley from the days of Queen Elizabeth to the present has been the scene of important and influential activity both in politics and society. During the Civil War it was threatened by Cromwell, who pitched his camp on the hill to the south of the house, and the south front shows where two of his cannon balls struck the stonework. According to the family tradition Lady Exeter's diplomatic remonstrance to Cromwell prevented any further injury, and the portrait of him in the house by Walker is said to have been given by him to the countess.

At the time of the Revolution the earl, who had been one of those to join the forces of the Prince of Orange, refused to take the oath to him as king, and lived in some seclusion in the country. During William III's progress in 1693, although he was magnificently entertained at Burghley, the master of the house was absent, suffering from diplomatic illness. From that time to the present day the Cecils of Burghley have been uniformly Tory in politics, and strongly Protestant in religious convictions. All through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries they have been at the head of the great Tory houses of Northamptonshire.¹

WOTHORPE.—(Writorpe, Wridthorpe, xi to to xiii cent.; Wirthorp, xiv cent.; Worthorp, xv to xvi cent.).—Abbot Turketel, of Crowland, in the 10th century, is said to have given to that monastery the 'vill' of Wothorpe, and in the illustrated life of St. Guthlac, put down by Birch to the 11th century, Turketel is represented with a roll inscribed, 'I give thee a sixth part of my inheritance, Wellingborough, Beby, Cotenham, Hackington, Elmington, and Wothorpe.'² In 1086 the abbot of Crowland held in Wothorpe one and a half hides with a mill.³ In the 12th century this holding is rated at two hides.⁴ A nunnery existed here, and was endowed with the parish church of Wothorpe, but the date of the foundation of the house is unknown.⁵

The manor of Wothorpe remained with Crowland until the dissolution of that house by Henry VIII, when it was granted in 1540 to Richard Cecil,⁶ whose descendant, the Marquis of Exeter, now possesses it.

The land in Wothorpe belonging to the abbot of

Peterborough, formerly called Little Wothorpe, was described in 1086 as three virgates of land pertaining to Wittering, held by Alwin of the abbot.⁷ The nunnery of St. Michael was founded by Abbot William of Waterville on this land, which formed part of its endowment, and remained in its possession until the dissolution, when it was granted in 1540, with the Crowland manor to Richard Cecil.⁸

The parish church at Wothorpe has now entirely disappeared. A vicarage was ordained there for the nuns of Wothorpe by Hugh Wells between 1209 and 1235,⁹ and was, with the nunnery, united to St. Michael's in 1354.¹⁰ In 1535 the profits of the vicarage of which Robert Coke was incumbent were nil.¹¹ The advowson was granted with other lands of St. Michael's to Richard Cecil in 1540.¹²

The 'handsome seat' at Wothorpe, as Camden calls it, of which hardly anything now remains beyond the central towers, was built by Thomas, the eldest son of Lord Burghley, and first earl of Exeter, early in the 17th century. His object in building it, first quoted by Thomas Fuller, but often repeated since, was 'to retire to out of the dust while his great house of Burghley was a sweeping.' It may be more properly regarded, however, as the dower house, which was an adjunct to most of the great houses of the time. It has no history, and there is no mention of it by travellers or compilers of ancient guide books; we are not told how it was furnished or how embellished. It was completely eclipsed by its great parent, Burghley House. That vast mansion absorbed all the admiration of visitors to this district, and yet this house at Wothorpe was a notable piece of work. It was of considerable size, and must have been surrounded by a fine lay-out, of which, however, nothing but indications now remain. Camden speaks of its 'little park wall'd about.' Terraces and steps have gone, but several lofty walls of good masonry survive, as well as an ornamental gateway on the axial line at some little distance from the house.¹³

The style of the architecture is of some interest, as it exhibits the gradual hardening process that changed the free and light-hearted treatment of Elizabeth's time into the more formal and laboured work of the middle and end of the 17th century. It is curious to see that in the cellars the flat-pointed head is still used for the doorways, although all the work above ground is of the classic detail prevalent at the time. Although considered a mere appendage to the great house at Burghley, Wothorpe was for some time subsequent to the Restoration the residence of the duke of Buckingham, and in 1755 was the home of the dowager countess of Exeter. The modern Wothorpe House is occupied by Lady Battie Wrightson. The Lawn, which is occupied by Mr. George Higgs, and Mr. H. R. Hunt's residence, The Elms, are also good modern houses.

¹ BOOKS ABOUT BURGHLEY HOUSE: Francis Peck, M.A., *Desiderata Curiosa* (London, 1722). Thomas Blore, *A Guide to Burghley House* (published by John Drakard, Stamford, 1815). Rev. W. H. Charlton, M.A., *Burghley* (Stamford, 1898). 'Burghley House,' *Trans. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* 1898. J. A. Gotch, F.S.A., 'Homes of the Cecils,' in *The Hist. Monog. Ser., William Cecil, Lord Burghley* (London, T. C. and E. C. Jack, 1904).

² Birch, *Life of St. Guthlac*, liii.

³ *V.C.H. Northants*, i, 319b.

⁴ *Ibid.* 367b.

⁵ See history in article on Religious Houses in this volume.

⁶ Pat. 32 Hen. VIII, pt. vii, No. 4.

⁷ *V.C.H. Northants*, i, 315a.

⁸ See history in article on Religious Houses.

⁹ *Liber Antiq. de Ordinationibus Hugonis Wells* (ed. Gibbons), p. 31.

¹⁰ Pat. 28 Edw. III, pt. 1, m. 16.

¹¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.) iv, 143.

¹² Pat. 32 Hen. VIII, pt. vii, m. 4.

¹³ C. J. Richardson, in his *Old English Mansions*, gives a plan and views of the house, and a number of details, all taken from drawings made by Mr. Legge (the architect of the lodge at Burghley) previous to the demolition of the house about the year 1790. From these it appears that, from the main block, the ruins of which still exist, two wings stretched towards the south, thus forming a court, and it is across the site of this that the farm road now passes.

The church of St. Martin was *ADVOWSON* probably built by Martin de Bec, abbot of Peterborough. Its advowson was made part of the endowment of the nunnery of St. Michael by Abbot William Waterville,¹ and remained with them until the dissolution of that house, when it was granted to Richard Cecil.² The marquis of Exeter, his descendant, is now patron.

There was a large gild attached to this parish called the gild of St. Martin. The certificate of 1389 says it was ordained in ancient times to provide a chaplain to celebrate in the church of St. Martin for the brothers and sisters of the gild, and to keep a light in the same church in the honour of St. Martin. On the feast of St. Martin they had a certain bull which was 'used and sold' for the profit of the gild,³ and on the same day the brothers and sisters met together to drink and pray for themselves and all their benefactors. For the support of the chaplain and other expenses certain men 'a long time before the statute of mortmain' gave rents to value of 30s., and every brother and sister gave at the feast of St. Michael one bushel of corn. There was an alderman and other officials to collect rents and dues and make ordinances for all.⁴ In 1549 the yearly value of the gild was £6 2s. 2d. It was served by Thomas Pecket and houseled people to the number of 400.⁵ The land belonging to it was granted to John Somers by Elizabeth,⁶ but it must have soon been acquired from him by the Cecil family, for Lord Burghley died in possession of it in 1598.⁷

The church stands on the east side *CHURCH* of the main street, on ground falling towards the river, in a small and narrow churchyard. The plan comprises a chancel of two bays, with a north chapel of the same length and a south chapel of one bay; the north chapel, which is the burying-place of the Cecils of Burghley, having been widened on the north in 1865. There is a nave of four bays with aisles and a western tower, the aisles overlapping the tower, and a south porch. On the west the tower is built up to the frontage line of the street. The church is faced with wrought stone throughout, but little of the facing is ancient. No part of the building appears to be older than the 15th century, to the early part of which the tower belongs. All the rest of the church belongs to the end of the same century and appears to be of one build. The chancel has an east window of five cinquefoiled lights with tracery and a four-centred head, and a south window of three cinquefoiled lights with tracery and an embattled transom, the lights below the transom being also cinquefoiled. Below this window is a piscina under a small four-centred arch and a wide shallow recess with a four-centred head, which has served for the sedilia, though its seat is now at too high a level to be convenient. West of it is a blocked priest's doorway of the same date. The two arcades opening to the north or Burghley chapel, and the single arch to the south chapel, now used as an organ chamber, are of two orders with a late form of wave-moulding, the outer order being continuous, while the inner has slender round shafts with moulded octagonal capitals and stilted bases.

The area of the Burghley chapel was doubled by the additions on the north side in 1865, and an arcade of two bays copied from that between the chapel and the chancel marks the line of the former north wall. At this time an entrance from the churchyard was provided at the east of the new bay, and the turret containing the stairs to the rood, originally external, was brought partly within the area of the enlarged chapel. It is capped with a conical stone roof, and was entered from the east end of the north aisle of the nave, but the doorway is now blocked by a modern respond.

The south chapel has east and south windows of three lights with tracery, like that on the south of the chancel. The sill of the east window is carried down as a recess, 4 in. deep, to hold the reredos of an altar, and to the north of the recess is an embattled image-bracket. In the south wall is a small piscina with a segmental moulded arch.

The nave is of four bays, the details of both arcades being like those in the chancel, and above the arcade is a clearstory with seven three-light windows on each side, having cinquefoiled lights under four-centred heads. The east bay of the clearstory is blank on both sides, having been occupied by the roodloft, doorways to which remain on the north and south.

The windows of the aisles are like those of the south chapel; there are five on the north and one at the west in the north aisle, and four on the south and one at the west in the south aisle, the blank bay in the latter being taken up by the south porch, which has a ribbed stone vault springing from angle corbels, and on the central boss an angel holding a shield with the leopards of England below a seated figure of our Lady and Child. Over the vault is a chamber reached by a vice from within the church. The porch has inner and outer four-centred moulded arches, and stone seats on the east and west.

The tower is of a local type with flat clasping buttresses at the western angles, and a west doorway, above which is a three-light tracery window. The details of the east arch of the tower are like those of the nave, but not identical with them, and above is the weathermould of a former high-pitched roof of earlier date than the present nave, as its plate-level would be but little higher than the springing of the arches of the existing arcade. There is a vice at the north-east angle, and arches to the aisles on north and south, the southern of which appears to be an insertion, while that on the north is of the same date as the vice. The inference as regards the southern arch would be that it was built when the nave was rebuilt, and its aisles prolonged westward to overlap the tower, but the position of the tower, and the fact that the northern arch seems original, suggests that both arches were made for a procession path round the church, as often happened when the buildings came up to the boundary of the churchyard.

The upper stage of the tower has large four-light windows on each face, divided by a central mullion, and a pierced quatrefoiled parapet with crocketed angle pinnacles.⁸ There is a modern stone vault in the lower stage of the tower, with old springers and wall-ribs.

¹ See history of St. Michael's

² Pat. 32 Hen. VIII, pt. vii, m. 2.

³ It has often been stated there was an annual Bull Running, a sport very popular in Stamford, in connexion with

this gild. The statement seems to have been based on the words of this certificate, which are exactly as they are given.

⁴ Cert. of Guilds (Chan.) No. 173.

⁵ Chant. Cert. R. 35, No. 35.

⁶ Pat. 6 Eliz. pt. iii.

⁷ Chan. Inq. p. m. (ser. 2), cclvii, 91.

⁸ The late Mr. R. P. Brereton has noted that squinches for a spire exist.

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The chancel has a plaster ceiling, and the nave a modern hammer-beam roof. In the Burghley chapel the roof is modern, of flat pitch with moulded timbers, but in the aisles of the nave the original flat roof remains. The church contains a great quantity of modern oak fittings, and in the Burghley chapel a wooden lobby over the new east doorway is made up of well-designed oak panelling of c. 1600.

There is a good deal of old glass in the church, mostly of the 15th century.¹ It is, however, very fragmentary, and mixed with modern glass; the most interesting pieces being in the window just west of the organ in the south aisle. In the three lights are Moses striking the rock; Samson carrying the gates of Gaza; and David and Goliath; and below them the Crucifixion; the angel and the women at the tomb; and the Resurrection. Below the last two are the verses 'Quod vivas Christe certum docet angelus iste,' and 'Quem saxum textit nigrans. . . us exit.' In the east window of the chancel the best preserved pieces are one of the royal arms in a garter with two angels on each side, early 16th century, and a set of figures showing a seated king within a wreath, with an archbishop and a bishop on one side, and two bishops on the other. The arrangement of the figures is, of course, modern.

The font is older than any part of the existing church. It has an octagonal bowl on a modern stem, the faces of the octagon being worked with window tracery designs of early 14th-century style. The details are poor, and the carving shallow, and some of the work has a rather modern look, but there seems no reason to doubt its antiquity.

The earliest Cecil monument in the Burghley chapel is that against the east wall to Richard Cecil and his wife, 1552. Close to it in the eastern arch of the arcade between the chancel and chapel is the splendid monument of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, K.G., Lord High Treasurer of England, who died in 1598. The monument is approximately of this date, and has a life-size effigy armed and wearing the mantle of the Garter, and holding a long wand in the right hand; at the feet is a lion. The canopy above is upheld by ten marble columns with Corinthian capitals, and has two semicircular arches with panelled soffits, and floral ornaments in each panel. Above is a panel with the Cecil arms and supporters, flanked by strapwork and heraldry, and finished above in gabled form with the Cecil crest as a finial. At the east and west ends of the canopy are pairs of obelisks rising from scrolled brackets which are designed to take the thrust of the arches. The base of the tomb is in two stages, with marble panels, the inscription being on the upper pair of panels on the south side. Many kinds of marble are used in the monument, and its colour and gilding and excellent state of preservation make it one of the finest specimens of its kind in existence.

In the north-west corner of the chapel is a large monument of white marble to John Cecil, Lord Exeter, 1700, and his wife, 1703.

The plate consists of a silver communion cup, c. 1570, with the mark of a fish in an ellipse, which

occurs elsewhere in the neighbourhood, and probably belonged to a local silversmith; the cup was presented to the church by the Marquis of Exeter in 1879, together with a modern copy: a third cup of 1722, the gift of Margaret Lamb: a silver paten of 1630: another of c. 1688, two silver plates, 1682, the last three being also the gift of Margaret Lamb: and two silver flagons, 1722, with the arms of Walsburge.

There are six bells by C. and G. Mears of London, 1850.

The first book of the registers of St. Martin's contains baptisms and burials from 1572 to 1628, and marriages from 1582 to 1628. The second, baptisms from 1628 to 1642, marriages and burials from 1629 to 1642. There is a gap from 1642 until 1660 when the third book begins and carries on baptisms, marriages, and burials, from 1660 to 1728-9. Book four contains baptisms and burials from 1729 to 1776, and marriages from 1729 to 1766. Books five and six contain marriages from 1754 to 1800. Book seven, baptisms and burials from 1777 to 1812. Book eight, marriages from 1800 to 1812.

There was a church of All Saints beyond the bridge, said by Peck to have been of pre-Conquest origin, but he appears to base his theory only on a passage in Domesday which really refers to Stamford in Guilsborough hundred, not to Stamford.² It was, however, probably in existence by 1146, when Pope Eugenius confirmed to Peterborough 'churches' in Stamford³ and certainly in 1189 when it is specifically mentioned in the charter of Richard I.⁴ In 1434 Bishop Grey of Lincoln issued a commission for the union of the vicarage of the parish church of All Saints beyond the Bridge of Stamford with that of St. Martin's.⁵ All tradition of the division south of the bridge into two parishes has now disappeared, but as late as Henry VII property was described in deeds as in the 'parish of St. Martin's, late All Hallows.'⁶

The church, which stood in the Water Street, was probably destroyed in 1462, when Stamford suffered much at the hands of the Lancastrians on their southern march.⁷

There were several other ecclesiastical foundations in Stamford Baron besides those already mentioned—the hospital of St. John and St. Thomas the Martyr,⁸ and the house of St. Sepulchre, and the hospital of St. Giles, were all confirmed to Peterborough by Richard I. There were apparently two chapels attached to the first one in honour of either patron, for, on the dissolution of Peterborough Abbey, the advowson of the chapel of St. John was granted to the bishopric of Peterborough⁹ and that of St. Thomas with the chapel of St. Giles to William Cecil by Edward VI.¹⁰ William Cecil, however, in 1598 died owning the lands of all three, and also those of St. Sepulchre and St. Mary Magdalene.¹¹

Lord Burghley's Hospital was founded *CHARITIES* in or before 1597 by William Lord

Burghley and, by a deed of the year mentioned above, was endowed with a yearly rent-charge of £100 on lands called Cliffe Park in the

¹ It came chiefly from Tattershall Church, having been given by Lord Fortescue to the marquis of Exeter, and was set up here about 1758, with other old glass from Snape, and a little from somewhere in Warwickshire; the whole being glazed in by Peckitt of York, the

well-known glass-maker.—From notes by the late R. P. Brereton.

² Peck, *Stamford*, iv, 18.

³ Sparke, *Scriptores*, p. 78.

⁴ Cart. Antiq. DD. 17.

⁵ Epis. Reg. Linc. Grey, 172.

⁶ *Cal. of Anc. Deeds*, D. 427

⁷ Peck, *Stamford*, xiv, 39.

⁸ See under Religious Houses, p. 164.

⁹ Pat. 33 Hen. VIII, pt. iii, m. 13.

¹⁰ Ibid. 3 Edw. VI, pt. v.

¹¹ Chan. Inq. p. m. (scr. 2) cclvii, 91.

parish of King's Cliffe. Thirteen poor men, one of whom was to be warden, were to be elected, the first five by Lord Burghley and his successors, the rest by specified persons acting *ex-officio*. Allowances of money, livery gowns, an annual dinner, firewood, and sundry emoluments were also made, and these have been increased at various times by the lords of Burghley from the late 18th century onwards.

Thomas Bellott by deed of 20 December, 1608, provided a rent-charge of £16 per annum on property in Lincolnshire, of which amount 40s. was to be given to each of two nurses for the almsmen, the remainder for augmenting the almsmen's allowance.

Dorothy Lady Burghley, afterwards countess of Exeter, about 1596 gave real estate in Lincolnshire for providing for the apprenticing of poor children. The rents amounted in 1734 to £16.

Elizabeth countess of Exeter, by her will of 8 May, 1722, left bequests of £60 and £10 for the poor of St. Martin's parish. These sums together with £5 given by the executrix of the will, and two sums of £50 bequeathed by David, earl of Exeter, and his widow before 1673, were laid out in the purchase of land.

The endowment consists of about 130 acres, producing a rental of £151 10s., which is applied for the education and apprenticeship of children and for medical and pecuniary relief and clothing for the sick and poor of the parish. The rent of 2a. or. 4p. in Ufford, let at £5 per annum, is also applied for the benefit of a widow of a deceased inmate of the Burghley Hospital in respect of Elizabeth countess dowager of Exeter's charity.

Isabella dowager marchioness of Exeter, by will proved in 1879, bequeathed £100 (represented by £102 3s. 9d. consols with the official trustees), the dividends to be given to the two nurses attached to the Hospital.

These charities are called the Burghley Charities.

Gifts of Catherine Gregory and others represented by £26 13s. 4d. consols, produce 13s. per annum, which is laid out on a periodical dole of bread.

Ann Thorold by will of 22 May, 1682, left land in this parish for the benefit of the poor here and in Stamford, co. Lincoln.

Thomas Kettleborough by deed-poll of 24 June, 1694, left land here, the rent of which was to be used for an annual dole of bread.

Upon an enclosure in 1796 allotments were awarded in lieu of these lands. The present endowment of these two charities consists of 4a. 2r. 4p. in the parish of Wothorpe and 1a. or. 13p. in Newborough producing a rental of £22 5s. which is distributed in money and kind, preference being given to poor widows.

Jane Lady Buck gave £20 for the poor before 1717. The income of 12s. 5d. is distributed among the poor annually.¹

Fryer's almshouses, consisting of six houses abutting

on the Wothorpe Road, were founded and endowed by Henry Fryer, who by his will, proved in 1823, directed the interest of £2,000 to be divided among widows of Bedesmen, who had been on the Foundation of Lord Burghley's or Truesdale's hospitals. A sum of £1,892 7s. 6d. consols is held by the official trustees in respect of this legacy.

The almshouses are further endowed as follows:— In 1839 a gift of £100 by James Hurst; in 1848, a gift of £120 consols by his sister Harriet Hurst; and in 1849, a gift of £200 by the Rev. Thomas Brown, now represented by £448 13s. 11d. consols.

In 1848, a legacy of £100 by James Gane, represented by £106 6s. consols.

In 1848, a legacy by Elizabeth Kennan Hodson of £600 consols.

In 1860, a legacy of £200 by will of Maria Alicia Cooper, augmented by legacies and gifts of others and by investments of accumulated dividends, represented by £328 os. 8d. consols.

In 1879, Harriet Hurst by deed-poll gave £1,000 consols.

In 1879, a legacy of £100 by Isabella dowager marchioness of Exeter, represented by £102 3s. 9d. consols.

The official trustees hold all the above mentioned sums of stock upon trust for purposes connected with Fryer's almshouses.

Henry Fryer also bequeathed £100, now represented by £94 12s. 4d. consols, the interest of which is distributed to the poor in money.

Elizabeth Kennan Hodson above referred to also bequeathed £500 consols, the dividends to be distributed in fuel, and Maria Alicia Cooper also bequeathed a further sum of £200 for educational purposes, which was invested in the purchase of £215 6s. 9d. consols.

Sophia Clay, by her will proved 14 March, 1885, left the income of £499 7s. 6d. consols (now held by the official trustees) to be distributed between four spinsters resident in Stamford Baron.

Dr. William Landen Hopkinson, by will proved in 1873, left £400 and produce of sale of furniture for maintaining a night school and for instruction in science and art. The legacy with accumulated income is represented by £734 15s. 3d. consols, with the official trustees.

Mrs. Jane Cecil, mother of Lord Burghley, who died in 1588, gave by her will £50 to be lent to poor tradesmen and artificers in Stamford and Stamford Baron. Hugh Allington, her son-in-law, gave £40 for the same purpose. These charities are stated to be 'lost' by the commissioners in 1831, and also the interest of £1 left by Margaret Featherstone for bread to be distributed to six poor widows on New Year's Day, and a rent-charge on premises in Huntingdon, given by Mrs. Jane Sallett, 6s. 8d. being for a sermon and 5s. for fifteen poor persons.

THORNHAUGH

Thornhawe (xii-xvi cent.).

The parish of Thornhaugh, in the south-west corner of the soke, covers nearly 2,726 acres, and was considerably larger before the separation of Wansford, now a separate civil parish, though still ecclesiastically attached to Thornhaugh. The Wansford

¹ From notes by the late R. P. Brereton.

district was probably part of the old parish of Sibberton. Very few traces of this village, or the church belonging to it, now remain. The name survives in Sibberton Lodge, which is near the site of the village.

Thornhaugh is better wooded than most parts of the soke. The Bedford Purlieu, in which Roman remains have been found, lie in the south of the parish, and

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there are several other smaller plantations north of the village of Thornhaugh. Springs rise in the east and west of the parish, one of those in the west appearing, by the names of Sacrewell Lodge and Sacrewell Farm, to have been a holy well.

The subsoil of the parish is upper lias and inferior oolite, with a good mixed top soil. There are 1,213½ acres of arable, 971½ of pasture, and 612 of wood. Barley is the chief crop grown. The population is now entirely engaged in agriculture, but several disused quarries show that stone was formerly worked. The population of Thornhaugh in 1901 was 201.

A road from Wansford to King's Cliffe forms for some distance the southern boundary of the parish and of the soke of Peterborough. Two other roads branching at Wansford towards Stamford and Uppingham, traverse the parish in a north-westerly direction. There is a Council school for boys and girls, built by the Duke of Bedford.

The parish was enclosed in 1839; the award is in custody of the rector.

Among the place-names found in this parish are Cross Leys Farm, Nailacre, Blakwell, Toothill, Kiln Field, the Dagger, and Maiden's Grave cow pasture.

The village lies to the west of the Stamford road, separated from it by the valley of a small stream, on the west bank of which the church is built. The village street runs east and west up the bank south of the church, and meets a cross-road at the top, along which the rest of the village is built. A little beyond the church, on the south side of the street, is a house which has some mediaeval masonry and a buttress, and at the cross-roads is an early 18th-century house with characteristic doorhead and window details. Below the church is the rectory, on the site of the old manor house, with mullioned windows, partly of the 17th century, but mostly modern; nothing remains of the stone gatehouse mentioned by Bridges.

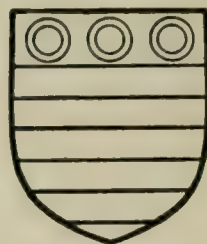
A drawing is extant of the former manor house,¹ dated 1721, entitled 'The old house of the first Russell that was baron of Thornhaugh, now a farmhouse belonging to the duke of Bedford.' It shows a two-storey building with mullioned windows, apparently the remains of a fine and stately mansion.

The 'vill' of THORNHAUGH is included in the spurious charter of Wulfhere to the abbey of Peterborough,² otherwise there is no pre-Conquest mention of the place. In the Domesday Survey it was probably included in the return for Wittering, to which 9 hides are assigned.³

The tenant at that date under the abbey was Anschitil de St. Medard,⁴ in whose family Thornhaugh continued in the male line until the middle of the 15th century. The St. Medards are still represented, through two heiresses, by the dukes of Bedford, who until a short time ago were lords of the manor.

The St. Medard holding was one of the largest and most important of the Peterborough fees. In the

reign of Henry I, Anschitil de St. Medard was holding 10 hides and ½ a virgate in Northamptonshire and 3 carucates in Lincoln of the abbey, from which was due the service of six knights.⁵ The fee included lands in Easton, Wittering, Wansford and Etton, as well as Thornhaugh and in Osgodby in Lincolnshire. According to a 13th-century Peterborough cartulary, Anschitil was succeeded by his son Richard, who married Mabel Ridel.⁶ This is confirmed by an entry in the Pipe Roll of 1130-1 concerning the dower of Mabel, wife of Richard de St. Medard.⁷ Richard was followed by his son Geoffrey and his grandson



ST. MEDARD. *Sable three bars argent and three rings or in the chief.*

Peter, whose son Geoffrey was a minor in ward of Abbot Benedict,⁸ and whose fee was confirmed to the monastery by Richard I.⁹ His son Peter was also a minor in ward of Abbot Acharius,¹⁰ and left a widow, Alice, and two young sons, Geoffrey and William,¹¹ who held his lands in 1212.¹² This Geoffrey or his successor died in 1280, and was buried at Peterborough. He was certified to hold of the abbot in Northamptonshire, in Thornhaugh and Wansford, the fee of one knight, in Wittering two knights' fees, and in Sibberton and Etton one fee, and he did suit at the court of Castor every three weeks. He was succeeded by Nicholas, a minor, son of his son Geoffrey, who had died before his father.¹³ His wife Emma had also died in 1278 at Osgodby, and leave was obtained with some difficulty from the abbey to bury her at Stamford according to her desire instead of at Peterborough.¹⁴ Nicholas was succeeded by his son John, who was reported to the crown in 1330 as having been not yet made a knight, though of full age and holding one knight's fee in Thornhaugh.¹⁵ He died in 1354, and was buried at Thornhaugh,¹⁶ and next year the abbot of Peterborough granted to Elizabeth, widow of John, the custody of Nicholas, his son and heir.¹⁷ John, son of Nicholas, died in 1361, seised of half the manor of Thornhaugh, in which there were two water mills and a fulling mill, his heir being his brother Nicholas, aged eighteen.¹⁸ The name of the wife of Nicholas was Maud,¹⁹ and he was still in possession in 1396.²⁰

About 1422 Thomas de St. Medard did homage to the abbot of Peterborough for four fees in Thornhaugh, Wansford, Sibberton, and Etton,²¹ which he was still holding in 1428.²² Either this Thomas St. Medard or another Thomas, his successor, with Margaret his wife, was in possession of this manor in 1451,²³ and ten years later Thornhaugh was in the hands of William Sapcote, by right of his wife Anne, the daughter and heiress of Thomas de St. Medard.²⁴ Sir Guy Sapcote, their son,²⁵ also left a daughter and heiress named Anne, who married first Sir John

¹ Add. MS. 32467, fol. 242.

² Birch, *Cart. Sax.* 22. See Introduction to Soke.

³ *V.C.H. Northants*, i, 315a. See also Swapham, fol. 124.

⁴ Name often written Semarc or Sey-mark.

⁵ *Chronicon*, 168.

⁶ Egerton MS. 2733, fol. 125.

⁷ Pipe R. 31 Hen. I, m. 9.

⁸ Egerton MS. 2733, fol. 125. Benedict, abbot from 1177 to 1194.

⁹ Cart. Antiq. DD. 17.

¹⁰ Abbot, 1200-10; Egerton MS. 2733, fol. 125.

¹¹ Assize R. No. 428, m. 125.

¹² *Red Book of Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), 618.

¹³ *Chronicon*, 41.

¹⁴ Swapham, fol. 161.

¹⁵ Assize R. No. 632, m. 70 d.

¹⁶ Bridges, ii, 594. Bridges quotes from a Peterborough register.

¹⁷ Cott. Vesp. E. xxi, 102.

¹⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. 35 Edw. III, No. 64.

¹⁹ Feet of F. Northants, 6 Ric. II, No. 57.

²⁰ Cott. Nero, C. vii, fol. 130.

²¹ Add. MS. 25288.

²² Exch. K.R. Misc. Bks. iv, 235.

²³ Feet of F. Northants, 30 Hen. VI, No. 129.

²⁴ Cott. Nero, C. vii, fol. 202; Add. MS. 25288, fol. 5.

²⁵ Ibid.

Boughton and afterwards John Russell, later created first earl of Bedford;¹ and Thornhaugh remained with the Russell family until 1904, when it was bought by Earl Fitzwilliam, the present lord.

In 1334 John de St. Medard obtained licence to impark the wood of Westwode and a meadow adjoining within the manor of Thornhaugh, which contained 100 acres of land.² There are traces of a park around the old manor house, and this is perhaps its origin.

SIBBERTON is mentioned in Wulfhere's grant in connexion with Thornhaugh,³ and from the 12th century onwards it is always included in the St. Medard fee. In the 13th century the family of Stokes held this manor from the St. Medards; Robert de Stoke, and Margaret his wife in 1203 had land in Sibberton and Wansford,⁴ and in 1211-12 Robert was holding one knight's fee of the St. Medards.⁵ Robert was followed by Stephen de Stokes, who in 1243 was holding three parts of a fee of Geoffrey de St. Medard in Sibberton, Etton, and Maxey.⁶ In 1272 the manor of Sibberton with the advowson of the church was settled by Stephen de Stokes and Ellen his wife on Robert de Stokes for life, with reversion to Stephen and Ellen and their heirs.⁷ In 1310 Roger, son of Stephen de Stokes, quitclaimed all right in the manor and the advowson of the church, which was held for life by John de Donestable and Margery his wife for the term of Margery's life, to Nicholas de St. Medard.⁸ John and Margery also released their right to Nicholas the same year,⁹ and from that date Sibberton manor remained in the hands of the St. Medards and their successors, and followed the descent of the manor of Thornhaugh.

In the farmhouse which preserves the name of Sibberton are several ancient features, including a 13th-century two-light window, and a room with a 14th-century stone vault, known as the 'Cloister.'¹⁰

Henry Engaine, who held some land in Sibberton and Wansford, brought a suit in 1203 against Robert de Waterville for coming armed to Sibberton and stealing his sword, worth 12*s.*, 7*s.* worth of silver, and crops to the value of one mark. The case was decided by ordeal of battle, but the result is not recorded.¹¹

The advowson of the church of Sibberton followed that of the manor. In 1213 William de Roving was presented by the crown during the minority of the St. Medard heir.¹²

During the episcopate of Hugh Wells of Lincoln a member of the Stokes family presented Gilbert to the church.¹³ No invocation has been discovered. John de Kempston, parson of Sibberton, is mentioned in 1389, this is the last record hitherto noted of anything connected with the church.¹⁴ The fine font in Wansford church, according to tradition, was brought from Sibberton. Several stone coffins have been dug up in a field near Sibberton Lodge.

The advowson of the church of **ADVOWSON** St. Andrew¹⁵ followed the descent of the manor of Thornhaugh until 1904, when it was not included in the sale of the

manor. The Duke of Bedford is, therefore, still the patron. The St. Medard family had a chantry here founded by Nicholas, the lord of Thornhaugh, in 1323, which he endowed with lands in Thornhaugh and Sibberton.¹⁶

Thornhaugh church consists of chancel **CHURCH** with north vestry, south transept, nave with north aisle and south porch, and west tower.

From the evidence of architectural fragments found during repairs in 1889, a building stood here before the Conquest, but nothing of it remains in situ. The earliest work in the church belongs to the end of the 12th century, the north arcade and remains of the south arcade of the nave being of this date. There is no evidence to show the arrangement of the church before this time. The chancel arch has responds of the same date as the nave arcades, though probably not in their original position. The chancel, 14 ft. by 21 ft., belongs to the second quarter of the 13th century, and is only a few inches narrower than the nave; it was doubtless built round an older chancel in the usual manner, and the chancel arch may have been widened at this time. The clearstory is an addition of c. 1270, and the west tower belongs to the 13th century. Against its south wall a porch was built c. 1280, which was afterwards ruined by a fall of the spire, c. 1500, and not rebuilt. On the north side of the tower a small building was added late in the 15th century, which may have been, in the opinion of Mr. Micklethwaite, an anker-hold. It has now perished. The site of the church falls from west to east, and it is evident that the foundation has been unsound from an early date. This seems to have caused the fall of the stone spire which the tower once carried. It fell south-east, destroying the south arcade and aisle of the nave, and the south-west porch. The south aisle and arcade were replaced, about 1500, by a wall built on the line of the arcade, the eastern bay of which is alone left standing. The aisle wall was entirely pulled down. The north arcade shows interesting evidence of having been shored, probably for underpinning, as in the bell of each capital a rough chase is cut to take the end of a shoring timber. The north aisle was rebuilt in 1889, having been rebuilt already on two former occasions.

The repairs which took place after the fall of the spire comprised the building of a wall on the line of the south arcade to serve as abutment to the tower, and the addition of a transept chapel south-east of the nave, the east arch of the arcade being retained to open into the chapel. The south doorway and porch of the nave also belong to this date.

The repairs of 1889¹⁷ included the taking down of the tower, and its rebuilding with the old masonry, stone for stone; and the building of a new north aisle and vestry. The church is again showing signs of an unsound condition, and cracks are to be seen all over the south side.

The east window of the chancel is of three lancets under an arched head, the spandrels being pierced;

¹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

² Pat. 8 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 37.

³ Birch, *Cart. Sax.* No. 22.

⁴ Feet of F. Northants, 4 John, No. 82.

⁵ *Red Bk. of Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), 618.

⁶ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 60, fol. 251.

⁷ Feet of F. 56 Hen. III, No. 913.

⁸ *Ibid.* 3 Edw. II, No. 51.

⁹ *Ibid.* No. 69.

¹⁰ From MS. notes by the late R. P. Brereton.

¹¹ *Select Pleas of the Crown* (Selden Soc.), i, 48.

¹² Pat. 14 John m. 2.

¹³ *Roll of Hugh de Wells* (Cant. and York Soc. pt. i), p. 6.

¹⁴ Pat. 13 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 41.

¹⁵ William Michill (1512) leaves a

bequest to the high altar of the church of St. Andrew in Thornhaugh. Bk. A, fol. 78 (Northampton Probate Office).

¹⁶ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 38, fol. 28*d.*; Pat. 17 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 9.

¹⁷ These were directed by Mr. Micklethwaite, from whose notes much of the preceding account is taken.

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the window is original but much repaired. In the north wall is a lancet, the upper part of which is blocked, while the lower is cut away to make a doorway to the vestry. The corresponding window on the south side has been cut back for the insertion of late 15th-century tracery of two cinquefoiled lights, and the sill also is carried down to form sedilia, to the east of which is a 15th-century piscina with dog-tooth in the head. West of the window is a priest's door, and close to its western jamb a low side window, at the south-west angle of the chancel, with a square head and flat sill; in its west jamb is a squint from the south chapel. There is another low side window in the north-west angle of the chancel, a lancet with a groove for glass.

The north vestry is modern, 1889.

The nave, 14 ft. 3 in. by 45 ft. 6 in., has a north arcade of four bays, *c.* 1190, with semicircular arches of two chamfered orders, and clustered piers of four engaged shafts, with square abaci recessed at the angles. The capitals are plain, square above, with the angles rounded off below to the section of the piers. The south arcade has been of the same kind, but only the eastern arch and the springing of the second arch remain. The wall built *c.* 1500, as before described, on the line of the arcade contains two large windows each of four cinquefoiled lights under a four-centred head. West of these windows is a plain four-centred south-doorway, under a porch with an outer archway of the same description. The details of the responds of the chancel arch are like those of the nave arcades, but the arch has been widened and the responds set back close against the north and south walls, cutting into the east ends of the nave arcades. The arch is pointed, but may have been semicircular before the widening.

The clearstory of the nave, *c.* 1270, with circular windows enclosing a trefoil, exists on the north side only, that on the south having been destroyed, except for part of the first window from the east.

The south transept chapel, 15 ft. by 12 ft. 9 in. wide, has an east window of two cinquefoiled lights under a four-centred head, and a south window of three lights with the same detail. In the west wall is a blocked doorway, into which several mediaeval coffin lids are built.

The tower, 7 ft. 6 in. square inside at the ground level, is of three stages, and sets back at each stage. It had at first a west doorway of which the lower parts of the jambs remain, below a 15th-century window of two cinquefoiled lights; this doorway was probably superseded by one on the south, opening to the porch added *c.* 1280, which in its turn was blocked, probably on account of the unsafe state of the tower. In the second stage are small lancet windows on the north, south and west; and on the east a wide arched opening to the space above the tie-beams of the nave roof. In the belfry-stage are windows of two uncusped lights with pierced heads and labels with masks, and the tower is finished with an embattled parapet. The south side of the tower is strengthened by two buttresses, and there are also diagonal buttresses at the western angles.

In the roofs of the nave and chancel are some 15th-century timbers; both have embattled wall-plates and moulded tie-beams with braced collars and wind braces. The other roofs are not ancient.

The base of the chancel screen remains with moulded posts and plain panels, and in the first bay of the nave on the north side is part of a parciose screen enclosing the bay on the south and west. The moulded head of the screen remains in part.

In the nave, on the south side, are four moulded benches of the 17th century.

In the south chapel, beside the squint already mentioned, are two brackets south of the east window, and in the south wall a plain piscina with a shelf. In the east wall of the south porch is a holy-water stone.

The font is round, on a round stem, with an annulet at the top of the stem.

There are a few traces of wall painting in the nave: decorative patterns in red.

In the south chapel is a large monument to William Lord Russell of Thornhaugh, lord deputy of Ireland under Elizabeth, with a recumbent armed effigy on a panelled altar tomb. At the four corners are obelisks, and at the head is an upright stone with the Russell coat impaling sable crusilly and a lion argent (Long). On the back of the stone is a black marble panel with the inscription. At the foot of the effigy kneels a small armed figure. On the sides of the altar tomb are the kneeling figures of three daughters on the north, and three of Lord Russell's brothers on the south, each having a shield with their marriage impalements. Above their heads are painted modern inscriptions giving their names. Margaret Russell has chequy or and azure a fess gules (Clifford); Elizabeth, sable three towers argent; and Anne, or a lion vert with a forked tail (Sutton). Edward impales or on a chief gules three garlands or (Morrison); John, a badly-painted coat which should be or a chevron checkered gules and azure between three cinquefoils gules (Cooke of Giddea Hall); and Francis, argent a chevron vert between three hunting horns sable.

In the nave floor is a broken slab of the early part of the 14th century with a cross and part of an inscription in French: the name and date are missing.

The plate consists of a silver communion cup and cover paten of 1717, a paten of 1719, and a brass alms basin given in 1889.

There are three bells, the treble inscribed 'MULTI VOCATI PAUCI ELECTI 1619,' the second by Tobie Norris of Stamford, 1634, and the tenor by Warner, 1860.

The first book of the registers contains baptisms from 1563 to 1771, burials from 1562 to 1772, and marriages from 1563 to 1754; the second, baptisms and burials from 1773 to 1812; the third and fourth, marriages from 1754 to 1813. There are two books of churchwardens' accounts, the first from 1663 to 1703, the second from 1716 to 1803.

The tithe map and award, dated 15 February, 1839, is in the custody of the rector.

The Rev. Thomas Woolsey, rector of Thornhaugh-cum-Wansford, left by will of 26 March, 1707, £40 for a schoolmaster for four poor children. This, together with £20 of sundry other donations, was laid out in land, now consisting of 4 acres 2 roods 20 perches in Maxey, and 1 rood 6 perches in Newborough, producing £6 8s. 8d. The official trustees hold



THORNHAUGH CHURCH : NORTH ARCADE OF NAVE



UFFORD CHURCH : SOUTH-WEST VIEW

£131 16s. 4d. consols for educational purposes, and also a sum of £22 5s. 10d. consols in respect of 'Poor's Money.' The profits of £105 consols held by the Official Trustees, except £1 1s. which is sent

to the Stamford infirmary, is distributed to the poor of Thornhaugh in money under the will of Mary Ann Scotney, proved 26 May, 1876, and augmented by Martha Allison.

UFFORD

Uffewrthe (xii cent.).

The parish of Ufford now covers about 1,185 acres. Bainton, still ecclesiastically attached to Ufford, was formerly also part of the civil parish. No railway passes through the parish. The station of Ufford Bridge on the Great Northern, about half a mile to the west of the village, is in the parish of Barnack. There is only one main road, along which the village is built; it strikes off from the Roman King Street, a branch of the Ermine Street, in the south of the parish of Helpston, and runs through the parish in a north-westerly direction to Bainton. A by-road runs from the middle of the village westward to the station with a continuation to Barnack.

The topsoil of the parish is clay; the subsoil in the south, upper lias and inferior oolite, and in the north, great oolite. There are 693½ acres of arable land, 392½ pasture and 138 of woodland. The principal crops are wheat, barley, and roots. The population (numbering 117 in 1901) is entirely engaged in agriculture.

The village of Ufford is built on the northern slope of a ridge of high land, and has one main street running in a north-westerly direction, with the church and rectory on the high ground at its south end. At the foot of the slope on the west side of the street stands Ufford Hall, an ashlar-faced building with a forecourt, its approximate date being given by the rainwater heads as 1751. The internal decorations in the 'Adam' style fit that date very well. It occupies an old site, being the successor of the ancient manor house of Uphall, and the present owner, Mr. M. Wolryche-Whitmore, has found fragments of older masonry on the site.

The site of the old manor house of Downhall, in a small wood, is still to be seen, though no masonry remains above ground. Extensive foundations were uncovered and partly quarried for building material by the late Lord Kesteven.

The remains of the manor house of Torpel lie at the south-east corner of a large wood, known as the Lawn, to the south-east of the hamlet of Ashton. Little beyond rubble masonry is left, but there is enough to show that the building was of great strength, being a square of 40 ft. inside, with walls 9 ft. thick. A little ashlar facing with a vaulting-shaft remains at the south-west angle inside, suggesting that there was a vaulted basement. The date of the remains can only be given within wide limits, but the masonry seems to be of the 14th century.

The site has been moated, and a pool still exists on the east side.

The rectory house is an interesting building, which in spite of much refitting, preserves the general outlines and the hall roof of an H-shaped house of the 14th century. The roof has four arched principals set about 11 ft. apart, with cusped windbraces. It is

now cut up into bedrooms and ceiled at half height, the windbraces formerly above the purlins, being fixed horizontally under the ceiling-joists, while those below the purlins remain in position. The hall, now divided into two stories, preserves no other ancient feature than the roof; in its north wall are two large pseudo-Gothic windows, and a doorway.

There is one school for the children of Ufford, Bainton, and Ashton.

The hamlet of Ashton, since 1887, part of the civil parish of Bainton, lies about a mile to the north of the village. The manor farm in the hamlet is on the site of a manor house probably belonging to the manor of Torpel.

Among the place names found in this parish are Cinderells, Toungeate furlong, Ashwell cross, Shere-wong, Whytepillwong.

The enclosure award of Ufford and Bainton, dated 17 September, 1799, is in the custody of the rector.

The manor of *TORPEL*, one of the largest *MANORS* in the soke of Peterborough, extended into Maxey, Barnack, and Helpston, also comprising the greater part of Ufford, Bainton, and Ashton.¹

The name appears in the spurious grant of Wulfhere to Peterborough in 664,² but there is no mention of it in Domesday, and it seems probable that the name only originated with the first holders of the manor. It never seems to have been a real place name, and not even a field now commemorates it. The family of de Torpel, of whom a minor named Roger was the representative, held in the reign of Henry I twelve hides of Peterborough Abbey in Northamptonshire for the service of six knights.³ They also held land in Lincoln of Peterborough, and elsewhere of the crown.⁴ The successive lords were almost invariably named Roger, and came to be distinguished by numbers, like the members of a dynasty; thus it was granted to Roger de Torpel 'quartus,' that he and the men of his fee beyond Micheldike against Barnack should be quit of herbage in the marsh of Peakirk in return for giving up the right of taking thieves in his fee.⁵ Roger de Torpel was one of the ringleaders of the knights of Peterborough who refused to perform the military service due from their fees, demanded by King John in the absence of the abbot. The de Torpel lands were consequently temporarily granted to William Blome. At the beginning of the next reign Roger de Torpel at first refused to go to the siege of Biham, except at the abbot's expense, but was forced to go through the intervention of Peter des Roches and Hubert de Burgh.⁶

The fee of Roger de Torpel in Torpel, Ufford, Pilton, Maxey, Cotterstock, and Glapthorn was confirmed to Peterborough by Richard I⁷ and Henry III.⁸ Elsewhere in the reign of Henry III parts of Northborough, Bainton, Helpston, and Southorpe, are included in the Torpel holding.⁹ Torpel was the

¹ Inq. p.m. 29 Edw. I, No. 6. 31, Exch. Spec. Com. 1659, No. 6106.

² Birch, *Cart. Sax.* No. 22; see introduction to Soke.

³ *Chronicon*, p. 69.

⁴ Close 13 Hen. III, m. 17.

⁵ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 60, fol. 66.

⁶ Swapam, fol. 270.

⁷ Cart. Antiq. DD. 17.

⁸ Chart. R. 11 Hen. III, pt. i, m. 19.

⁹ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 60, fol. 251; Egerton MS. 2733, fol. 125.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

residence and most important possession of the family. In the time of Henry III the male line died out, and Ascelina, the heiress, was married to Ralph Camoys,¹ who thus became lord of Torpel. From this date the descent of Torpel is exactly the same as that of the manor of Upton in Castor² until the division of the lands of Edmund de Holand, earl of Kent, in 1408.

He died childless, and his coheirs were his three surviving sisters and a nephew.³ Upon the partition of the estates Torpel was assigned to his sister Margaret, wife of John, earl of Somerset. The earl died in the following year, leaving as heir his son Henry, a minor,⁴ and upon Henry's death without children, his brother John succeeded to his estates. John was the first duke of Somerset of the family, and Margaret, his daughter, married to Edmund, earl of Richmond, became the mother of Henry VII. She possessed Torpel⁵ in virtue of her heirship to the Somerset possessions, but the manor was confiscated for some years by Richard III, who in 1483 granted it to his nephew John, earl of Lincoln.⁶ Between Margaret, countess of Richmond, and the monastic lords, for the monks of Peterborough still appear to have asserted their claim, a suit relative to service for the manor was carried on, and Abbot Kirton proved victorious.⁷

The Countess of Richmond died in 1509, leaving by her will Torpel, described as held of the abbot of Peterborough, as part of the endowment of St. John's College, Cambridge.⁸ The king, her grandson, granted the licence for the fulfilment of her testamentary dispositions, but subsequently harassed the trustees and legatees in such a manner that they finally relinquished the manor with other portions of the bequest.⁹ For some years Torpel remained in the king's hands, but was granted by him before 1525 to his illegitimate son Henry, earl of Richmond.¹⁰

After the young earl's death the king bestowed the manor in 1537 on Sir William Fitzwilliam, K.G., High Admiral of England, who about the same time was created earl of Southampton.¹¹ He, however, died without issue, and about 1544 a lease of the lodge and park of Torpel with certain lands there was granted to Sir Robert Wingfield, the ambassador.¹²

In 1550-1 the manor of Torpel was granted by Edward VI to his half-sister Elizabeth; ¹³ it was surrendered in the following year, but was regranted shortly afterwards¹⁴ and in 1561-2 Elizabeth, then queen, confirmed the Wingfield lease.¹⁵

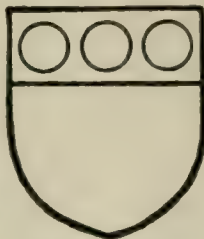
About 1591 an inquiry was held with regard to the pretensions to the lordship of Torpel of Sir Robert Wingfield, a son and successor of the original

lessee, the matter having been brought forward through the agency of fishing grantees, as they were termed, whose business it was to discover or allege flaws in titles to land. As a result of the investigation Sir Robert was required to 'make compensation for his intrusion into the manor of Torpel.'¹⁶

In 1619 Torpel was granted by James I to Sir Henry Hobart, chancellor of Prince Charles, and other servants of the prince for ninety-nine years for the use of the prince, and in recompense for their services to him.¹⁷ At the beginning of the reign of Charles I the survivors of these grantees disposed of the lease to the city of London, represented by Edward Ditchfield, citizen and salter of London, and others as security for a loan; the king afterwards granted the reversion of the lease in perpetuity, under which grant the manor was to be held by a fee farm rent of £56 6s. as of his manor of East Greenwich.¹⁸ In 1630 Edward Ditchfield, representing the city, sold this manor to John Tighe,¹⁹ son of Robert Tighe, a doctor of theology, and Mary Bancroft, niece of the archbishop of that name.²⁰ The Tighes were a Rutland family, and already held land in Deeping Gate. Torpel remained in their hands until 1687, when it was bought from Robert Tighe by Sir Thomas Trollope of Casewick,²¹ whose descendant, Lord Kesteven, is now lord of the manor.

In 1198 Roger de PARK Torpel paid 100s. for enclosing his woods of Torpel, La Hage, Ravenesland, and Cnihtecroft, and making a park for himself and his heirs.²² From this date there are frequent references to Torpel Park. In the reign of Henry III Ralph Camoys was granted nine does and four bucks out of Clyve forest to stock his park of Torpel.²³ In the description of the manor, taken on the death of Edmund, earl of Kent, the park is said to be of the small extent of 60 acres.²⁴ On the forfeiture of Thomas, earl of Kent, the office of Parker of Torpel, with the warrens of Ufford and Upton pertaining to it, was granted for life to Hugh of Northborough.²⁵ A grant of free warren in his demesne lands of Torpel had been made to Edmund of Woodstock by Edward II.²⁶ In 1527 the park of Torpel with the manor was in the hands of Henry, duke of Richmond,²⁷ but by 1554, when it was leased to Sir Robert Wingfield, it had been disparked.²⁸

A grant was made by Henry III to Ralph de Camoys of a market every week on Thursday at his manor²⁹ of Torpel, and a fair there every year for three days, the vigil, day, and morrow of St. Giles.³⁰ This grant was renewed to Peter de Gaveston in 1309, but there is no further mention of a market



CAMOYS. *Argent a chief gules with three roundels argent therein.*



TROLLOPE. *Vert three running harts argent with horns or in a border argent.*

¹ G.E.C. *Peerage*, 11, 12.

² See Castor.

³ Chan. Inq. p.m. 10 Hen. IV, 51.

⁴ Ibid. 11 Hen. IV, 44.

⁵ Ibid. (Ser. 2), xxv, 63.

⁶ Pat. 1, Ric. III, pt. ii, m. 5.

⁷ Ibid. 3 Hen. VII, pt. ii, m. 20.

⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), xxv, 63; Close 4 Hen. VIII.

⁹ Nichol, *Royal Will*, 488.

¹⁰ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 673.

¹¹ Pat. 29 Hen. VIII, pt. i, m. 21.

¹² Pat. 36 Hen. VIII, pt. xxviii, m. 7.

¹³ Ibid. 4 Edw. VI, pt. iii.

¹⁴ Ibid. 5 Edw. VI, pt. iii.

¹⁵ Pat. 4 Eliz. pt. vi; *Cal. of Pat.* 12

Eliz. pt. x.

¹⁶ Pat. 34 Eliz. pt. vii; *S.P. Dom.* 1603-10, p. 447.

¹⁷ Pat. 17 Jas. I, pt. i, m. 17, 24.

¹⁸ Pat. 4 Chas. I, pt. xxxv, pt. A, m. 8, 16.

¹⁹ Close, 6 Chas. I, pt. xvii, No. 12.

²⁰ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccclxxviii, 117; Lansd. MS. 983, fol. 160 (282).

²¹ Doc. penes Lord Kesteven.

²² Pipe R. 10 Ric. I, m. 7d.

²³ Close, 55 Hen. III, m. 8.

²⁴ Chan. Inq. p.m. 26 Edw. III (1st Nos.), No. 54.

²⁵ Pat. 1 Hen. IV, pt. v, m. 10.

²⁶ Chart. R. 14 Edw. II, m. 5, No. 15.

²⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 1289.

²⁸ Pat. 36 Hen. VIII, pt. xxviii, m. 7.

²⁹ Chart. R. 48 Hen. III, m. 2.

³⁰ Ibid. 2 Edw. III, m. 7, No. 14.

or fair in any descriptions or accounts of the manor. In the grant to Francis de Court of the manor of Torpel on the forfeiture of Thomas, earl of Kent, it is stated that he and his men, tenants and residents within the manor of Torpel and the lordship of the same, shall be quit of toll throughout the realm during his life as in the time of the earl.¹

In the earliest description of the manor, taken on the death of Ralph Camoys in 1276, there was a capital messuage, perhaps the mansion whose walls can still be seen in Ashton Lawn; and a water-mill and a fishery are also mentioned. The mill, which appears in many subsequent descriptions and accounts, was probably Lolham mill² on the Welland, and the fishery seems to have been annexed to it.³ After 1330⁴ until about 1397 a wind-mill is also said to be appurtenant to the manor; but at the later date it is said 'to be worth nothing except repairs,'⁵ and there is no subsequent reference to it.

The view of frankpledge of this manor belonged, like the rest of the soke of Peterborough, to the abbey until the dissolution,⁶ though the abbot appears to have been defrauded of his rights after the manor was acquired by the crown.⁷ View of frankpledge was however granted with the manor to the servants of Prince Charles,⁸ and from that date is always mentioned in the transfers of the property. The court for the manor is still kept by Lord Kesteven at the White Hart Inn, Ufford.

DOWNHALL.—This small holding, originally part of the manor of Torpel, is not called a manor until the middle of the 16th century, and after that time is sometimes called the manor of Ufford, sometimes the manor of Downhall. Thurstan of Ufford, who in 1199 held 28 acres of land in Ufford, was perhaps one of the first tenants of this holding.⁹ About 1300 it was found that Walter, son of Walter of Ufford, held the land in Ufford of the lord of Torpel, which Thomas his ancestor had acquired.¹⁰ The description of the manor of Torpel, taken on the death of John Camoys, who sold Torpel to the king, included a messuage at Downhall,¹¹ the first mention of the title by which this holding was afterwards known.

The family of Mortimer, who also held in Helpston, were probably tenants of Downhall in the 14th century; they held land in Ufford of both Torpel¹² and the Southorpe fees¹³ at that time, and they were followed by William Molesworth and William Sleaford, who about 1397 held a $\frac{1}{4}$ fee in Ufford of the earl of Kent, lord of Torpel.¹⁴ The manor of Downhall was in the hands of the Molesworths about 1450¹⁵ and remained in their possession until 1555 when it was sold to Francis Quarles.¹⁶ This Francis was probably the owner of the complete terrier of the manor which exists at Ufford, dated 1566 with F.Q. stamped

in gold on the vellum cover. George Quarles is written within in a later hand. George Quarles, son of Francis, died in 1585 holding the 'manor of Ufford, commonly called the manor of Downhall,' and another chief messuage in Ufford commonly called 'Dawberies manor.'¹⁷ He was succeeded by his son Francis, aged eleven. The Quarles family continued to reside in Ufford until the end of the 17th century.¹⁸ The manor was acquired before 1720 by the Trollope family whose representative, Lord Kesteven, is now lord.

There was also a messuage and land called **UPHALL IN UFFORD** which was sometimes called the manor of Ufford in the 15th and 16th centuries; it was probably held with Downhall by the Mortimers, as John de Mortimer held $\frac{1}{2}$ a fee in Ufford in 1335,¹⁹ and about 1397 William Molesworth and William Sleaford were holding a quarter of this fee.²⁰ No holder is given for the other quarter, but in 1461, in a Peterborough rental, separate payments were made for the fee of Downhall and the land once of Hugh Mortimer, now of Robert Halley in Ufford.²¹ In 1480 Egidia, widow of Henry Ridel, petitioned against Robert Halley, the husband of her step-daughter, for the 'manor of Ufford,' part of the estate of her husband.²² In 1504 Robert Halley died seised of the 'manor of Ufford,'²³ which is termed, in the inquisition of his son John, a messuage called Uphall in Ufford.²⁴ John's daughter Anne married John Stidolph and the estate continued in that family for some years.²⁵ Ufford Hall, which was purchased by Mr. M. W. Whitmore from Lord Kesteven in 1902, is traditionally said to be on the site of Uphall. It was bought by Sir John Trollope, great-grandfather of Lord Kesteven, in 1809 of William Leigh Symes, whose father had acquired it in 1792 from George Manners. This house was probably built by the Manners family.²⁶

ASHTON, in 1831 a hamlet of Ufford, was afterwards created a separate civil parish. In 1887 it was added to the civil parish of Bainton, of which it now forms a part. All the land of the hamlet, which probably grew up round the house of the Torpel family, was held of the manor of Torpel. Ashton is mentioned in the spurious charter of Wulfhere in 664,²⁷ but not in the genuine royal charters and very seldom in the Peterborough records. It is now the property of Lord Kesteven.

The advowson of the church of **ADVOWSON** St. Andrew²⁸ at Ufford, to which St. Mary at Bainton is a chapel of ease, belonged to the lords of the manor of Torpel, and was consequently often presented to by the crown from the 13th century onwards. In 1552 it was granted by Edward VI to Lord Clynton,²⁹ who soon afterwards transferred it to Leonard Irbie, by whom it was sold to John Dryden in 1553.³⁰ The advowson

¹ Pat. 1 Hen. IV. pt. vi, m. 3.

² For history, see Bainton, in which parish its ruins lie.

³ Chan. Inq. p. m. 4 Edw. III (1st Nos.), No. 38.

⁴ Mins. Acct. 27 & 28 Hen. VIII, No. 10.

⁵ Chan. Inq. p. m. 20 Ric. II, file 30, No. 36.

⁶ Cott. Nero, C, vii, 130.

⁷ Pat. 3 Hen. VIII, pt. ii, m. 20. In this agreement it is stated that the judges considered that Torpel never had been vested in the crown.

⁸ Pat. 17 Jac. I, pt. i, m. 17.

⁹ Pipe R. 1 John, m. 2 d.

¹⁰ Chan. Inq. p. m. 29 Edw. I, No. 110.

¹¹ Ibid. 29 Edw. I, No. 31.

¹² Inq. a. q. d. file lx, No. 9; Chan. Inq. p. m. 4 Edw. III, No. 38.

¹³ Soc. Antiq. No. 38, fol. 158.

¹⁴ Chan. Inq. p. m. 20 Ric. II, No. 30.

¹⁵ E. Chan. Proc. bdle. 13, No. 2.

¹⁶ Feet of F. Northants, Trin. 1 and 2 Ph. and Mary.

¹⁷ Chan. Inq. p. m. (Ser. 2), cxii, 60.

¹⁸ Lay Subs. R. 353.

¹⁹ Chan. Inq. p. m. 26 Edw. III, No. 54.

²⁰ Ibid. 20 Ric. II, No. 30.

²¹ Cott. Nero, C vii, 202 d.

²² Early Chan. Proc. bdle. 66, No. 59.

²³ Chan. Inq. p. m. (Ser. 2), xvii, 17.

²⁴ Ibid. xxxiii, 32.

²⁵ Chan. Inq. p. m. cclxiv. 175. For the Ridels, Halleys and Stidolphs, see Witterings.

²⁶ Doc. penes Lord Kesteven.

²⁷ Birch, Cart. Sax. No. 22.

²⁸ Bacon (*Liber Regis*) states this church to be under the invocation of the Holy Trinity.

²⁹ Pat. 5 Edw. VI, pt. vii, m. 14.

³⁰ Com. Pleas Deeds enrolled Trin. 1 Mary, m. 15.

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was again in the hands of the crown in 1616, when it was granted to Sir Charles Montague.¹ It was later acquired by the Quarles family, who sold it in 1693 to St. John's College, Cambridge, now the patrons.² In 1639 John Donne, son of the celebrated Doctor Donne, was presented to the living, but never came into residence.³

Ufford church stands on high ground **CHURCH** south-west of the village. The site is nearly level, but the ground falls quickly on the south and to a less extent on the west and east. The churchyard lies on the north and west.

The church has a chancel 40 ft. by 20 ft., which formerly had a small chapel on the north side; nave 48 ft. by 20 ft., with aisles 11 ft. wide, south porch, and west tower 12 ft. 4 in. square, all measurements being internal. The tower is faced with wrought stone, and the rest of the building has walls of stone rubble with ashlar dressings.

No work now in position is older than the end of the 13th century, though pieces of early 12th-century detail are used up in the jamb of one of the north windows of the chancel and at the west end of the north aisle.

The chancel is the oldest existing part of the building, and is of the same width as the nave. It has doubtless been built round an earlier chancel, the nave which existed at the time, having been rebuilt about 1330 on its old lines, at least as regards its breadth. The aisles are of the same date as the nave, and there is nothing to show whether the older nave had aisles or not. The west tower is a 15th-century addition, and the north aisle seems to have been prolonged westward to enclose an entrance to a vice in its north-east angle. The stairs to the roodloft, at both the eastern angles of the nave, are an addition to the design, though little later in date than the nave.

The east wall of the chancel has been rebuilt, and in it are two modern windows with geometrical tracery. In the north wall is a window of two uncusped lights with a lozenge in the head, and further west a second window of two trefoiled lights with segmental head and pierced trefoiled spandrels. Near the north-west angle of the chancel is a small lancet low side-window.

The destruction of the chapel on the north side of the chancel may have taken place at the setting-up of Lady Carre's tomb in 1621, and the doorway of the chapel, the piscina of which remains on the outer face of the chancel wall, stood where the tomb now stands, between the first and second windows.

The east window in the south wall is like the corresponding window on the north, and the second has two uncusped ogee lights under a segmental head with pierced spandrels, that in the middle being trefoiled. West of it is a trefoiled low side-window 15 in. wide at the glass line, divided by a transom, the top part of the window being 2 ft. 9 in. high and the lower 2 ft. 10 in.; the sill is 3 ft. above ground level outside, and the part below the transom is now blocked with masonry.

All windows have mask dripstones, and the internal label of the north low side-window ends in dog-tooth ornament. A plain segmental-headed priest's door is below the second window on the south side of

the chancel, and to the east of it are three sedilia, with moulded pointed arches, marble shafts, and moulded capitals and bases, of late 13th-century date, and closely resembling the sedilia at Paston; east of them is a cinquefoiled 14th-century piscina. The chancel arch belongs to the date of the nave, and is of two orders, with a chamfer and hollow chamfer, half-round responds, and moulded capitals and bases.

The nave is of three bays, of excellent 14th-century detail, with clustered piers of four half-round shafts and octagonal moulded capitals. The arches are of two orders, with double ogee and wave mouldings, and there is no clearstory. At both eastern angles of the nave are roodloft stairs, entered from the aisles; the upper doorways which opened to the loft having details of the same character as the nave, though both stairs appear to be insertions. That on the north is continued upward to give access to the leads, ending in an embattled octagonal turret.

The north aisle has no east window; in the north wall is a square-headed window of three trefoiled lights, and to the west of it a second window of two trefoiled lights with leaf tracery under a pointed head. The north doorway is plain and blocked, and in the west wall is a window like that just described. All these windows are of the first half of the 14th century, the last being reset when the aisle was extended westwards.

The east window of the south aisle is of three trefoiled lights with flowing tracery; it is thrown out of centre with the aisle by the projection of the rood stair, and is probably contemporary with it. The two south windows and the west window in this aisle are like the second and west windows in the north aisle. The south doorway is of two chamfered orders, and the south porch, which is of the same date as the aisle, has an outer arch of the same detail as the nave arcades, and stone benches on the east and west. On the east jamb of the outer arch is a well-preserved mediaeval sun-dial and traces of two others.

The west tower, faced with beautifully wrought ashlar masonry, is of early 15th-century date, with a good plinth, and at its angles shallow clasping buttresses, which are common in the neighbourhood in work of this time. It has an embattled parapet with gargoyles at the angles, and four belfry windows of two trefoiled lights and a quatrefoil in the head, with embattled transoms and cinquefoiled heads below them. In the second stage are square-headed cinquefoiled lights on north, south, and west, and in the ground stage a west window of three trefoiled lights with octofoils in the head, and below the window a sharply-pointed west doorway with continuous mouldings under an embattled string.

The roofs of nave and aisles are of flat pitch and simple detail, probably ancient, but much repaired. In the north aisle is a record, in black letter, of a repair in 1701. Externally they are leaded, while the chancel roof, which is of good modern design and steep pitch, is covered with Collyweston slates, as is the south porch.

The only old woodwork in the church beside the font cover is in the north aisle, where are some 15th-century bench ends with poppyheads.

The font has a tall octagonal panelled bowl, stem and base; on the bowl blank shields alternate with window tracery in the panels, except that on the east face is a saltire, in reference to the dedication of the

¹ Pat. 13 Jas. pt. xv, m. 9.

² Deed at St. John's College, Cambridge.

³ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

church. The tall crocketed cover is ancient, in the form of an octagonal spirelet. On the top are two figures back to back, one holding a heart with both hands, the other having the hands crossed on the breast; there may have been four figures originally.

Of ritual arrangements, besides those already mentioned, there are a few traces. In the north wall of the chancel under the first window from the east is the square locker commonly found in this position, which probably served, among other things, as the locus for the Easter sepulchre. In the north aisle of the nave, in the angle of the rood stair, is a cinque-foiled 14th-century piscina with a gabled head, and in the north wall of this aisle are two plain arched recesses with labels over, which are not sepulchral and appear to be sedilia. In the south aisle is a piscina like that in the north, but retaining its wooden shelf above.¹

In the chancel floor near the sedilia is the indent of a large brass, and at the east end of the north aisle is another, smaller, with remains of an inscription, of which the word 'capellan' alone is legible.

Against the north wall of the chancel is a large alabaster monument with panelled arch and cornice carried by Corinthian columns, and surmounted by obelisks and a shield in a border of strapwork, set up in 1621 by Mrs. Quarles of Ufford, in memory of her sister Bridgett, daughter of Sir John Chaworth of Wiverton, and wife of Sir William Carre of Old Sleaford. Under the arch lies the alabaster effigy of

Lady Carre, on a raised alabaster tomb with marble panels.

The plate consists of a silver cup with cover paten of 1619; a paten and flagon of 1887, presented in that year by the present rector, the Rev. W. S. Wood; a pewter flagon inscribed 1732, and two plain pewter plates with VFORD on the edge of each.

There are three bells—the treble of 1670, and the second and tenor, by the mediaeval London founder whose mark is a shield with a bend between a cross and an annulet, identified with Richard Hille. The inscriptions are: 'Sit Nomen Domini Benedictum' and 'In Multis Annis Resonet Campana Johannis.'

The first book of the registers contains baptisms and burials from 1570 to 1711 and marriages from 1571 to 1712. There are many gaps in the book. The second book contains baptisms and marriages from 1713 to 1740 and burials from 1713 to 1739. In book three are baptisms and burials from 1741 to 1804, and marriages from 1741 to 1754. A fourth book contains marriages from 1754 to 1758 and from 1804 to 1828, with those from 1758 to 1803 in a separate book. The baptisms and burials from 1805 to 1812 are together in one book.

The churchwardens' accounts and memoranda from 1663 to 1904 are in one book.

G. Quarles, Mrs. Hangar, and the Rev. J. Bourne gave before 1702 benefactions amounting together to £20 for poor widows. The interest of £1 is now laid out in clothing for the poor.

WANSFORD

Walsford (to xvii cent.).

The civil parish of Wansford, which is ecclesiastically attached to Thornhaugh, covers 396 acres. It is bounded on the south by the Nene, which here forms the division between the counties of Northampton and Huntingdon, but the larger part of the village of Wansford is on the south of the river in the parish of Sibson-cum-Stibbington. The soil is light upon a substratum of inferior oolite, and produces wheat, barley, and turnips. Ninety-six and a half acres are arable land, 48½ pasture, and 2¼ wood. The low-lying land by the river is liable to floods.

Wansford in the 18th and early 19th centuries was celebrated as a posting town, a large number of roads converging there, probably on account of the ancient bridge across the Nene, the most important from Peterborough, Huntingdon, and Oundle. It was originally of thirteen arches, now only of ten, and the southern portion was entirely rebuilt in 1795. In the early 13th century Bishop Hugh Welles of Lincoln gave a release of ten days' penance to those who contributed to the repair of Wansford Bridge,² and Bishop Sutton granted another such indulgence in 1294.³ Henry III in 1234 granted an oak from the forest of Clive for the work of the bridge.⁴ Thus its repair seems to have been a matter of general interest, though the real obligation lay on the vill of Wansford, according to the finding of jurors in 1330, when repairs had been neglected.⁵ The vill appears

to have needed assistance on this occasion to do the necessary work, for in 1332 protection was granted for two years to the 'good men of the town' of Wansford collecting alms in churches for the repair of the bridge of their town.⁶ The next year they were granted pontage for two years on wares passing over the bridge for the same purpose.⁷ This grant was repeated for three years in 1340 and 1392.⁸

The celebrated Haycock Inn, on the Huntingdon side of the river, owed its prosperity to the roads. The name is commemorative of the incident recorded in 'Drunken Barnaby's' well-known poem:—

On a haycock sleeping soundly,
The river rose and took me roundly
Down the current: people cried
Sleeping down the stream I hy'd;
'Where away,' quoth they, 'from Greenland?'
'No, from Wansforth Brigs in England.'

Thus, too, arose the custom of calling the town 'Wansford in England.' There was also formerly a flourishing barge trade down the Nene to Lynn. Barnack stone was carried down and sea-coals brought back. The church of St. Mary and the Haycock Inn with Major G. J. Wickham's house, The Oaks, are the only considerable buildings, but on the Stamford road is a house with a pretty mullioned bay window, c. 1620. The Haycock is now used as a private residence. It was lately occupied by Lord Chesham as a hunting-box. The present tenant is Mr. Digby.

¹ At Bainton is a third piscina of the same design.

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Wells, 12.

³ Ibid. Sutton, Mem. 120 d.

⁴ Close, Hen. III, m. 29.

⁵ Assize R. No. 632, m. 71.

⁶ Pat. 6 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 5.

⁷ Ibid. 7 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 26.

⁸ Ibid. 14 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 34; Pat. 16 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 18.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

The children of Wansford attend the schools at either Thornhaugh or Stibbington.

The station of Wansford on the London and North Western Railway, that of Wansford Road on the Great Northern, and Wansford Junction, where the two railways meet, are all out of the parish and some distance from the village. The parish was enclosed in 1807. The population in 1901 numbered 67.

There was no separate manor in Wansford; most of the land was parcel of the manors of Thornhaugh and Sibberton in Northamptonshire, and Stibbington in Huntingdonshire. Wansford is mentioned with Thornhaugh in the spurious charter of Wulfhere to Peterborough in 664.¹ It is always named as part of the St. Medard fee, and passed with it into the hands of the Russells, whose representative, the Duke of Bedford, sold it in 1904 to Earl Fitzwilliam.

Richard Mareschal was one of the most important tenants in the 13th century.²

Part of one-sixth of a fee was held in Wansford in the 13th century by John de Folkisworth of Nicholas de Bassingburne, and he of the king.³ This land continued in the same family until the 16th century as an appurtenance of the manor of Stibbington,⁴ and probably came into the hands of the duke of Bedford with that manor. The monastery of Thorney also had a small amount of land in Wansford held of the manor of Water Newton.⁵

The church of our Lady at Wansford **CHURCH** is a chapelry to Thornhaugh. It consists of chancel with north vestry and organ chamber, nave with north aisle and south porch, and west tower.

The west wall of the nave, and possibly parts of the south wall, belong to a small pre-Conquest church which had an aisleless nave measuring about 30 ft. by 15 ft. 6 in. internally: of its chancel there are no traces. There is no evidence of alteration till the 13th century, when the north aisle was added, and the tower built against the west end of the nave—the original gable being preserved and the east wall of the tower built upon it. A new south doorway was built at the same time. The south wall of the nave has gone over considerably, and the western half seems to have been taken down and rebuilt, and the south porch, dated 1663, has been built to act as a buttress. The chancel fell or was destroyed at some time of which no record is preserved, and the church stood without one till that now existing was built in 1902, with a vestry and organ chamber.

The chancel, 26 ft. by 15 ft. 6 in., is in 14th-century style, with a five-light east window with net tracery, and two two-light windows on the south. The chancel arch is copied from the north arcade. Some old window-heads are worked into the new organ-chamber on the north. The nave has a north arcade of two bays, with wide obtusely pointed arches of two chamfered orders, and clustered responds and pier of four engaged shafts; the moulded capitals of the responds are octagonal, and that of the pier round, with a line of nail-head. The clearstory has two-light square-headed windows, two on each side—all are modern. The north aisle has no ancient features except a stone bench on the west and north 10½ in.

wide, and 2 ft. 9 in. high, the excessive height being accounted for by the lowering of the floor levels.

In the south wall of the nave is a 13th-century doorway of three moulded orders, with two detached shafts in each jamb: the outward lean of the wall has dislocated the shafts, and they have been patched up and the capitals roughly recut. At the east angle of this wall is a 15th-century buttress, and a second buttress about in the middle of the length. All the wall to the west of this has apparently been taken down and rebuilt upright, probably in the 17th century. The window west of the porch has a square head with a label, and two lights with triangular heads; it may be of the date of the rebuilding. In the eastern half of the wall is a square-headed window of three wide lights, made up of various old materials, one mullion having 14th-century mouldings. The south porch has an outer doorway with a round arch and classical detail—over it is a tablet with the date 1663.

The west wall of the nave opens to the tower with a square-headed doorway, which has in the lower part of its jambs some masonry which may be of pre-Conquest date. Above it is a narrow round-headed window, 3 ft. high by 8½ in. wide, with a raised fillet worked on its head and jambs, the head being in one stone. At the springing are rough impost stones. Internally the window has a square head, and jambs and head are both splayed. Around the window are patches of herringbone masonry, and the line of a gable is clearly visible in the wall above it. The wall in which it is set is 2 ft. 4 in. thick—the south wall of the nave being 2 ft. 2 in., while the other three walls of the tower are 3 ft. thick. The north and south walls of the tower are built with a straight joint against the plastered face of the early wall. The window is clearly the west window of the nave of the early church, and is perhaps of the 11th century, though it may be earlier.

The tower, 8 ft. square inside, is of three stages: its date may be about 1230. The first stage has lancet windows on the south and west, and the second on north, south, and west; all have labels with mask dripstones. The belfry stage has two-light windows divided by round shafts with moulded capitals and bases under pointed heads, the space above the lights not being pierced. These windows have labels and dripstones as the rest, and the tower is finished with a short stone spire of the 14th century with two tiers of spirelights, the lower of two trefoiled lights, the upper of a single light, also trefoiled. At the base of the spire is a cornice with dogtooth ornament.

All roofs and woodwork within the church are modern—a western gallery was erected in 1804, but has disappeared.

The font is a good specimen of the 12th century, with a round bowl on a modern round stem. The upper edge of the bowl has a band of carved foliage below a row of billets: below this is an arcade of thirteen round arches with capitals and shafts, in which are a series of five subjects arranged in pairs, the other three arcades being occupied by floral patterns. The subjects are (1) the baptism of Christ; (2) two figures turning towards each other, each raising one hand, and both holding books; (3) two men fighting,

¹ Birch, *Cart. Sax.* No. 22.

² Egerton MS. 2733, fol. 152; see also 25 to this holding Feet of F. Northants,

13 Edw. I, No. 168; Ibid. 23 Edw. I, No. 323; Cott. Nero cvii, fol. 130; Feet of F. Northants, 15 Edw. I, No. 227; and *Abbrev. Orig. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 62.

³ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 25.

⁴ Lay Subs. R. 146.

⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* ii. 613.

with small oval shields and clubs (as at Castor and elsewhere); (4) a figure with a nimbus with left hand raised giving an order to a second figure who holds a book; (5) a similar subject, the nimbed figure in this case lifting the right hand and stretching out the left.

There are several ancient coffin-lids, etc., lately found, and two are laid down outside the east wall of the chancel.

The plate consists of a silver communion cup of c. 1570, with a cover paten of 1569. The paten fits the cup, but it is not by the same maker, being of London make, while the cup is probably the work of a local silversmith, whose mark, a fish in an ellipse, occurs on a number of cups in the county, all of about the year 1570.

The cup is inscribed, For the towne of Wansford—and on the paten is the date 1570.

There is also a silver-plated alms dish, c. 1876, and a pewter flagon.

There are four bells, the treble and second by Taylor, 1887, the third by Warner, 1887, and the tenor, formerly a mediaeval bell, by an unidentified founder, inscribed *Ihs Nasarenus Rex Iudeorum*, was recast by John Taylor in 1897. The registers of Wansford are entered at Thornhaugh until 1807. There is one book of marriages from 1807 to 1812, and one of burials and baptisms from 1808 to 1812. There are separate churchwardens' accounts for Wansford from 1703 to 1768, and constables' accounts from 1713 to 1780.

The tithe map and award dated 15 February, 1839, are in custody of the rector.

Wansford shares with Thornhaugh in CHARITY Woolsey's school charity.

WITTERING

Witheringham (xi cent.).

This parish covers 2,720 acres, having a subsoil of upper lias and inferior oolite. The topsoil, of a light and sandy character, is not favourable for the production of pasture grasses, but grain and roots are produced. Disused quarries and gravel pits indicate past industries; and springs exist in the western part of the parish. There are 1,893 acres of arable land, 403½ of pasture, and 47 of woodland.

The main road from Wansford to Stamford passes through the east of the parish in a north-westerly direction. The small village of Wittering is built along a road branching off this to the west, and contains a school opened about 1870, and a Wesleyan chapel built in 1891. The manor farm is situated to the extreme west, and the church of All Saints and the rectory stand at some distance to the south, though there is a tradition that in former days part of the village stood close to the church on the west. A serious fire took place in the middle of the 17th century, which burnt down the greater part of the village.

Among the place names found in the parish are Bonemills Farm and Lound Wood. The population, numbering 204 in 1901, is entirely agricultural.

The vill of Wittering was confirmed to MANOR the abbey of Peterborough by the spurious charter of Wulfhere.¹

In Domesday Wittering is returned as having nine hides of land. This estimate probably included Thornhaugh and other portions of the St. Medard fee, which are not mentioned in Domesday.² There were three mills, and woodland two leagues in length and one in breadth. The tenant under the abbot of Peterborough was Anschitil de St. Medard,³ one of the largest fee holders. Wittering is mentioned as part of the St. Medard fee as late as the 16th century, but it was very early held of the St. Medards by a branch of the well-known Ridel family, who also held estates in France and Scotland. The date and manner of the passing of Wittering into the hands

of the Ridel family cannot be exactly ascertained. According to one account it was through the marriage of a daughter of Hugh Ridel, great-nephew of Geoffrey Ridel, the judge who was drowned in the White Ship, with Peter de St. Medard.⁴ Margaret, the daughter of this union, married Hugh Ridel, the grandson of Maud, daughter of the Geoffrey Ridel before mentioned.⁵ This view is rather confirmed by the first documentary evidence of the connexion of the Ridels with Wittering, the entry in the Pipe Roll of 1186 that Hugh Ridel paid for having 'such seisin of the land of Wittering as he had when Peter de St. Medard died.'⁶ But according to a Peterborough document



RIDEL. Or three piles gules with a bend azure over all.

of the 13th century Hugh Ridel was the second son of Richard de St. Medard, heir of Anschitil, by Mabel Ridel, and uncle of Peter de St. Medard.⁷ In any case Hugh Ridel was lord of Wittering in 1186, and the place remained in possession of his male heirs until late in the 15th century. Hugh was succeeded by Richard Ridel, his son,⁸ who in 1192 was still paying for the entry on Wittering at Peter de St. Medard's death.⁹ He seems to have been followed by a Hugh Ridel whose widow Sibil was implicated in a suit concerning land in Wittering, wherein the heir of Hugh was required to warrant, but could not appear because he was in the hands of the king of Scotland.¹⁰ The heir of Hugh was apparently Richard Ridel, who was holding Wittering in 1243, and who may have been the brother of Hugh.¹¹ Richard was succeeded by his son Hugh,¹² who was involved through his Scotch estates at Cranston in the War of Independence, and whose manor of Wittering was taken into the king's hands for his delay in answering the king's summons to leave John Balliol in 1296,¹³ and bestowed on his son Geoffrey. Hugh applied in

¹ Birch. *Cart. Sax.* No. 22. See introduction to Soke.

² *V.C.H. Northants*, i, 315a.

³ For St. Medards, see Thornhaugh.

⁴ Hutchinson, *Hist. of Durham*, iii, iv. The pedigree of the Ridels given by Hutchinson is not entirely to be trusted.

⁵ *Ibid.* The eldest son of Matilda took the name of Ridel.

⁶ Pipe. R. 32 Hen. II, m. 1.

⁷ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 60, fol. 19.

⁸ *Liber de St. Marie de Calchou* (ed. Innes), pp. 14, 255, 256.

⁹ Pipe R. 4 Ric. I, m. 8.

¹⁰ *Doc. relating to Scotland*, p. 219.

¹¹ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 60, fol. 251; Pat. 1 Hen. III, m. 8.

¹² *Chronicon*, p. 21; *Doc. relating to Scotland*, p. 509.

¹³ Anct. Pet. P.R.O. file 142, No. 7099.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

vain for the restoration of Wittering on the plea of Geoffrey's selling and pledging the land, and destroying woods and gardens in violation of his tenure.¹ By 1347 Geoffrey had been succeeded by his son Hugh, who petitioned for the restoration of his Scottish lands lost during the war, which, however, seem never to have been recovered by the family.²

In 1396 Wittering was in the hands of Nicholas Ridel,³ and in 1428 the same or another Nicholas held it.⁴ This Nicholas had a son Hugh, who possibly did not come into possession of Wittering,⁵ but in 1438 his son Henry, the last of the male line of the Northamptonshire Ridels, was a minor in ward of the abbot of Peterborough.⁶ Henry was married twice. By his first wife Alice he had a daughter Ellen,⁷ his heiress, who married Robert Halley. His second wife, Egidia, was born in Paris, and in 1480 brought a plea of dower against Robert Halley, which Robert combated on the ground that Egidia was not a denizen and could not hold land in England.⁸ Robert died in 1503 leaving as heir his son John.⁹ Ann, daughter and heiress of John, married first Giles, son of George Kirkham, by whom she had no children, and afterwards John Stidolph, whose son Anthony, a minor, inherited Wittering in 1524.¹⁰

The manor remained in the Stidolph family until the end of the 17th century, when it was conveyed by Sigismund Stidolph and Margaret his wife through trustees to the Cecils whose representative, the Marquis of Exeter, is now the lord of the manor.¹¹

About 1290, William de Scaccario and Agnes his wife sold a messuage and land in Wittering to Simon de Ellesworth.¹² This estate, known as the Chequerstede, perhaps from its first owner, afterwards passed into the possession of Walter Langton, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, who obtained a grant of free warren in his land of Wittering among other places in 1300,¹³ and the next year obtained leave to bestow a messuage and land in Wittering held of Geoffrey Ridel on the prior of New Place outside Stamford.¹⁴ In 1330 William son of Robert del Eschequer brought a suit against Geoffrey Ridel for a messuage and land in Wittering which Hugh Ridel gave to William del Eschequer and Agnes his wife, and which ought to descend to William son of Robert as grandson and heir. Geoffrey denied that he held the said tenement, and William was fined for a false claim.¹⁵ In 1357 Peter son of Geoffrey of Burghley released to Robert Wykes of Stamford a messuage and land called the Chequerstede in Wittering.¹⁶ There is still a field bearing this name in Wittering, in which are remains which may have been the foundations of a house.

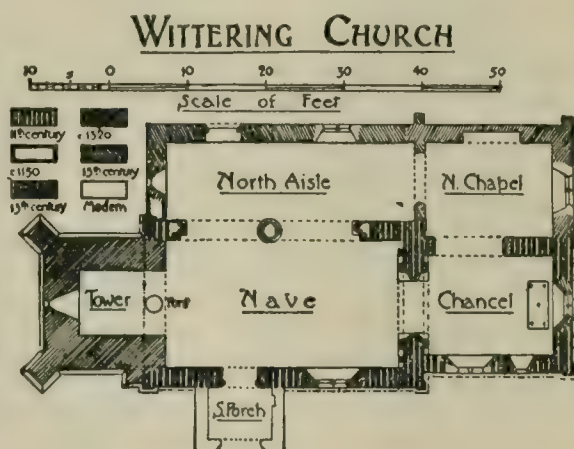
The advowson of the church has always been in the hands of the lord of the manor.

The church of All Saints¹⁷ is a small building with chancel and north chapel, nave with north aisle and south porch, and west tower with a stone spire. It is of peculiar interest from the fact that it retains

all the 'long and short' angles of the nave and chancel, and, except on the north and west, practically the whole of the walls, of a pre-Conquest church.

The original walling is of coursed rubble with wide joints, stones of fairly large size being used. It was at first covered with plaster, a vertical rebate being worked on the angle-quoins to stop it, leaving a stone face about 12 in. wide to show on either face of the angle. Some of the 'long' or vertical stones are as much as 3 ft. 10 in. high, bedded on edge, and the 'short' or horizontal stones average 7 in. in thickness. At the base of the walls is a projecting course of stone.

No original windows or doorways remain, but the chancel arch is of pre-Conquest date, and a fine specimen of a kind of which very few examples have survived. The architectural history of the church is simple. A north aisle was added to the nave about 1140-50, and a north chapel to the chancel about 1320. The west tower was built about the same time as the north chapel, and the north aisle was widened in the 15th century, and made of equal projection with the north chapel. The south porch is modern.



The tower is faced with ashlar, and the rest of the church has rubble walls with ashlar dressings, the stone being from the neighbouring quarries at Barnack. The roofs are covered with Collyweston slates.

The chancel has a 15th-century east window of two cinquefoiled lights, with a quatrefoil in the head, and in the south wall is a 13th-century lancet, with a late 13th-century window to the west of it, having two uncusped lights with a quatrefoiled circle in the head, and an external label with masks. It has been much restored. At the east end of this wall is a locker and a 15th-century bracket.

On the north of the chancel is a chapel, opening to it with an arch of two chamfered orders springing from moulded corbels with heads below them. The east window of the chapel is modern, of two lights, and in the north wall is a tomb-recess with a segmental arch and moulded label, c. 1320. At the east is a 15th-century arch of poor detail, built at the widening of the north aisle.

¹ Anct. Pet. P.R.O. File 142, No. 7099.

² Parl. R. (Rec. Com.), ii, 190.

³ Cott. Nero, C. vii, fol. 30.

⁴ Misc. Bks. Exch. K.R. iv, 235.

⁵ Add. MS. 25288.

⁶ Ibid. fol. 161.

⁷ Sometimes called Elizabeth.

⁸ E. Chan. Proc. Bde. 66, No. 59.

⁹ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), xvii, 17.

¹⁰ Ibid. xxxiii, 22; xliii, 47.

¹¹ Deeds at Burghley House.

¹² Feet of F. Northants, 24 Edw. I, No. 344.

¹³ Chart. R. 28 Edw. I, m. 10, No. 36.

¹⁴ Inq. a.q.d. File xxxv, No. 8.

¹⁵ Assize R. No. 633, m. 103.

¹⁶ Close R. 30 Edw. III, m. 16.

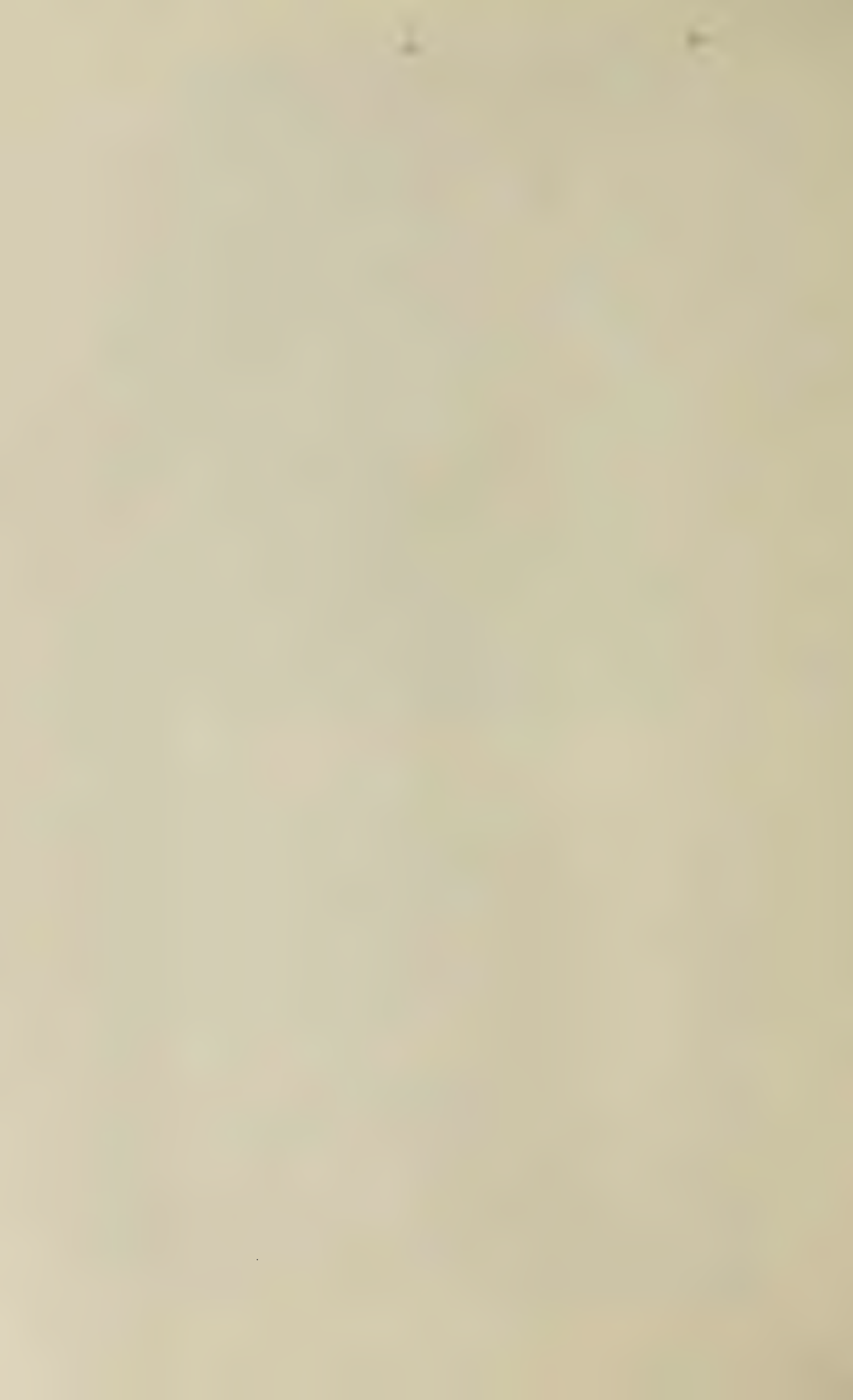
¹⁷ John Serle (1512) desired to be buried in the churchyard of All Hallows in Wittering. (Northampton Probate Office, Bk. A. fol. 88.)



WITTERING CHURCH : THE CHANCEL ARCH



WITTERING CHURCH FROM THE SOUTH



The chancel arch has a torus on the soffit, between canted hollow-chamfered angles flanked by a second torus. On the west side there is also a square-edged rib framing the arch, the sections of arch and jambs being the same.¹ The imposts are heavy roughly-shaped blocks, built in two courses and tapering downwards. On the line of the outer rib they are set out to form separate capitals for this member, and the rib and torus are splayed outwards below the impost and at the base. There is no sort of base to the jambs except this, and they stand on large rectangular blocks left in the rough like the imposts.

The north arcade of the nave is of two bays with round arches of two orders, the inner order having a plain roll, and the outer a band of zigzag towards the nave, and a plain square section towards the north aisle. The labels in like manner have lozenge and sunk star ornament on the nave side in both arches, whilst towards the aisle the east label has the billet moulding, and the west a plain chamfer. The capitals are scalloped, and the central pillar of the arcade is round, while the responds have a half-round, with a detached nook-shaft towards the nave. There is an embattled 15th-century bracket on the east respond of the arcade, on the nave side, and in the wall above is the rood-loft door. The nave is lighted on the south by a single two-light window, the jambs of which are probably of the 13th century, but the four-centred head and the tracery belong to the 15th. In the east jamb of this window is a moulded bracket like that in the chancel. The south doorway is of the 13th century, with a moulded arch and engaged jamb-shafts with moulded capitals. It is now covered by a modern porch. The north aisle has a modern two-light north window, and in the west wall a single trefoiled light of the 14th century. The blocked north doorway is of the date of the aisle, c. 1450, with a four-centred head. A short length of a 12th-century string remains in the wall at the south-east of the aisle.

¹ The continuations of the second torus in the jambs are modern, but doubtless represent the old arrangement.

The tower is of four stages, with diagonal buttresses at the western angles, the wall face setting back above the first stage, and again above the third.² The tower arch of two chamfered orders is corbelled out at the springing, with moulded corbels ending in heads. In each of the first three stages of the tower is a trefoiled lancet in the west wall, and in the third stage there are also quatrefoiled circles in the north and south walls. In the belfry stage are windows of two trefoiled lights in all four faces, with quatrefoiled circles over, and labels with masks. The octagonal stone spire is contemporary with the tower, and has rolls at the angles, and low-pitched broaches at the base, with a cornice enriched with masks alternating with ball flowers. There are two tiers of trefoiled spire lights, the lower tier having trefoils over them. All have gabled heads with plain gable crosses. The spire was struck by lightning fifty years ago, and shortened in rebuilding.

There is no old woodwork in the church except a few benches at the west end, with simply-moulded tops and ends, which may be of the later part of the 17th century. They have served as a model for the modern seating.

The font stands under the tower, and has a round bowl on a round stem. The bowl only is ancient, but there is little to fix its date.

The plate consists of a silver-plated cup, a pewter paten, and a pewter bread-holder, dated 1843.

There are three bells, hung in a modern iron frame, the treble and tenor by Tobie Norris of Stamford, 1681, and the second inscribed *Laus tibi Domine*, of mediaeval date but uncertain origin.

The first book of registers contains baptisms and burials from 1743 to 1783, imperfect from 1750 to 1761. The second contains marriages from 1757 to 1779, the third baptisms from 1785 to 1800, burials from 1783 to 1801, and marriages from 1784 to 1811, the fourth marriages from 1811 to 1812, the fifth baptisms and burials from 1801 to 1812.

² On the south-east buttress of the tower is a small sun-dial.

THE HUNDRED OF WILLYBROOK

CONTAINING THE PARISHES OF

APETHORPE
COLLYWESTON
COTTERSTOCK
DUDDINGTON
EASTON ON THE HILL

FOTHERINGHAY
GLAPTHORN
KING'S CLIFFE
LUTTON
NASSINGTON

SOUTHWICK
TANSOR
WOODNEWTON
YARWELL¹

The boundaries of this hundred have remained practically unchanged. The hundred headings in Domesday for Northamptonshire are not sufficiently clear to make it possible to tell exactly what places were then included in any hundred, but the 12th-century survey of Northamptonshire gives a complete list for Willybrook. All the places mentioned above are included, and in addition some land in Elton, Warmington, and Elmington. A few acres of land belonging to Elton, a Huntingdonshire parish, are still in Northamptonshire. One hide of land in Warmington is specially noted in Domesday as pertaining to Willybrook hundred, and in the population return of 1831 the hamlet of Warmington is said to be locally situate in the Willybrook hundred, though the parish belongs to Polebrook hundred. The return states the same with regard to Elmington, a hamlet in the parish of Oundle.²

Willybrook was a royal hundred, and until the reign of Henry III remained so far as is known entirely in the hands of the crown. In 1224 the sheriff was commanded to allow Ranulf, earl of Chester, to take into his hands the hundred of Willybrook during pleasure as he had it before an inquiry was made.³ In this reign also the views of frankpledge of Tansor, Cotterstock, Glapthorn, Southwick, and Perio, were acquired by the Earl of Gloucester.⁴ The prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem also had view of frankpledge at Glapthorn for his tenants in the neighbourhood.⁵ The view for the rest of the hundred⁶ with the lordship remained in royal hands until the 16th century.

In 1628 James I granted to Francis, earl of Westmorland, for three lives the lordship of the hundred with all view of frankpledge and other privileges.⁷ This grant was renewed to Mildmay, earl of Westmorland, for three lives in 1662.⁸ A further renewal was obtained by Thomas, earl of Westmorland, in the 18th century,⁹ and after this the honour was allowed to lapse.

¹ This list is taken from the *Population Return* of 1831.

² The hamlet of Warmington, apart from the vill of Warmington, appears in the Subsidy Rolls under the hundred of Willybrook. (Lay Subs. R. $\frac{1}{2} \frac{5}{8}$, $\frac{1}{2} \frac{5}{8}$, $\frac{2}{3} \frac{5}{8}$.) No instance has been found of Elmington being thus included in the hundred, but in the beginning of the reign of Edw. I it was said that the abbot of Crowland had abstracted the suit of his tenants at Elmington from the court of the hundred of Willybrook (*Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 14). In the *Population Return* of 1831 Elmington is said to be a hamlet of Easton on the Hill on the other side of the hundred. No connexion can be traced between these two places except that until the reign of Henry VIII the abbey of Crowland held the advowson of Easton and the greater part of the land at Elmington.

³ Close, 8 Hen. III, m. 4, 5.

⁴ *Quo Warr. R.* (Rec. Com.), p. 531.

⁵ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 14.

⁶ Held at King's Cliffe in fourteenth century (Assize R. No. 632, m. 30).

⁷ Pat. 4 Chas. I, pt. xxix, m. 28.

⁸ Pat. 14 Chas. II, pt. xix, No. 8.

⁹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* x, App. pt. iv, 52.



WILLYBROOK HUNDRED

APETHORPE

Patorp (xi. cent).

The parish of Apethorpe, formerly part of the forest of Rockingham in the bailiwick of Clive, covers 1,381½ acres of arable land, 2,005 of pasture, and 745 of woodland. It is situated almost in the centre of the hundred of Willybrook; the little Willow brook from which the hundred takes its name runs through the parish in a southerly direction and forms the boundary for some distance on the eastern side. There is no great elevation in the parish, the ground being only from 100 to 200 ft. above the ordnance datum, but the surface is sufficiently varied to prevent a flat or monotonous appearance. No railroad passes through Apethorpe, and the only important road is that from King's Cliffe to Woodnewton, from which a branch road east of Apethorpe village leads to Nassington. The soil is clay on a subsoil of great oolite, and produces grain and pulse. The parish was enclosed in 1778; there is now about an equal amount of arable and pasture land. The population, consisting of 170 persons in 1901, is wholly engaged in agriculture.

The village of Apethorpe is small and compact, having the church at the east, and near it a school built about 1846 by the Earl of Westmorland for seventy children. Opposite the west end of the church are stocks to hold three persons, and a whipping post in good repair. Apethorpe Hall, formerly the residence of the Earl of Westmorland, and now that of Mr. Leonard Brassey, stands south of the village in a park of about 44 acres, being approached by a road running south from the east end of the village street. On the west side of this road stands the house built in 1711 by Thomas, earl of Westmorland, as the agent's house for the estate, and still so occupied.¹

To the extreme south-east of the parish, near the road between Woodnewton and Southwick, stands Halefield Lodge on the reputed site of the village of Hale, formerly a separate parish, which disappeared at the time of the plague in the 14th century. Halefield Hall is said to have stood in Apethorpe Park. From Apethorpe to Wansford (4 miles) is a private drive called 'the Gravel,' made by the owners of the Apethorpe estate.

APETHORPE manor formed part of **MANOR** the ancient demesne of the crown. Its history as far as is known does not begin until 1086, when there was in 'Patorp' two hides with a mill pertaining to Nassington held by the king.² The manor appears to have remained in royal hands for the next 150 years; its 'farm,' paid by the sheriff, is enrolled at intervals on the Pipe Roll, and two hides in Apethorpe are mentioned in the 12th-century survey of Northamptonshire.³ In the time

of Henry III there were two mills belonging to the manor, and about 1250 an inquisition was taken concerning the right of common belonging to the king's men of Apethorpe within the bounds of Clive Forest.⁴ In 1231 the manor was granted in fee farm to Ralph Brito and his heirs to hold of the king and his heirs free from tallage for £10 per annum.⁵ It did not long remain in this family, for in 1281 John Lascy was granted the custody of the manor for two years at the rent of £39 19s. 3d.,⁶ and it was subsequently held by Queen Eleanor of Provence in dower for eleven years.⁷ Margaret de Henle next held Apethorpe for a short time,⁸ and in 1312 the manor was granted for life to John Clavering, who two years later received permission to grant it to Donus de Podio to hold for life of the grantor.⁹ In 1330 the heirs of Ralph Brito brought a suit against John Clavering for the manor, but on John stating the terms of his grant from the crown the suit was dropped.¹⁰ Ten years afterwards the whole rent of the manor was granted to Robert Dalton, whose family is the first to have a long connexion with Apethorpe.¹¹ The rent descended in the male line of the Daltons until 1442, when Richard Dalton died, leaving an only daughter Alice, who succeeded to his possessions.¹² It is not known what became of Alice Dalton, but the manor appears to have been in the royal hands during this period, and was apparently granted to the Ridels of Wittering, whose heiress was in possession in 1480.¹³ In 1491 Sir Guy Wolston, who had held several offices from the crown and was at one time sheriff of Northamptonshire, was the possessor; he settled Apethorpe, in default of heirs male, on his daughter Etheldreda and Thomas Empson her husband.¹⁴ In 1515 the manor was bought of them by Henry Keble, citizen and grocer of London and merchant of the staple, William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, his son-in-law, and others.¹⁵ Henry Keble died in 1517, leaving Apethorpe entailed successively on his son George Keble and William Lord Mountjoy and Alice his wife, with remainder to John Browne, son of William Browne, late mayor of London, brother to Robert Browne of Walcot in Barnack parish.¹⁶ In 1543,¹⁷ before the death of George Keble, the manor was sold to the king by Charles Lord Mountjoy, son of William, and the manor and park of Apethorpe were granted in the early part of the next reign to 'the Lady Elizabeth' the king's sister. This grant was soon after rescinded,¹⁸ and in 1550 the park and manor held in free socage with court leet and view of frankpledge were granted to Sir Walter Mildmay, a prominent and distinguished servant of the crown,¹⁹ whom Camden declared 'justly deserved' to be ranked among the excellent men of this age for his

¹ For a notice of the remains of a Roman villa discovered at Apethorpe, see *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 191.

² *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 307a.

³ Pipe R. 13 Hen. II, rot. 8, m. 2; *Ibid.* 19 Hen. II, rot. 3, m. 2; *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 388a.

⁴ Chan. Inq. p.m. Incert. temp. Hen. III, No. 180; *Ibid.* 35 Hen. III, No. 61.

⁵ Cart. Antiq. PP. 22.

⁶ Pat. 9 Edw. I, m. 3.

⁷ Close, 27 Edw. I, m. 15.

⁸ *Ibid.* 10 Edw. II, m. 2.

⁹ *Ibid.* 6 Edw. II, m. 11; Pat. 8 Edw. II, m. 30.

¹⁰ Duchy of Lanc. Misc. g.

¹¹ Pat. 14 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 23.

¹² Chan. Inq. p.m. 27 Edw. III, No. 5;

Ibid. 43 Edw. III, pt. i, No. 30; *Ibid.*

8 Hen. IV, No. 56; Fine R. 16 Hen. VI;

Ibid. 20 Hen. VI.

¹³ Early Chan. Proc. Bdle. 66, No. 59.

This may have been only land in Apethorpe, as are several other estates mentioned in this document as manors. See Ufford and Southorpe.

¹⁴ Feet of F. Northants, 7 Hen. VII

¹⁵ *Ibid.* Mich. 7 Hen. VIII.

¹⁶ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), xxxii, 9.

¹⁷ Feet of F. Northants, Hil. 35 Hen. VIII.

¹⁸ Pat. 4 Edw. VI, pt. iii, m. 26.

¹⁹ Pat. 5 Edw. VI, pt. iii.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

valour, prudence, piety, and munificence.¹ He secured his title from George Keble the next year, and dying in 1589 left the manor and park of Apethorpe to Anthony, his son and heir.² Anthony left no heir male, and Apethorpe with his other possessions passed in 1617 to his daughter Mary, wife of Sir Francis Fane, who was soon after created earl of Westmorland.³ It remained in the Fane family and was their principal country residence until 1904, when the hall and estate were sold to Mr. Leonard Brassey, the present owner.



FANE. *Azure three gauntlets or.*

Apethorpe Hall is a large, picturesque, and rambling building of various dates built round two courts, and thrusting a wing of inferior rooms beyond the limits of the less important court. The oldest part of the house is the block of buildings separating the two courts and so much of the north side of the first court as extends to and includes the north gateway. It dates from the end of the 15th century or the beginning of the 16th, and contains the hall and great chamber, with some small rooms on the south and north. There must have been a large kitchen of the same period occupying much the same position as the present, which, however, seems to be of later work. The screens are entered at each end by a two-story porch; the hall, which formerly had an open-timbered roof, is lighted on both its main sides by a range of windows high up from the floor, while at the dais end is the usual bay window with its sill brought down low enough to afford an outlook. Till within recent years the step of the dais, about four or five inches in height, remained at the south end of the hall, but was eventually removed in order to give greater space for dancing. There is a shallow recess in the south wall of the bay, to which has been hung a fine panelled door, evidently removed from the inner arch of one of the porches. Adjoining the hall to the south is a cellar with the great chamber over, now cut up into bedrooms. It has a projecting turret on the south side, which may have contained a staircase or a garderobe. This turret is crowned with an embattled parapet, the only remnant of the original work of the kind, and invisible from either court. The approach from the hall to the great chamber may have been by way of this turret or from the south-east of the hall, but no evidence remains on the point, nor is it possible to distinguish the precise uses to which the rooms north and south of the principal chambers were put.

The entrance gateway on the north side of the first court is of three stories, and has moulded four-centred inner and outer arches, with a pretty oriel window over the former, looking into the court. From the gateway contemporary doorways open east and west into passages running along the inner side of the northern range, and at its south-eastern angle is a stair-turret projecting into the court and giving access to the upper floors. All the range east of the gateway has been rebuilt, and there is no evidence as to the

original extent of the building, but it is highly improbable that the gateway, which was the main entrance, would have been in one corner of the court, and it may therefore be presumed that the court was of nearly the same dimensions as at present.

The next work in point of date is the second court, which seems to have been begun long after the completion of the hall, and to have been carried on at intervals during the next five-and-twenty or thirty years, up to perhaps 1530. Its north side continues the line of the first court, and had towards its western end an entrance for servants, stores, and so forth, now blocked up. The return range on the west of the court has undergone little structural alteration and preserves many of its original doors and windows. It was probably intended for much the same purposes as those to which it is still put, namely, for the bakehouse, dairy, &c. Along the south side, now occupied by the conservatory, there is nothing to suggest a continuation of the 16th-century work, and this part may have been open. The east side of this court presents some problems not altogether easy of solution, but apparently a one-story corridor was built in front of the hall and great chamber in order to connect the kitchens with the living rooms on the south front. Over a portion of this corridor was built a room opening from the great chamber, but somewhat narrower than that apartment; and afterwards this room was connected with the kitchen wing by putting a second story on the intervening corridor. This arrangement is very unusual, as the corridor formed two small and useless courts west of the range containing the hall and great chamber, and it was not until half a century later that the inconvenience caused in large houses by a lofty hall dividing the accommodation into two separate halves began to be felt, and led to the adoption of arrangements by which the hall ceased to be a room of constant thoroughfare. These little courts have long since been roofed over and cut into servants' rooms.

The house thus far described, and all of it dating from the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII, was of very considerable size, but it bears no clue as to who built it. According to the descent of the property given above, the Wolstons must have been the first builders and the Mountjoys perhaps the second. However this may be, it was a very considerable house when the estate was granted to Sir Walter Mildmay in the year 1550.

It is impossible to say whether Sir Walter did much building, but he certainly made alterations, and did something to embellish his acquisition. He built the more westerly of the two chimney-stacks on the south side of the southern wing of the first court, and erected the fine stone chimney-piece on the upper floor, which he adorned with his arms, motto, initials, and the date 1562. He is also responsible for the chimney-piece, chimney-stack, and screen of the hall, and he inserted his arms in the spandrels of the entrance gateway. It is not improbable that he either built or rebuilt a considerable portion of the south side of the first court, and added the two small bay windows in its north-west and south-west angles for the sake of symmetry, a matter which had not entered into the calculations of the builders of the hall. He died in 1589, and was succeeded by his son Sir Anthony, who married the daughter of a great builder, Sir William Sherington, or Sherington, of Lacock Abbey in Wiltshire. Sir Anthony, how-

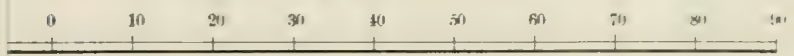
¹ Camden *Brit.* (Ed. Gough), p. 168.







² Feet of F. Northants, East. 7 Edw. VI; Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccxxiii, 61.

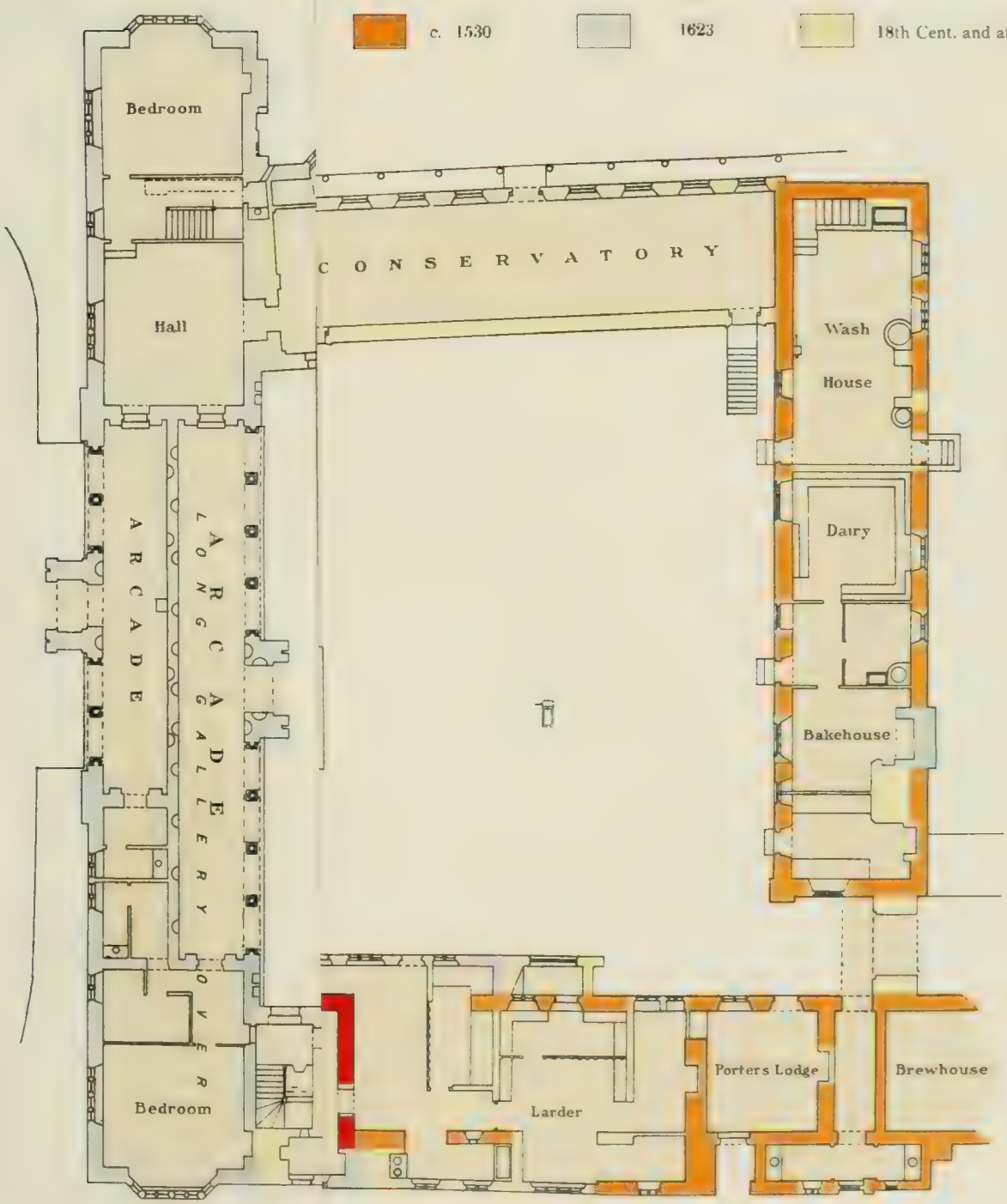
³ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), ccclxxxi, 94.

ETHORPE HALL. Ground Plan c. 1858.

SCALE = 24 feet to 1 inch.



- | | | | | | |
|---|---------|---|---------|--|-----------------------|
|  | c. 1500 |  | c. 1560 |  | Later 17th Cent. |
|  | c. 1530 |  | 1623 |  | 18th Cent. and after. |

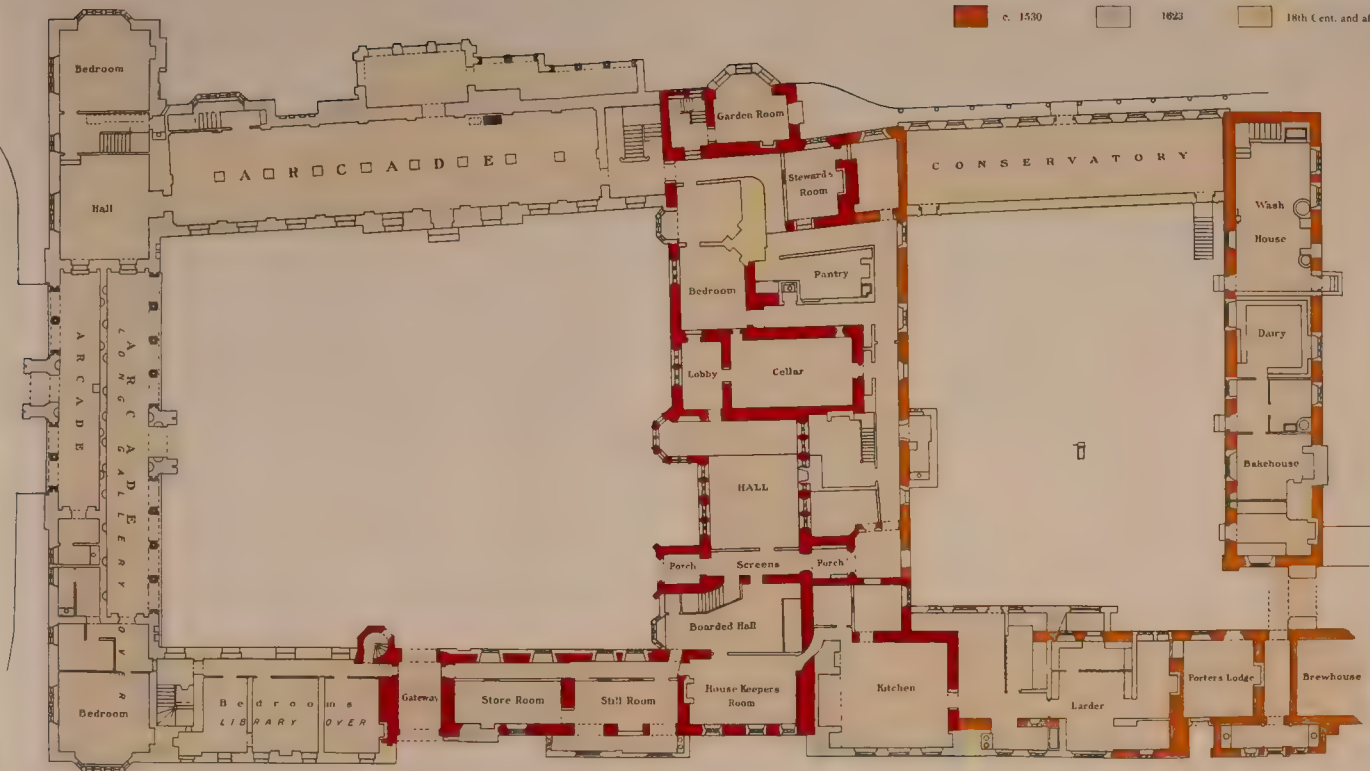


APETHORPE HALL. Ground Plan c. 1858.

SCALE = 24 feet to 1 inch.



 c. 1600	 c. 1699	 Later 17th Cent
 c. 1530	 1823	 18th Cent. and after



ever, does not appear to have done anything to his own house, but some years after his death in 1617, when his son-in-law, Sir Francis Fane, had come into possession through marrying his only daughter and heiress, very considerable alterations were made.

Sir Francis built the east front and part of the south, dating his work 1623-4, and he lavishly embellished the rooms on the first floor of the southern range; he also brought the whole of the first court into harmony with his new work by adding stepped and curved gables and parapets to the older walls, making them of the same pattern as those on his own additions. The rooms added by him were thenceforward the principal apartments of the house. They comprised the long gallery, occupying the greater part of the east front, and several fine rooms on the southern return. The ceilings and chimney-pieces of these rooms are their most remarkable features, the former being among the finest produced in that age of fine plasterwork. The ceiling of the long gallery is of an ordinary type, but those of the two drawing-rooms are considerably richer, and the panels are fitted with the heraldry of the Fanes. Sir Francis's mother was the sole heiress of Lord Neville of Abergavenny, and accordingly it is largely Neville and its alliances which furnish the heraldry of the more easterly of the two rooms, while the other displays Neville impaling Manners, Fane impaling Neville, and Fane impaling Mildmay. It is the centre row of panels which contains the shields; the side rows contain the crests and badges of the various families concerned. In the western room two Cavendish badges were added at each end just above the cornice in 1743 by John, earl of Westmorland, who married a Cavendish. It is this western room which contains the chimney-piece of 1562 erected by Sir Walter Mildmay. The chimney-pieces of Sir Francis Fane, or of the first earl of Westmorland, for he was so created in 1624 while he was engaged upon this work, are of an allegorical type very common in those days; they are very quaint, but the figure carving was done by an artist who had not thoroughly mastered the modelling of the human figure. One room, next to the smaller drawing-room, has a coved ceiling ornamented with strap-work and with the royal arms very handsomely modelled. They are those of James I, who stayed with Sir Anthony Mildmay in 1603 in the course of his journey from Scotland, and again in 1614. He subsequently gave the timber for the east and south fronts. The chimney-piece in the long gallery is of considerable interest, inasmuch as the inscription on it gives one reason for the erection of such rooms: it was to be used as a music room. The bedroom in the south-east corner has a large chimney-piece with a ship in full sail, a hand holding an anchor, a hand supporting a ducal coronet, and the prince's feathers; all in remembrance, it is said, of the visit of Prince Charles and the duke of Buckingham to Spain: and the charming plaster frieze contains Neville badges. In a room in the extreme diagonal corner, near the kitchen, is another handsome chimney-piece, not allegorical, but of a less ambitious type, the chief feature of it being two shields, one of Fane quartering many Neville coats, the other Mildmay and Sherington quarterly. The arcades shown on the plan as occupying much of the ground floor of the east front

have since been converted into a large entrance hall, at one end of which stands the statue of James I, which formerly occupied a central position on the south side of the court.

The remainder of the building operations which the house has undergone are not of such great architectural interest, although they have very materially affected its appearance. In 1653 the outer face of the entrance gateway was once more embellished, the archway and window over it being framed with carving, and a niche being introduced on either side, one of which has been removed through subsequent additions. To the same date approximately belong the outer wall and the fireplace of the kitchen, as well as many of the wood windows in different places. The orangery, now a conservatory, which forms the south side of the second court, was built in 1718, and the south side of the first court was refaced and the arcade occupying the whole of its ground storey was formed by the seventh earl between 1736 and 1762,¹ the domestic chapel being destroyed by the making of the arcade. At the same time the eastern half of the north side, which contains the library, was rebuilt. The intention was to complete the refacing of the court in the same style, but happily the idea was never carried out. The late Lord Westmorland made a few internal alterations, and since the estate changed hands in 1904 a remodelling of the upper part of the south wing has been undertaken, which marks the latest stage in the history of this unusually interesting house.

Apethorpe has been described once and for all in the well-known lines of Julian Fane, which give with wonderful accuracy the exact feeling of the place:—

Four-square, and double-courted, and grey-stoned,
Two quaint quadrangles of deep-latticed walls
Grass-grown, and mourned about by troops of doves,
The ancient house.

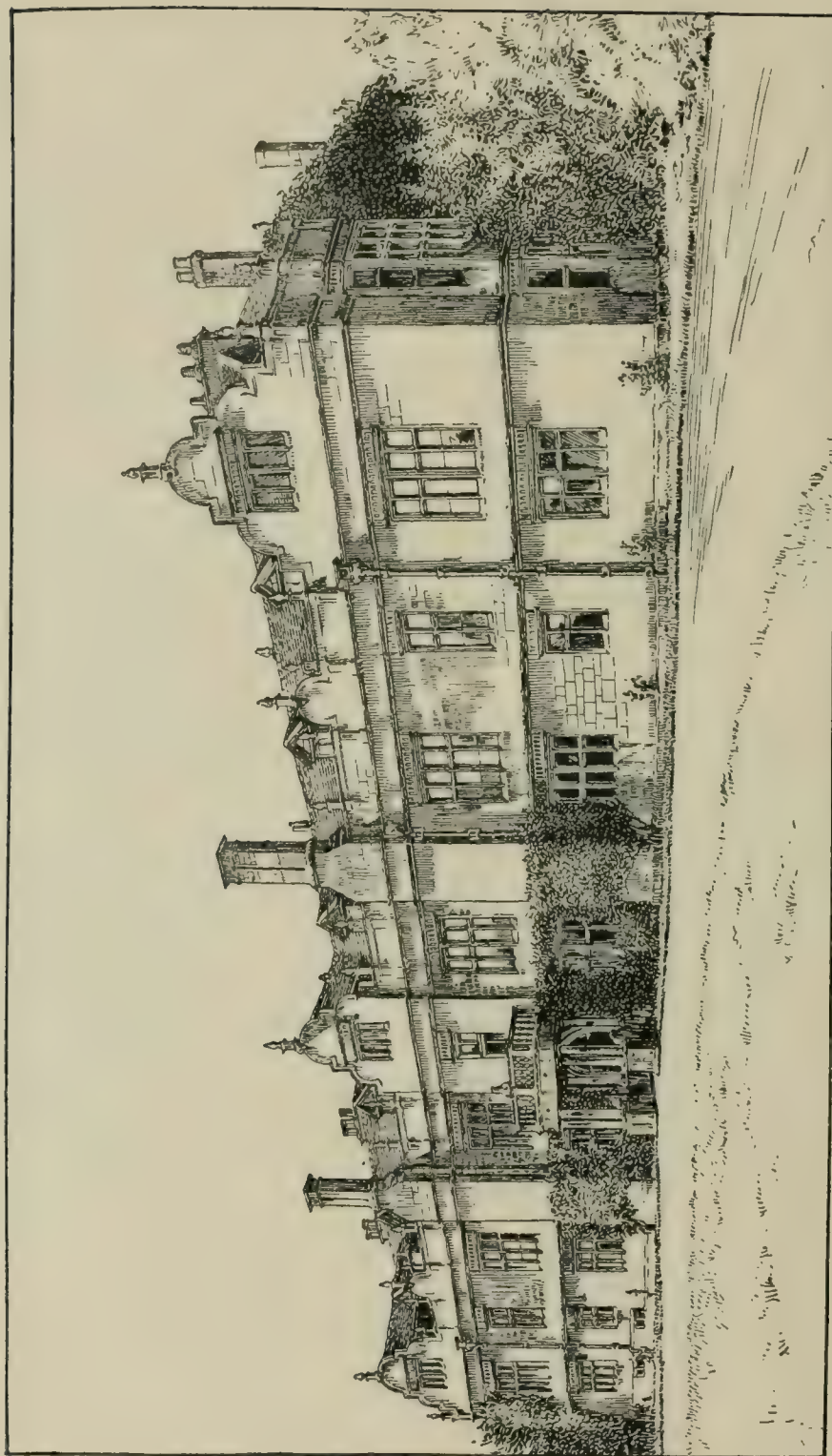
The gardens have not retained much of their former character, but two rows of ancient yews leading southwards from the south front are the remains of the ancient lay-out. The gardens were being laid out in 1598; and there are also records of the making of a kitchen garden in 1714, and a wilderness in 1713.² From the copy of a plan once 'preserved in the library' it would seem that the space between these yews and the house was occupied by a bowling green, the higher level of the yew trees being bounded on the north by 'a terrace walk'; the garden west of the yews was then an orchard, while that to the east occupied a considerable space now thrown into the park. In front of the east façade was 'the gravel garden,' surrounded by a wall and having a garden house at its two outer angles. This arrangement is shown on a view taken in 1721, now preserved in the British Museum. The main entrance to the house was through the oft-mentioned gateway in the north front; the porch on the east front, which is now the chief entrance, then led only to the gravel garden, which has been entirely destroyed, and the restoration of which on something like the original model would vastly enhance the beauty and dignity of the house.

Apethorpe under the Mildmays was a centre from time to time of political influence. Sir Walter Mildmay, although a strong Puritan, was an adroit politician. He served Queen Mary to the end of her death, and became Queen Elizabeth's chancellor of

¹ These notes of eighteenth-century alterations are taken from a MS. account

of Apethorpe by Lady Rose Weigall, most kindly lent for the purposes of the history.

² From the MS. account of Apethorpe referred to above.



EAST FRONT, APETHORPE HALL.



APRTHORP HALL : THE LONG GALLERY

the exchequer. His son Sir Anthony was ambassador to Paris in 1596, where his cold and ungenial manner by no means agreed with the temper and wishes of Henry of Navarre, but he retained the royal favour.

Twice James I stayed at Apethorpe, in 1603 and in 1614; on the latter occasion George Villiers, afterwards duke of Buckingham, was first brought to his notice, and promptly became a favourite. His son-in-law, Sir Francis Fane, through whose marriage Apethorpe had passed to that family, was the first earl of Westmorland (1623). His son the second earl had a typical career during the civil war, beginning with the king's side and then in 1643 'coming in' to the Parliament and living a retired life at Apethorpe, relieved by writing lampoons on Cromwell and Fairfax till the Restoration, when he became a prominent cavalier. His real talent was literary, and his lines 'Virtus vera nobilitas' from the volume *Otia Sacra* are still quoted and quotable.

The Fanes acceded to William III, and the sixth earl was in favour at the court of Queen Anne. The elder line of the Fanes ended with the seventh earl in 1762, and a distant relative succeeded as the eighth. With his grandson the tenth earl, who made the famous Gretna Green marriage with the heiress of Mr. Childe the banker, Apethorpe became of greater consequence than it had been for more than a century. This earl was a regular member of Tory cabinets in the first quarter of the 19th century, continuously in office from the fall of Grenville's ministry till Canning's premiership. The eleventh earl was a distinguished soldier under Wellington in the Peninsular War, and afterwards prominent in diplomacy. He was the possessor of many accomplishments, and in 1823 founded the Royal Academy of Music. His countess was an amateur painter of considerable ability, and their fifth son Julian Fane was a littérateur and poet of genuine talent. The twelfth earl served in the Crimea. Apethorpe has been second to Burghley alone as a great centre of political activity on the Conservative side throughout the nineteenth century.

HALE (Hala, xi. cent.).—Only 1½ virgates of land in Hale, which belonged to the abbey of Ramsey,¹ are noted in the survey of 1086. The earliest mention of the territory, which afterwards became known as the manor of Hale, is in 1200, when Robert son of Alan of Hale rendered account of two marks for having 'such seisin of his father's land in Hale as his father had at his death.'² In 1212 he is returned as holding 1 virgate there by service of archery.³ No further mention has been found of the place until about 1250, when Alan de la Hale died holding 1 virgate of land in Hale of the king by the service of archery, and also 6 acres of the fee of Nicholas of Hale. William, aged fourteen at his father's death, was Alan's heir.⁴ He died about 1292, holding the 'vill of Hale' with a capital messuage, and was followed by a son William in 1305, and by a grandson Robert, a minor.⁵ No court is mentioned in the full descriptions of this

holding, but the names of several tenants are given.⁶ In an inquiry taken apparently for the proof of age of Robert about 1318 he is said to have been born 'at Wodeneuton in a certain chamber in the upper part of the hall of John de Holt.'⁷ His mother Joan had married John of Eston as her second husband, and enjoyed the Hale estate, or most of it, until her death in 1344.⁸ Soon after this date Robert enfeoffed John Holt of this land; the latter died in 1350, leaving it to his brother, Peter Holt, but the estate, held of the king by petty serjeanty, was then 'of no value, because no one lives in Hale, and has not since the pestilence.'⁹ Thus ends the real history of this holding, which was never a manor, but is styled so by several subsequent owners. In 1381 John Knyvet died holding the 'manor of Hale' jointly with his wife Eleanor by the grant of Peter Holt. The house belonging to the manor is said 'to be lying waste, and to be within the king's forest.'¹⁰ The estate continued in the Knyvet family until at least 1442;¹¹ from that date no history has been found for Hale until about 1492, when it was, with the manor of Apethorpe, in possession of Sir Guy Wolston.¹² Henceforth it followed the descent of the manor of Apethorpe, passing with it to the Fane family, and in 1904 to the present owner, Mr. Leonard Brassey.

The land held by Ramsey Abbey in Hale appears as 3 virgates in two undated hidages of the abbey,¹³ but it is not mentioned among its possessions in either the ecclesiastical valuation of 1291 or that of 1535.

There was a church at Hale under the invocation of St. Nicholas, the advowson of which belonged to the owners of the estate. It is first mentioned about 1250, when the advowson of the chapel of Hale belonged to Alan de la Hale.¹⁴ It appears in most of the subsequent descriptions of the estate until 1388, and there are several later institutions in the Lincoln registers.¹⁵ In the ecclesiastical valuation of 1291 the church of Hale in the deanery of Oundle is valued at £1 6s. 8d. The prior of Fineshade at the same time is said to have lands and rent in Hale to the value of £1 3s.¹⁶ This was probably the land owned by Robert le Breton in the reign of Henry III, and given by his brother Elias to the prior of Fineshade.¹⁷

The church of St. Leonard at **ADVOWSON** Apethorpe was part of the endowment of the prebendal stall of Nassington in Lincoln Cathedral.¹⁸ The prebendary, therefore, had the right of appointing a curate to serve Apethorpe, and the village was under the prebendal jurisdiction. In 1845, under the Ecclesiastical Commission Act of 1836, the prebend of Nassington was dissolved, and Apethorpe and Woodnewton formed into a separate vicarage,¹⁹ to which the bishop of Peterborough presents an incumbent.

The church has a chancel, south chapel, **CHURCH** nave with aisles and south porch, and west tower, the south chapel and tower being of the 17th century, and faced with wrought

¹ *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 318b.

² Pipe R. 2 John, m. 4 d.

³ *Red Bk. of Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), 534.

⁴ Chan. Inq. p.m. 34 Hen. III, No. 1. On Alan's holding, see also *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 32.

⁵ Chan. Inq. p.m. 20 Edw. I, No. 141.

⁶ Ibid. 33 Edw. I, No. 274.

⁷ Ibid. 11 Edw. II, No. 22. His mother is called 'Matilda' at the head of

this inquisition, but Joan later on and on every other occasion when she is mentioned in the records.

⁸ Ibid. 18 Edw. II, No. 7.

⁹ Ibid. 21 Edw. III (2nd Nos.), No. 4; Ibid. 30 Edw. III (1st Nos.) No. 6.

¹⁰ Ibid. 4 Ric. II, No. 32; 12 Ric. II, 32.

¹¹ Ibid. 6 Hen. V, No. 32; Feet of F. Northants, 20 Hen. VI, No. 107.

¹² Ibid. 7 Hen. VII.

¹³ *Cart. Ram.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 211, 221.

¹⁴ Chan. Inq. p.m. 34 Hen. III, No. 1.

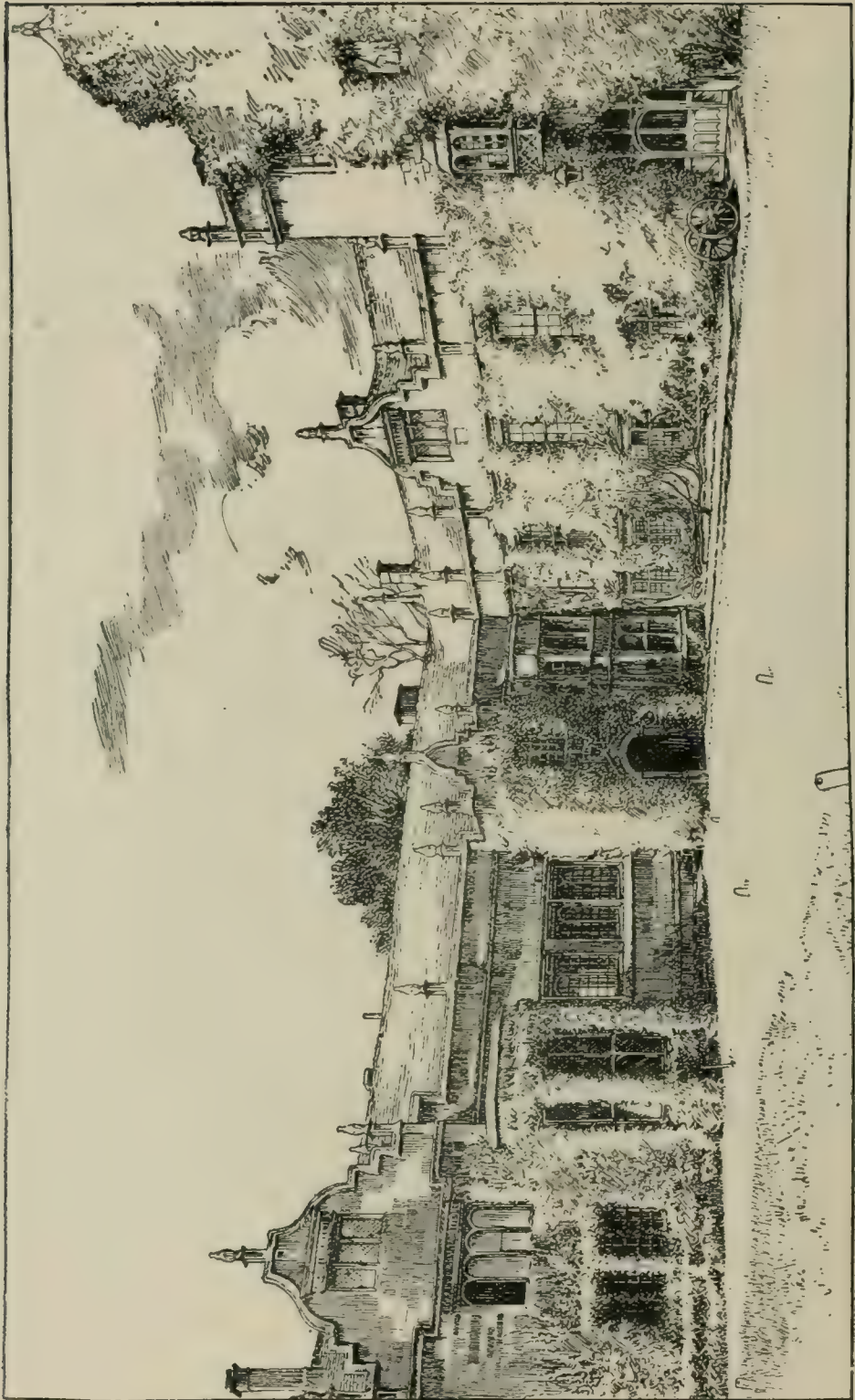
¹⁵ Bridges, ii, 461.

¹⁶ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 396, 55b.

¹⁷ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 14.

¹⁸ For prebend, see Nassington.

¹⁹ Perpetual curacy styled vicarage (Act 31 & 32 Vict. cap. 117).



COURTYARD, APETHORPE HALL.



APETHORPE CHURCH : THE MILD MAY MONUMENT



stone, while the rest of the building has rubble walls with wrought dressings, and appears to be all of one date, *c.* 1475.

The chancel has an east window of four trefoiled lights with a four-centred head, the central mullion having been cut away to make room for some 18th-century glass. In the north wall are two windows of three trefoiled lights under four-centred heads, and on the south the chancel opens to the south chapel with an arcade of three bays, having pointed arches with renaissance detail dating from the building of the chapel in 1621. The chancel arch, *c.* 1480, is pointed, of two chamfered orders, with octagonal moulded capitals and half-round shafts, which with the east responds of the nave arcades have been cut away, doubtless for the fitting of a screen.

The south chapel, built 1621, has one window on the east, and two in the south, each of four trefoiled lights under a four-centred head, and above them a deep cornice of moulded plaster work enclosing texts of Scripture. On the north side, in the spandrels of the arcade, are cherubs' heads and hanging drapery in plaster. The nave is of three bays, the arcades having narrow piers with small engaged shafts east and west, octagonal capitals, and stilted bases, the arches being of two chamfered orders. Above is a clearstory of three windows a side, each of three trefoiled lights with a four-centred head.

The remaining windows in the church are like those in the north wall of the chancel, and all have been shortened by the blocking of the lower parts of the main lights with masonry. In the north aisle are two windows on the north, and one at the east and west; in the south aisle two on the south and one on the west.

Both nave doorways have plain four-centred heads with continuous mouldings, and the contemporary south porch has a four-centred outer archway with shafts in the jambs, and a niche over it. Externally the church has flat lead roofs and plain stone parapets throughout.

The tower is interesting as being a 17th-century version of a mediaeval type common in the neighbourhood, being dated 1633 on a panel over the west window of the ground stage.

It has a short stone spire with two rows of crocketed spirelights, and a line of dogtooth, not very successfully imitated, below an embattled parapet at the base of the spire. The four belfry windows have round arches under square heads, enclosing two uncusped pointed lights. In the second stage is a simple trefoiled light on the west face, and in the ground stage a west window of two trefoiled lights under a round head. Below it is a plain doorway. The tower arch is pointed, of two orders, with a large cyma moulding at the springing, and over the arch are the arms of Charles II in a gilt frame.

The nave and aisles preserve their late 15th-century roof timbers, the nave roof being low pitched, with a moulded ridge and brackets to the principals resting on stone corbels, while the roofs of the chancel and south chapel have moulded ties and purlins which are probably of the date of the building of the chapel, *c.* 1621.¹

The pulpit is of the 18th century, with wood inlaid panels, and across the tower arch is a screen, contemporary with the tower, with a central door with an arched head. The upper part of the screen has a row of turned balusters, the lower part being panelled.

The east wall of the chancel is covered with good

18th-century panelling behind the altar, but the seats and pews in the church are of recent date.

On either side of the chancel arch are stone corbels for the rood-loft, and at the east end of the north aisle is part of a stone image bracket.

The font has a carved marble bowl on a stone baluster stem of 18th-century date.

In the east window of the south chapel is some interesting glass dated 1621, with four main subjects—(1) the Fall of Man, (2) the Crucifixion, (3) the Resurrection, (4) the Last Judgement. Scrolls with inscriptions in English are introduced: 'Poore frends farr ofe,' and 'Greate enimies neare,' in the Crucifixion; 'Thy deade men shall live,' in the Resurrection; and in the Last Judgement 'More honor to kneele in heaven then to be kneeled to on (earth).'

There is also a little heraldic glass of the same date in the chapel. In the east window of the chancel is a representation of the Last Supper, with the glass-painter's name, 'I. Rowell, Wycomb Bucks fecit 1732.'

On the sill of the north-west window of the chancel is an alabaster effigy, said to be that of Sir Richard Dalton, 1442, and in the east wall of the chancel are two mural monuments—to Rowland Woodward, undated, but of the 17th century, and John Leigh, 1627.

In the south chapel is the fine monument of Sir Anthony Mildmay, 1617, and his wife, Lady Grace Mildmay, 1620, set up by Sir Francis Fane, their son-in-law, in 1621. It is of alabaster and black marble, and the two effigies lie on a panelled altar tomb under a circular canopy carried by rectangular piers at the east and west. Alabaster curtains hang from the canopy on either side, and the whole is surmounted by a circular upper canopy or cupola pierced with windows and domed at the top. There are shields of arms on the upper canopy and round the cornice of the lower, and at the four corners of the tomb are standing female figures of Piety, Charity, Wisdom, and Justice. Above are three seated figures, Hope at the west, Faith at the east, and Charity on the central cupola.

In the churchyard, near the south porch, is the base and part of the shaft of a cross; another piece of the shaft is used as a step at the west doorway of the tower. It has a foliage pattern and appears to be of the 14th century.

There are four bells, the treble being of 1629, and the second uninscribed and undated. The third is by Thomas Norris, of Stamford, 1671, and the tenor is an early 16th-century bell from the Newcombes' foundry at Leicester, inscribed:—

NOMEN MAGDALENIE] CAMPANA MELODIE GERET.

The second word has been cut out.

The church plate is all of one date, 1735, and consists of a silver cup with cover paten, a flagon, and two alms-dishes. Each piece is engraved with the arms of Thomas Fane, 6th earl of Westmorland, and inscribed: 'Belongs to Apethorpe Church, in the county of Northampton, 1736.'

The first book of parish registers contains baptisms from 1676 to 1800, marriages from 1687 to 1789, and burials from 1682 to 1802. The second, marriages from 1754 to 1812, the third, baptisms from 1800 to 1813, and burials from 1807 to 1813.

Dame Grace Mildmay, by her will *CHARITIES* dated 12 December, 1618, devised a rent-charge of £10 a year for preaching four sermons at Apethorpe on certain feast days, and

¹ A stone corbel belonging to the former roof of the chancel remains at its north-east angle.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

also a rent-charge of 40s. a year to be distributed to the poorest inhabitants on the same days. These payments are made by the earl of Westmorland, and the 40s. is applied in bread.

The same donor by her will devised one other rent-charge of £10 and stock for 'putting to work' the poor of Apethorpe and Woodnewton, and directed lands to be purchased and assured for that purpose.

This gift was augmented by the donor's descendants

by an additional rent-charge of £26, which, together with the rent-charge of £10 a year, was appointed to be yearly employed for binding-out apprentices to trades in Apethorpe, Woodnewton, Nassington, and Yarwell. The charity is regulated by a scheme of the Charity Commissioners, dated 4 June, 1875. The annual charge of £9, and the dividends on a sum of £107 15s. 10d. consols, which is held by the official trustees of Charitable Funds, are applicable for apprenticing poor children of Apethorpe.

COLLYWESTON

Weston (until xiii cent.), Colyn Weston or Collyweston (xiii-xv cent.).

The parish of Collyweston covers about 1,575 acres, and is bounded for some distance on the west by the River Welland, which is here also the boundary

junction of these two roads the village of Collyweston is built. To the north-east of the village, along the side of the road to Easton and stretching into that parish, are the famous slate quarries.¹ The majority of the population, numbering 361 in 1901, are occupied as slaters and lime-burners. The soil is good but various on a subsoil principally of inferior oolite; there are 812½ acres of arable land, 393½ of pasture, and 240 of woodland; good wheat, barley, and turnips are produced.

The main street of the village runs east and west down the slope, with a second street parallel to it on the north, and between the two, about the middle of the village and well below the crest of the high ground, stands the church, with the vicarage near it on the south-east, and the manor-house and farm below on the south-west. On the manor-house is the date 1696.

The street has many picturesque stone-built houses, with the mullioned windows common in the district, and roofed with the grey slates which take their name from the village. The wide view across the valley of the Welland, and the steeply-sloping street with its irregular line of grey stone houses, make a delightful picture from the high road above.

Nothing now remains of Collyweston House but its site, the last remaining buildings having been destroyed in the last century, but there is standing a piece of the old high wall of the garden. Bridges notes that in his time there was on the site 'a neat house on the steep of a hill, and a park which some time since was disparked.' In the garden of a house a short distance below the church to the north-west is an interesting 18th-century sundial in the form of an alcove, built of wrought stone, with an elliptical arch, from the crown of which lines radiate to a row of numerals set round the alcove below a string at the springing of the arch. The pound still remains to the south of the village, and beyond it is a new cemetery.

There is a council school, built in 1877.

The parish was enclosed in 1844; the award is in the custody of the parish council. Among the place-names found in this parish are Shepweybroke, le Dolnys, Sarte, le Swan, Jackersale, Mereshale, the Deeps, Conduit Field, and Pinfold Furlong.

In 1086 Ralph de Limesi held of the *MANOR* king 2 hides in 'Westone,' with Herlwin as under-tenant, which had been held by Earl Morcar in King Edward's time.² Ralph de Limesi held as many as forty-one manors of the king in various counties at the time of the great survey. He is said to have been a nephew of William the Conqueror, but the only evidence of this seems to be a statement made by Thomas Talbot, sometime keeper of the records in the Tower in the 17th



SUNDIAL AT COLLYWESTON.

between Northamptonshire and Rutland. The land near the river is low and liable to floods, but from it the ground rises gradually to the hill east of the village of Collyweston, which attains a height of 300 ft., one of the most considerable elevations in this hundred. The parish is fairly well wooded, Collyweston great wood in the south covering about 230 acres, and there are several small plantations near it and in the north of the parish. No railroad passes through the parish; the main road is that from Stamford to Kettering, which runs between Collyweston, Easton, and Duddington. This is crossed by a district road from Wansford to Ketton. At the

¹ See Article on Industries in this volume.

² *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 336a.

century, on the authority of the monks of Hertford, whose priory was founded by Ralph.¹ He is also stated to have been the husband of Christiana, wife of Edgar Aetheling, but this seems to merely rest on a passage in Roger of Hoveden saying that Ralph Limesi afterwards possessed the lands given by Edward the Confessor to Christiana.² The name of his wife, taken from the foundation deed of Hertford Priory, which must have been executed between 1077 and 1093, was Hawisa. From the same source it is found that Ralph was succeeded by his son Alan, and his grandson Gerard, who had two sons who both died without heirs.³ The barony of Limesi was in consequence divided between Gerard's two daughters, Collyweston falling to the share of Basilia, who married Hugh de Oddingsells.⁴ In the Oddingsells family the overlordship of Collyweston continued in the male line until it lapsed in the 15th century. The last mention of this family in connexion with Collyweston is in the survey of the possessions of John de Oddingsells, taken on his death in 1413.⁵ The Oddingsells, however, can have had no close connexion with the manor, nor probably had the Limesi family before them. Collyweston was held of Ralph de Limesi in 1086 by Herlwin. In the 12th century it was in possession of William his son.⁶ In the reign of Henry III it was held by Peter of Weston, who may have been a descendant of the Domesday tenant,⁷ for one knight's fee. Nicholas of Weston, a successor of Peter, enfeoffed Elias Hauvill and Amice his wife of the manor. It seems possible that Amice was the daughter of Nicholas, as she is said, on the death of Elias, to be true heir of the manor.⁸ Elias went to Gascony on the service of Edward I, and the king found it necessary to order the sheriff to protect his rights and goods at Collyweston against his wife in his absence.⁹ He died about 1297; his wife appears to have outlived him, by an inquiry taken in 1322 with regard to the manor on account of the death of Nicholas de Segrave, who seems to have had a life interest in it.¹⁰ Collyweston is said to have gained its name from this Nicholas, Colin being an old English form of the name; certainly Weston never appears with its later prefix until after Nicholas' tenure. The holding of the manor by him also would have been likely to have made a lasting impression. He was very power-

ful politically under both Edward I and Edward II, and ended by becoming marshal of England. He was closely connected with Northamptonshire, his chief seat being at Stowe Nine Churches.¹¹

Elias Hauvill was followed, after the death of Nicholas, by his son William, who was a minor at his father's death and may possibly have been in ward to Nicholas. Paul the son of William enfeoffed John de Hotham, bishop of Ely, of the manor.¹² John settled its reversion on various of his descendants in 1332.¹³ In 1379 his niece Alice, wife of Hugh le Despenser, died holding the manor. It descended in turn to her two children by Hugh le Despenser, Hugh and Ann, the wife of Sir Edward



HOUSE ON SOUTH SIDE OF VILLAGE STREET, COLLYWESTON.

Boteler, both of whom died without heirs.¹⁴ The manor then descended to John, son of Alice by Sir John Trussell, her second husband, but was settled on Sir Edward for life with remainder to John Trussell. The remainder fell in on Edward's death in 1412,¹⁵ and Sir John Trussell sold the manor a few years later to Sir William Porter,¹⁶ who is traditionally said

¹ Weever, *Anct. Funeral Monuments*, 543.

² *Roger of Hoveden* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 236.

³ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iii, 298.

⁴ Fine R. 15 John, pt. i, m. 4.

⁵ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), p. 27;

Chan. Inq. p.m. 1 Hen. V, No. 6.

⁶ *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 336a, 388a.

⁷ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), p. 27.

⁸ Cott. Chart. iv, 55; De Banc. R. No. 723, m. 474; Chan. Inq. p.m. 25 Edw. I, No. 14.

⁹ Close 24 Edw. I, m. 5 d.

¹⁰ Chan. Inq. p.m. 25 Edw. I, No. 14;

Ibid. 15 Edw. II, No. 37, 63.

¹¹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

¹² Feet of F. Northants, 5 Edw. III,

No. 90; De Banc. R. No. 723, m. 474.

¹³ Feet of F. Northants, 5 Edw. III, No. 96; Cott. Chart. iv, 55.

¹⁴ Chan. Inq. p.m. 3 Ric. II, No. 20;

Ibid. 3 Hen. IV, No. 29.

¹⁵ Cott. Chart. iv, 55; Feet of F. Northants, 7 Hen. IV, No. 53.

¹⁶ Ibid. 5 Hen. V, No. 27.

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to have been lowly born and to have raised himself to wealth. He is also thought to have begun the house at Collyweston, continued by his more illustrious successors. Sir William was careful to secure his title and obtained a release of all right from John Merbury, whose wife was heiress of another branch of the Hothams.¹ Before his death he appears to have granted the manor to feoffees for the use of his wife. These trustees, among whom were Thomas Sutton, then of Milton, and William, bishop of Lincoln, sold the manor about 1441 to Humphrey earl of Stafford, Ralph Lord Cromwell and many others.² The real mover in this sale appears to have been Ralph, Lord Cromwell, who lived and died at Collyweston, and did much towards the building of the beautiful house finished by Margaret duchess of Richmond. He, in company with those who acted with him in 1441, obtained a release of right from Thomas Egle and his wife, possible claimants of the manor on the Hauvill side.³ Ralph held the treasurer'ship of England and various other offices under the crown in the reign of Henry VI. He founded a college at Tattershall, and left orders that he should be buried there. He died in 1455 without children, leaving as his executors Sir John Fortescue, William bishop of Winchester, and John Portington.⁴ The history of Collyweston for the next few years is somewhat obscure. Sir John Fortescue, probably in his position as trustee, obtained in 1455 a release of all right in the manor from Edmund Skerne, a distant kinsman of the Hothams.⁵ In 1459 Henry VI granted to Anne duchess of Buckingham the manor of Collyweston, which pertained to the crown by reason of the attainder of Richard earl of Warwick.⁶ Anne was the widow of the Humphrey earl of Stafford and duke of Buckingham who acted with Ralph Lord Cromwell in the transaction with regard to this manor. How the manor came into the hands of Richard earl of Warwick is quite unknown. After the accession of Edward IV he recovered possession of the manor and it descended from him to his daughter, who married George duke of Clarence, and so to the ill-fated young earl of Warwick.⁷ It seems possible that during the time of Henry's madness and the confusion of the latter years of his reign, Collyweston was wrested from Sir John Fortescue, a prominent member of the court party, and obtained by the Earl of Warwick, then one of the most powerful of the Yorkist adherents.

After the execution of George duke of Clarence, Collyweston, nominally as the inheritance of his son, passed into the hands of the crown, and except for short periods remained so for more than a century. The first tenant in the new conditions was Margaret

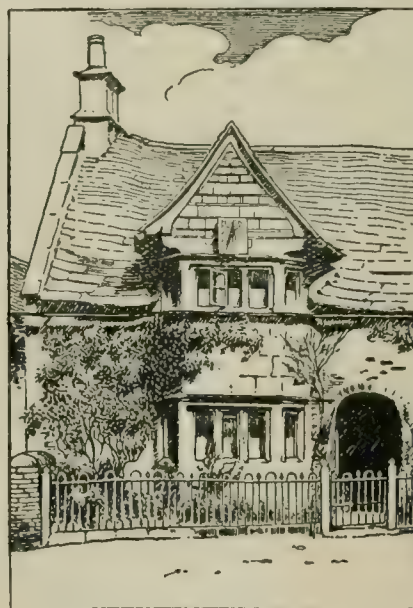


CROMWELL. Or a chief gules and a bend azure over all.

countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII, who granted the manor to her for life in the second year of his reign.⁸ She frequently resided at Collyweston and did much for the improvement of the house and grounds. A few years after her death in 1509 the manor was granted by Henry VIII to his natural son, the young duke of Richmond, who on several occasions lodged there for short periods.⁹ In February 1536 an Act was passed in Parliament assuring the manor of Collyweston to Queen Anne Boleyn, but as she was executed in May of the same year the Act never took effect.¹⁰ In the latter part of his reign Henry VIII several times visited Collyweston. Privy Councils were held there on three occasions in 1541.¹¹

Edward VI granted the manor to his sister Elizabeth as part of her maintenance.¹² After her accession to the crown she kept the manor in her own hands and like her father stayed at Collyweston occasionally and held a Privy Council there in 1566.¹³

James I, in the last year of his reign, expressed his intention of granting Collyweston in fee to Patrick Mawle, one of his grooms of the bedchamber, in consideration of faithful service.¹⁴ His wishes were carried out by his son immediately after his death.¹⁵ By Patrick Mawle Collyweston was sold a few years later to Sir Robert Heath, the Attorney-General.¹⁶ Sir Robert took a prominent part in the events of the great Rebellion, and though his loyalty was at one time doubted by the Royalists, he was charged as a delinquent in 1645 and his estates sequestered.¹⁷ They were recovered however in 1647 by his sons Edward and John, who in 1650 sold the manor of Collyweston to Moses and Peter Tryon.¹⁸ Moses was probably the son of Peter Tryon, a Dutch merchant, who in the reign of Elizabeth fled to England from



HOUSE IN VILLAGE, COLLYWESTON.

¹ Feet of F. Northants, 5 Hen. V, No. 27;

¹⁰ Hen. VI, No. 62; Cott. Chart. iv, 55.

² Ibid. Chan. Inq. p.m. 14 Hen. VI, No. 12.

³ Close, 19 Hen. VI, m. 39; De Banc. R. No. 723, m. 474.

⁴ Dugdale, *Baronage*, ii, 45.

⁵ Close, 34 Hen. VI, m. 22.

⁶ Pat. 38 Hen. VI, pt. ii, m. 25.

⁷ Ibid. 18 Edw. IV, pt. ii, m. 21.

Bridges (ii, 435) mentions a fine levied in 10 Hen. VI of this manor by William earl of Warwick. This fine cannot now be traced, and as there was no William earl of Warwick at that date, there seems to have been some confusion about it.

⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, pt. i, p. 692; *ibid.* viii, p. 56.

¹⁰ Ibid. x, p. 87.

¹¹ Ibid. xxi, 507, 510, 590.

¹² Pat. 4 Edw. VI, pt. iii.

¹³ *Cal. of S. P. Dom.* 1547-80, p. 277.

¹⁴ Ibid. 1623-5, p. 509.

¹⁵ Pat. 1 Chas. I, pt. iii, m. 22, pt. xi, m. 30.

¹⁶ *Cal. of S. P. Dom.* 1629-31, p. 489.

¹⁷ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

¹⁸ *Proc. Com. for Compounding*, p. 1471; Feet of F. Northants, East. 1650.

the persecutions of Alva in the Netherlands.¹ Peter died in 1660, leaving Collyweston to his second son Samuel.² Samuel was succeeded by his son John, who left an only daughter who married Richard Dickson Skrine, to whom she brought the manor. Mrs. Skrine died in 1800.³ The Marquis of Exeter is now lord of the manor.

There is a good deal of information in the public records relating to the condition of Collyweston at various periods of its history. In Domesday the only building mentioned is a mill, and the amount of land covered by woodland must have been proportionally very large. There is no other detailed account of the manor until the end of the reign of Edward I, when on the death of Elias Hauvill there was a capital messuage, a watermill, and a fishery, and the lord was allowed to take toll of the vill. This toll, which henceforth appears in all accounts of the manor, is called about 1330 the 'Thurghtol,' or through toll, and was taken of everyone passing by roads which extended from the 'Cleverying' to the fields of Duddingdon carrying merchandize or victuals to be sold. John de Hotham, the lord of Collyweston, could claim no other title to this right than prescription.⁴ He was granted free warren in his demesnes of Collyweston in 1328,⁵ but no park there is mentioned until the latter part of the reign of Edward IV, and it was therefore probably not enclosed until the building of the mansion house of Collyweston in the 15th century. This house was, according to Leland, the most nearly contemporary witness, begun by Sir William Porter. He says 'the House of Colly Weston as some say was first begun by a

gentleman that gave three silver bells in a field of sables to his arms and that he was first a parochie clerke as it said of Collyweston itself or thereabout.' Three bells are the Porter arms, they appear on the church of Collyweston. Leland does not seem very sure of his account; in another place he says that Collyweston 'is for the most part of a

new Building by the Lady Margaret, mother to Henry VII,' and that the Lord Cromwell had before begun a house there.⁶ There were considerable buildings at Collyweston at the end of Edward IV's reign, before it came into the possession of Lady Margaret. The park is then mentioned and many payments to carpenters and workmen for repairs.⁷ Nicholas Vicary was granted in 1478 the office of keeper of the inn or site of the lordship or manor of Collyweston with the gardens pertaining to it and the parks of Collyweston.⁸ Accounts of 1509 and the following years give fuller details. The fishery in the Welland is always accounted for, and profits from the slate pits begin to appear. In 1510 one shop near the inn called the 'Swan,' then occupied as a prison

house for the safe custody of vagabonds, is mentioned.⁹ In the reign of Elizabeth an interesting detail is supplied by the complaint of Robert Hornby, the queen's bailiff, of Christopher Lewis that 'he lopped the great walnut tree in the outward court of the manor under the shade of which her majesty's servants were wont to sit when she repaired thither.'¹⁰ Camden in 1607 noted the handsome and elegant house built by Margaret of Richmond,¹¹ but by that time the days of its greatest glory were over. Perhaps they would have returned if Sir Robert Heath had had a less disturbed career; in 1631 he obtained leave to enclose a new park from the woodlands not exceeding 500 acres, because in the grant to Patrick Mawle it is covenanted that 100 deer shall be kept in the old park 'which is of but 108 acres and has no covert.'¹² Before Bridges wrote in 1720 the house had been almost entirely pulled down and the park disparked, and now only traces of the gardens and fishponds remain. The mill in Collyweston, though appearing in the early surveys of the manor, is not generally mentioned in the royal accounts; in the reign of Elizabeth, however, the millers were presented and fined at the view of frankpledge for taking excessive toll.¹³ A mill in Collyweston was granted about 1613 to William Whitmore and others.¹⁴

View of frankpledge for this manor appears to have been kept in the hands of the crown. It is never included either in the grants of the manor or in the surveys of the possessions of the lords. The only court rolls remaining belong to the reign of Elizabeth, when the view would in any case have been in the hands of the queen.

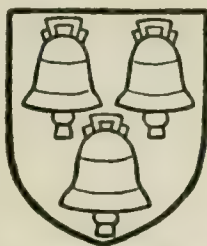
The advowson of the church of **ADVOWSON** St. Andrew¹⁵ followed the descent of the manor until the grant of the manor to Patrick Mawle in the 17th century, when the advowson was not included. Since then the crown has presented to the living.

The church stands back from the main **CHURCH** street of the village, being approached by a path with walls on either side. The churchyard is small, and lies chiefly on the south, and the ground falling steeply from east to west, it is banked up on the west to a height of 6 ft. above the adjoining land and the small road which forms the boundary on the north.

The church consists of chancel, 25 ft. 6 in. by 13 ft. 2 in., with large south chapel, known as the Tryon chapel; nave 35 ft. 6 in. by 18 ft. 8 in., with north aisle and south porch, and west tower 13 ft. square inside.

The tower, chancel, and part of the south wall of the nave are faced with wrought stone, the rest of the building being of stone rubble with wrought stone buttresses and dressings.

There are no architectural features older than the first quarter of the 13th century, but it is possible that the west and south walls of the nave may belong to an earlier date, as western quoins of an aisleless nave are to be seen, and may be of the 12th century,



PORTER. Sable three bells argent.

¹ Morant, *Essex*, ii, 252.

² P. C. C. 276, Nabbs.

³ Simpson, *Rec. and Obituary for Linc., Rutland, and Northants*, p. 5; Manning and Bray, *Surrey*, ii, 651.

⁴ *Quo Warr. R.* (Rec. Com.), p. 584.

⁵ Chart. R. 2 Edw. III, m. 9. No. 30.

⁶ Leland, *Itin.* (ed. Hearne), i, 23, vi, 28.

⁷ Mins. Accts. bdlc. 640, No. 10388.

⁸ Pat. 17 Edw. IV, pt. ii, m. 13.

⁹ Mins. Accts. Exch. Northants, 24.

Hen. VII-1 Hen. VIII, No. 4; Ibid.

1-2 Hen. VIII, No. 26.

¹⁰ Chan. Proc. (ser. 2), bdlc. 114.

No. 9.

¹¹ *Britannia*, iii, 473.

¹² *Cal. of S. P. Dom.* 1629-31, p. 489.

¹³ Ct. R. (Gen. Ser. P. R. O.), bdlc. 195, No. 13.

¹⁴ Pat. 10 Jas. I, pt. xxv.

¹⁵ Richard Dyx (1515) leaves his body to be buried in the churchyard of St. Andrew in Collyweston (Bk. A, fol. 287). See also Bk. B, fol. 102. Wills in Northampton Probate Office).

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though the tooling is not decisive on the point. The chancel retains some of its 13th-century facing of coursed rubble banded with ashlar in the south wall, against which the Tryon chapel is built. The chancel arch belongs to the first half of the 14th century, and the north aisle was added in the 15th. The tower belongs to the early part of this century, and the Tryon chapel to the latter part; the clearstory and porch are of much the same date. The church was 'restored' in 1857, and the wooden fittings are mostly of that date.

The chancel has a late 15th-century east window of three cinquefoiled lights, the heads of which have been renewed, under a four-centred arch. In the north wall are two square-headed windows, each of two trefoiled lights, of the early part of the 16th century; the head of the eastern of the two windows has been renewed. In the south wall is the head of an original lancet window, *c.* 1220, visible only from the Tryon chapel. To the east of it, and low in the wall, is a square-headed opening formerly filled with two trefoiled lights, unglazed, giving a view of the high altar from the chapel. This has been blocked up, and no signs of it are to be seen from the chancel. West of the lancet window is a blocked 15th-century archway, with an embattled string at the springing contemporary with the south chapel, and formerly giving access to it. After the arch was blocked a small opening with an oak frame seems to have been left, but this was afterwards built up. At the west end of the south wall is a late 13th-century window of two uncusped lights under an arched head with moulded labels and mask dripstones inside and out, the spandrel over the lights being pierced. Below the sill of this window, and now only visible from outside, is a blocked low side window of two lights with flattened ogee trefoiled heads, of 15th-century date.

The chancel arch is of two orders, with a hollow between two wave moulds; it has half-octagonal responds and plain capitals roughly worked, and on the south side it slightly overlaps the south-west window of the chancel.

The north arcade of the nave is of two bays, with pointed arches of two chamfered orders, and half-round responds with moulded capitals and bases.

The clearstory on both sides of the nave has windows of two trefoiled lights with four-centred heads. The north aisle has an east window of three trefoiled lights, the stonework being modern, and in the north wall two similar windows with modern tracery, and one in the west wall. The north doorway has a plain four-centred head, and is of the 15th century.

In the south wall of the nave are two large square-headed three-light windows which may be of 15th-century date, with, in each light, three cusps on the underside of the flat head, and one on each mullion—a curious and somewhat clumsy detail which occurs at King's Cliffe and elsewhere in the neighbourhood.

The south doorway has a four-centred arch with carved paterae in the head and jambs, and a crocketed ogee label flanked by pinnacles; in the spandrel over the head of the door is a shield bearing three bells, the arms of the Porter family. The details are well executed, but the stonework has been a good deal patched.

The west tower is a fine specimen of local type,

with shallow clasping buttresses at the angles built of very good ashlar, with a moulded plinth, and strings at each stage. In the west face is a doorway with continuous mouldings and a low four-centred head, and over it a window of three cinquefoiled lights. In the stage above is a small trefoiled light under a square label, and in the belfry stage two-light transomed windows in each face, the lights being cinquefoiled, with a quatrefoiled opening over them. The parapet is embattled, with tall crocketed angle pinnacles.

The tower opens to the church with a sharply-pointed chamfered arch of two orders, with half-round responds and moulded capitals and bases.¹

The south or Tryon chapel has an east window of good detail, with three cinquefoiled lights under a four-centred head, two square-headed south windows, each of two uncusped four-centred lights, and a modern west doorway and shallow porch. All the windows and the doorway are blocked with masonry, and the interior is quite inaccessible at present. It has been used as a mortuary chapel of the Tryon family, and the whole area of its floor is taken up with a large masonry vault, the top of which is about a foot above the original floor level. In the north wall of the chapel are several interesting features, already described in the account of the chancel, and in the plaster on its east wall the outlines of the pre-Reformation altar² and its mensa are clearly to be seen, the sill of the window above being built up with rubble masonry for a short distance to make a backing for a reredos.³

None of the woodwork in the church is ancient, and there are no remains of old glass or wall paintings.

The font, which stands under the tower, is of the 15th century, with an octagonal bowl, shaft, and base, the surface of the bowl having been much retooled.

At the east end of the north aisle is a brass with a small figure, in memory of Elizabeth Follett, who died 20 February, 1518.

The plate consists of a silver communion cup, *c.* 1570, made by the probably local silversmith whose mark is a fish in an ellipse; a cover paten, undated, of Elizabethan shape, but probably contemporary with the bread-holder next described; a bread-holder of 1683; and a large flagon of 1671. The two last pieces are inscribed 'The gift of Elizabeth Clarke to the parish church of Colli Weston, 1683.'

There are two bells, the treble, re-cast in 1903 by Taylor, of Loughborough, reproducing its former inscription. It was by Thomas Norris, of Stamford, 1636, and the tenor is of the same date, and from the same foundry.

The first book of the registers contains baptisms, marriages, and burials from 1541–2 (4 March) to 1653, the years 1649, 1650, and 1651 being blank. There are several licences in this book from 1589–90 'to eat flesh for the time of Lent.' The second book contains baptisms and marriages from 1654 to 1752 and burials from 1653 to 1753; and in the third book are marriages from 1754 to 1817 and baptisms and burials from 1754 to 1812. At the end of this book a few briefs are recorded. There is one book of churchwardens' accounts dating from 1635 to 1905.

¹ The level of the floor under the tower has been raised.

² Its measurements are: 2 ft. 6 in. high,

and 6 ft. 9 in. long. The mensa was 5 in. thick, chamfered on the underside.

³ The account of the Tryon chapel is due to the courtesy of the Rev. E. F.

Buckton, rector, who removed the blocking from one of the windows in order that an examination of the interior might be made.

WILLYBROOK HUNDRED

COTTERSTOCK

Codestoche (xi cent.), Cotherstoke (xii-xvi cent.).

The parish of Cotterstock, to which Glaphorn, though a separate civil unit, is ecclesiastically attached, covers about 706 acres, of which 202½ is arable, 442 pasture, and 71½ wood. It is a low lying parish, rising gradually from the bank of the Nene, which forms its eastern boundary, towards Southwick on the west, but it never attains a height of 200 ft. above the ordnance datum. On the south and east it is bounded by roads towards Glaphorn and Southwick. The only main road which passes directly through the parish is that crossing the road to Glaphorn, a short distance to the west, and running south to Oundle and north to Fotheringhay and Nassington.

The subsoil is varied, a streak of Oxford clay in the centre of the parish running down towards Benefield, surrounded on the north, east, and south by Cornbrash and great oolite. The top soil is principally clay, and produces grain and pulse. The fields near the river are liable to floods.

The village of Cotterstock is built along the road from Glaphorn, running south-east, which divides into two near the river. At this point there is a small village green, where in days gone by stocks used to stand; their place is now occupied by an ancient cross, which was removed from another site. The northern branch of the road leads up to the church of St. Andrew, to the north of which are the remains of Cotterstock College, now converted into 'the Church Farm.' The southern branch of the road leads towards Cotterstock Mills, and a little further south is Cotterstock Bridge, the successor of that bridge for the repair of which the men of Cotterstock and Glaphorn were distrained in the reign of Edward III.¹

Cotterstock Hall stands back from the village street on the north side. Near it is the church school, opened in 1876, for boys and girls. Cotterstock Lodge, the residence of Mr. W. G. L. Montagu-Douglas-Scott, stands some distance to the west of the village, and is the only outlying house in the parish. The population (numbering 151 in 1901) is mainly engaged in agriculture; a few persons are occupied in various branches of the building trade.

Cotterstock was enclosed in 1815; the award is in the custody of the vicar. Among the place-names found in this parish is Monks Sink, where, according to local tradition, there was a building with a chapel dedicated to St. John in connexion with the college.

PROVOST'S MANOR.—The vill of **MANORS** Cotterstock is mentioned in the spurious charter of Wulfhere to the monks of Peterborough in 664.² In 1086 two knights held three hides in Cotterstock of the abbot of Peterborough.³ Their names can be deduced from the 12th-century survey of Northamptonshire, when Richard FitzHugh and Roger 'Infans' each held

one hide and a half in Cotterstock of the abbot of Peterborough.⁴ The land of the latter afterwards formed the provost's manor in Cotterstock. Roger was lord of the Torpel fee and one of the most important of the Peterborough knights; he is stated to claim land in Cotterstock in a description of the abbey's possessions of the time of Henry I.⁵ Cotterstock appears in the middle of the 12th century to have been granted for a time to a younger member of the Torpel family, for in 1147 the chronicler of Peterborough writes that Robert son of Roger Infans, of Torpel, came ill to the hospital of Peterborough, and there, 'in the chapel of St. Leonard, gave his soul and body to God and St. Peter, and all his land in Cotterstock and Glaphorn.'⁶ This transaction does not appear to have been agreeable to the head of the family, for in 1191 Roger de Torpel obtained from Benedict, abbot of Peterborough, a release of all right in his lands at Cotterstock and Glaphorn in return for other concessions.⁷ Cotterstock from henceforth remained part of the Torpel fee, and passed with it in the reign of Henry III to the Camoys family. When John Camoys gave up to Queen Eleanor of Castile his manor of Torpel a special provision was made that no suit at the court of Torpel should be exacted from the men of Cotterstock and Glaphorn.⁸ In 1280 the same John confirmed the feoffment of William Paynel to John Kirkby of the manor and advowson of Cotterstock, with the mills of Perio.⁹ John Kirkby was the well-known bishop of Ely, the able treasurer of Edward I.¹⁰ He died in 1290, leaving as his heir his brother William. In the description of Cotterstock at that date a capital messuage and a water-mill are included.¹¹ William died about twelve years later, leaving his three sisters as his co-heirs.¹² Cotterstock was assigned finally to his sister Maud, widow of Gilbert de Houby, though it was for some years held in dower by Christiana, widow of William Kirkby.¹³ About 1336 Walter de Houby, a descendant of Maud, granted the manor and advowson of the church to John Giffard, of Cotterstock.¹⁴ Shortly afterwards Ralph Camoys gave up all claim to rent and service of John Giffard for Cotterstock to John Ward, rector of Cotterstock, John of Clive, vicar of Marholm, and John Giffard.¹⁵ This transaction seems to have been in preparation for the endowment by John Giffard of a college, or chantry on an extended scale, at Cotterstock. In 1337 the king gave leave for the alienation of the manor of Cotterstock in mortmain by John Giffard to a provost to be



GIFFARD. Gules three lions passant argent.

¹ Assize R. No. 632, m. 30 d.

² Birch, *Cart. Sax.* No. 22. See Introduction to *soke* of Peterborough.

³ *V.C.H. Northants*, i, 315 b.

⁴ *Ibid.* 388 a.

⁵ *Chronicon*, p. 169. For Torpel see Ufford.

⁶ Swapham, fol. 115.

⁷ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 38, fol. 44.

⁸ Close, 8 Edw. I, m. 2 d.

⁹ Anct. D. (P.R.O.), A 9069. Feet of F. Northants, 9 Edw. I, No. 75. William Paynel had married the wife of John Camoys with John's consent, and had become seised at the same time of certain of the Camoys lands. *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 146 a.

¹⁰ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

¹¹ Chan. Inq. p.m. 18 Edw. I, No. 37.

¹² *Ibid.* 30 Edw. I, No. 31.

¹³ *Orig. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 123; Feet of F. Northants, 35 Edw. I, No. 520.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 9 Edw. III, No. 143. For account of John Giffard see history of college of Cotterstock in this volume.

¹⁵ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 38, fol. 31.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

appointed in the church of St. Andrew at Cotterstock, with twelve brethren or chaplains secular or religious.¹ In 1338 the manor was confirmed to the provost and chaplains, and they were granted at the same time free warren in all their demesne lands at Cotterstock, and permission to make a park.²

The manor, or at least a considerable part of it, remained in the hands of this college for over a century, nominally for two centuries. The college however gradually lost much of its original character. By the statutes of the foundation the provost was to be elected by the chaplains, but from 1398 onwards he was instead presented by members of the Holt family and their successors, the Norwiches, by virtue of a grant in 1384 by John Knyvet to John Holt, 'of the advowson of the provost of Cotterstock, with the services of the provost and chaplains and the patronage and all other rights which he or his heirs might claim in the said advowson or the possessions of the said prior and chaplains.' These premises, John Knyvet stated, had been granted in 1357³ by John son of Roger Giffard, relation and heir of John Giffard, founder of the college, to Richard Kynvet, father of John. By the middle of the 16th century the chaplains of the college had disappeared, only the provost remained as incumbent of the church with the college for his parsonage, and the manor was in the hand of Simon Norwich. Exactly how and where the manor was wrested from the Giffard foundation by the Norwich family is not very clear. There was much litigation concerning it in the 16th century, and Simon Norwich, the representative at that time of the family, affirmed that his grandfather Simon held the manor in demesne as of fee in the reign of Edward IV.⁴ Of this there is no absolute proof, but by 1537 the 'college' consisted only of the provost, from whom, perhaps by collusion with Simon Norwich, all right to the manor of Cotterstock was recovered by John Cray. Simon made a forcible entry into the manor; John Cray formally complained and brought a suit in Chancery against Simon. Judgement was given in Simon's favour and he further secured his title against John Cray in 1541.⁵ Thus the matter rested for a time, though the Court of Augmentations was on the track of Simon, until in the first year of Edward VI's reign the possessions the chantry ought to have had were granted for a consideration to Sir Robert



NORWICH. *Party gules and azure a lion ermine.*



HOLT. *Argent a bend sable with three fleurs de lis argent thereon.*

Kirkham, already a small landholder in Cotterstock.⁶ He naturally challenged the title of the Norwiches, and brought a suit in the Star Chamber against John son of Simon Norwich.⁷ The pleadings in this suit throw no more light on what really happened with regard to the manor. It was brought to an end for a time by the death of Sir Robert in 1558, but it was revived in Chancery by his son William. Finally he and Simon, son of John Norwich, came to a compromise by arbitration. The actual award has not been found, but the lands appear to have been divided, and from this point the two manors of Holts, or Holts and Cotterstock, and of Cotterstock, or the provost's manor, are clearly distinguished.⁸ The latter belonged to the Kirkham family of Fineshade and remained in their possession until the beginning of the 18th century.⁹ Viscount Melville is now lord of the manor.

HOLT'S MANOR.—There is no early history of this estate; it may have been a portion of the Torpel fee which became separated from the manor, or some of the land in Cotterstock held by Richard FitzHugh in the 12th century, who, according to a theory of a Peterborough scribe in the 14th century, was Richard, son of Hugh de Waterville, who held land in Cotterstock of the fee of the abbot of Peterborough.¹⁰ There is however no real evidence to connect Holt's manor with any one of the several small estates which appear in Cotterstock in the 13th and 14th centuries.

The Holts first appear to have some connexion with Cotterstock in the reign of Edward III. About 1368 John Holt appears as a party in a suit relating to a messuage and 35 acres of land there.¹¹ In 1384 John Knyvet granted to John Holt the advowson of the provost of Cotterstock,¹² etc., and on the death of Hugh Holt in 1420 a messuage and land in Cotterstock is mentioned as well as the advowson.¹³ His brother Richard in 1428–9 held three messuages, one carucate, three virgates and 10 acres of land with three cottages in Cotterstock and one cottage in Glapthorn.¹⁴ It seems possible that the Holts, presuming on their right of patronage, acquired these lands from the college in much the same way, but less obtrusively, as their descendants finally obtained the whole endowment. The heir of Richard Holt was his cousin Simon Norwich, who, according to an inquiry taken on his death in 1468, held no lands in Northamptonshire,¹⁵ probably be-

¹ Pat. 11 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 39.

² Chart R. 12 Edw. III, m. 10, No. 15.

³ Close, 8 Ric. II, m. 24 d.

⁴ John Norwich, the son of the Simon temp. Edward IV, on his death in 1504, is said to have been seised in demesne as of fee of the manor and advowson of Cotterstock and other specified lands in Cotterstock which had appeared before in the Holt inquisitions (Chan. Inq. p.m. (ser. 2), xviii, 54). His son Simon, who was undoubtedly in possession of the provost's manor, is said to have had exactly the same possessions (ibid. lxxxix, 99). But in the inquisition on John son of Simon, who died in 1557 in the midst of the litigation about Cotterstock, another 'manor in Cottinstock, formerly

belonging to the chantry of Cottinstock,' is said to have been held by his grandfather John Norwich in the time of Edward IV (ibid. cxii, 115). The manor which appeared with the advowson in the former inquisitions is now for the first time called Holt's manor. Inq. p.m. in the 16th century are not very trustworthy in detail, and it seems most likely from the other evidences that the 'manor of Cotterstock' in the first two inquisitions was the provost's manor, and the three messuages, etc., the estate afterwards known as Holt's manor.

⁵ Star Chamb. Proc. Hen. VIII, vol. xvi, 317; Feet of F. Northants, Mich. 33 Hen. VIII; Chant. Cert. 36, No. 35; Leland (ed. Hearne), iv, 49.

⁶ L. and P. Hen. VIII, iv, pt. ii, p. 2, 168.

⁷ Ibid. xiv, pt. i, p. 172; Proc. Ct. of Aug. bdle. 19, No. 21; Pat. 1 Edw. VI, pt. vi; Star Chamb. Proc. Edw. VI, bdle. vi, No. 96.

⁸ Chan. Proc. (ser. 2), bdle. 106, No. 42; Close, 6 Eliz. pt. xvii, m. 34; ibid. pt. xv, m. 32; Pat. 7 Eliz. pt. viii.

⁹ Chan. Inq. p.m. (ser. 2), cclxxx, 76; Feet of F. Northants, East. 23 Chas. I.

¹⁰ Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 38, fol. 161.

¹¹ De Banc. R. No. 429, m. 148 d.

¹² See above.

¹³ Chan. Inq. p.m. 8 Hen. VI, No. 103.

¹⁴ Ibid. 30 Hen. VI, No. 13.

¹⁵ Ibid. 9–10 Edw. IV, No. 40.



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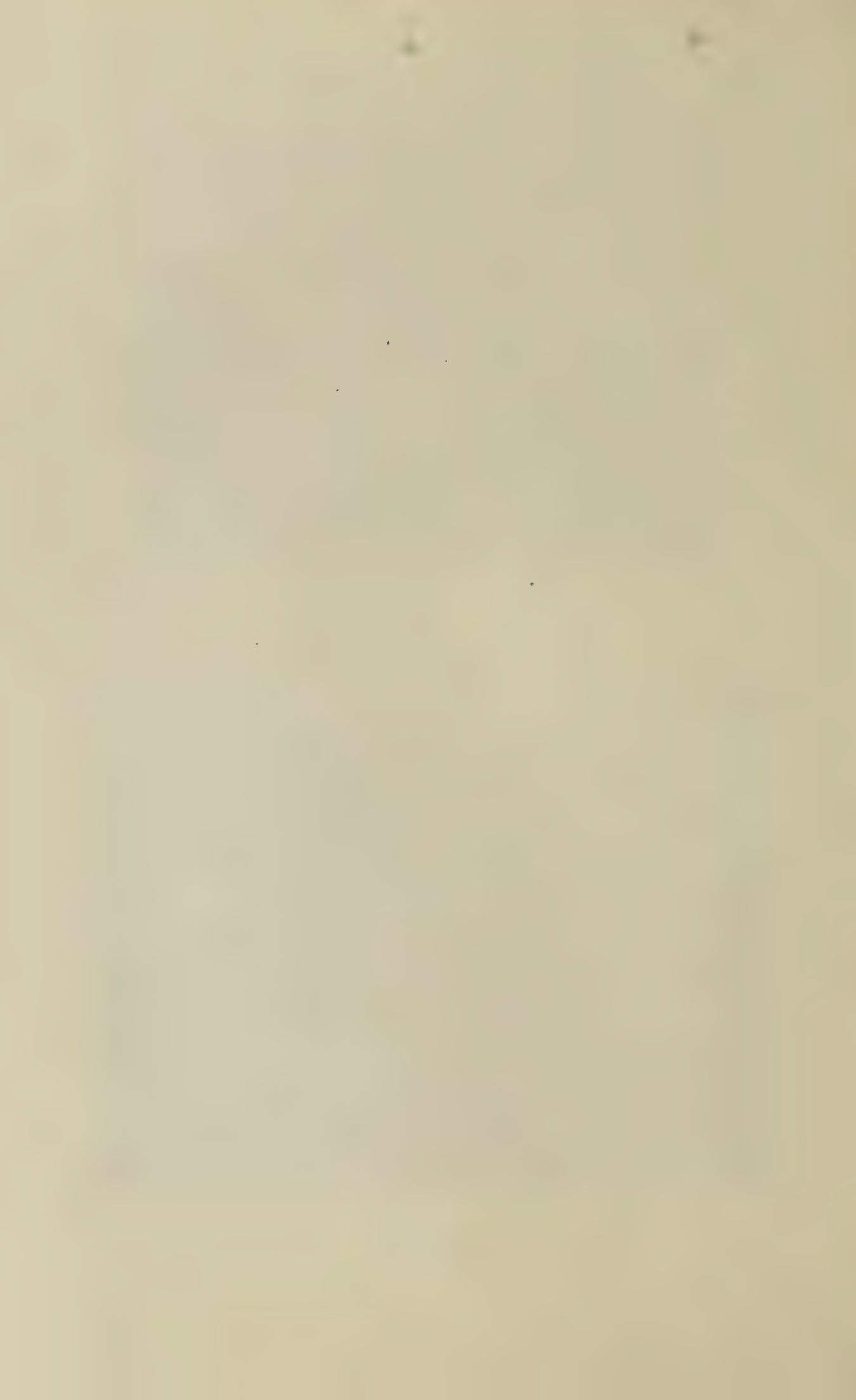
J. A. Gatch

COTTERSTOCK HALL : THE SOUTH FRONT



COTTERSTOCK CHURCH : THE CHANCEL FROM THE SOUTH-EAST

T. face page 326



cause he granted his lands for a period only to Walter Oudley, the provost of Cotterstock in the reign of Edward IV, as is stated by his descendants in the suit about Cotterstock in the 16th century. His son, John Norwich, died in 1504, holding exactly the same lands as Richard Holt and in addition the 'manor of Cotterstock.'¹ The possessions of Simon son of John are described in a similar manner. On the death of his son John in 1454 the manor is called Holt's manor. By Charles, grandson of John, some at least of these lands were sold before 1667 to John Norton, who had for some time been a resident in Cotterstock.² By 1659 the Nortons were owners of all the lands which had belonged to the Norwich family,³ and, according to local repute, not long after of some also of the Kirkhams' property.⁴ They were an important local family; in the Commonwealth particularly they were very influential in the affairs of Cotterstock. Though John Norton seems to have supported the Parliamentary party, he did not encourage any unauthorized sects of Nonconformists; in 1655 he was included in a list of those who 'have all along given the power unto the Beast and have fought with the Lamb, and to this day think they do Godservice in imprisoning his servants,' and then specific instances are given of his persecution of the Quakers.⁵ But in 1646 John Norton, senior, was described as 'a gentleman of approved fidelity.'⁶ About 1693 this estate in Cotterstock was sold by Doyley Norton to Daniel Disney, Nathaniel Gould, and William Massey, who immediately conveyed it to Elmes Steward.⁷ The wife of Elmes Steward was a relative of the poet Dryden, who spent a good part of the two last years of his life at Cotterstock Hall, and who shows by his letters at this period his appreciation of the kindness of Mrs. Steward.⁸ Elmes Steward died in 1724, leaving instructions that all his manors and real estate should be sold.⁹ The estate passed through several hands in the 18th century, and was finally bought at the beginning of the 19th by Jane, wife of the sixteenth earl of Westmorland. She left it to her son, the Hon. Henry Fane, who, dying unmarried, bequeathed it to his cousin Henry Dundas, third Viscount Melville. The present Viscount Melville is now the owner of this property.

Cotterstock Hall, a dignified but not a large house, is an attractive specimen of its kind, built of wrought stone with mullioned windows, E-shaped in plan, with its principal front to the south, and a north-west wing containing the kitchens. The house is of two stories with an attic, the south front having plain gables at either end with ball finials, and a small central scrolled gable on the main wall of the house, standing back from the open balustrade which crowns the two-story central porch.

On the central gable is the date 1658 with the initials of John Norton, and nothing in the house suggests a much earlier year for its commencement.

The stage of development represented by its plan is that in which the last traces of the mediaeval hall and screens are giving way to the modern vestibule. The porch leads to a passage with three arches on each side, originally open, with a small hall on the left, from the north-west angle of which the original staircase rises, and a larger room on the right, now a dining-room. The main staircase of the house is a wooden one, in a projecting bay on the north front, opposite the south porch. In the upper rooms is a good deal of panelling of a simple kind and 17th century date, but the best features of the house are the Ketton-stone chimney pieces, with moulded cornices of plain renaissance detail, and in some cases a simply-carved central panel.

The exterior has suffered little from later alterations, the chief being the replacement by sash windows of the original ground story windows at either end of the south front, and the removal of the leaded lights in nearly every other case. The attic in the west gable of the south front is by tradition the room used by Dryden when staying at Cotterstock, and is wainscoted with good early 17th-century panelling, not designed for it, but whether set up for the poet's benefit or at a later date is uncertain.

The house contains some good pictures, especially an unknown portrait of a young man of the time of Charles II, and among its lesser treasures possesses a fine 'black jack,' dated 1646, with the crown and the initials C.R. There is also a considerable quantity of good 18th-century furniture, chiefly chairs and cabinets.

The stables and outbuildings lie to the west, and the garden, which retains no appearance of any formal lay out, to the north and east. A fine avenue of elms extends on the south nearly to the River Nene, at a point half a mile above Cotterstock Bridge.

Cotterstock Hall is an instance less conspicuous than Thorpe Hall of a country house built by a Parliamentarian during the Protectorate, and, whether under the Nortons or under the Stewards, who were probably Whigs, was a centre of influence though not of first-rate consequence. Its history since the death of Elmes Steward has not had special political or social significance till Lady Westmorland bought it. The letters of Dryden, which are full of local colour in reference to his visits there, give it a distinct literary association of much interest.¹⁰

In 1239 the men of Cotterstock and Glaphthorn complained to the king that they were not allowed to pasture in Toteho and the chase of Perio, on which depended the greater part of their sustenance. Henry commanded that they should have pasture in the said places as they had been accustomed to have before the war between King John and his barons.¹¹

The priory of Fineshade from the 13th century held land in Cotterstock and Glaphthorn.¹² This

¹ See note on Norwich inquisitions, above.

² Chan. Inq. p. m. (ser. 2), dxxx, 162; Lay Subs. R. 388.

³ Feet of F. Northants, Trin. 1659.

⁴ Exch. Dep. East. 3 Jas. II, No. 6.

⁵ Cal. of S. P. Dom. 1655, p. 64.

⁶ Proc. Com. for Compounding, p. 1088.

⁷ Feet of F. Northants, Mich. 4 Wm. and Mary; Ibid. Trin. 6 Wm. and Mary; Ibid. Hil. 6 Wm.

⁸ Mrs. Steward was a daughter of Mrs. Creed, of Oundle, who composed many of the long and elaborate epitaphs which are still to be found in the churches of the district. The daughter was clever like her mother, but in a different sphere of art, for, according to Malone she painted the hall of her house at Cotterstock in fresco 'in a very masterly style.' Unfortunately for the interest of the country-side, if not of art generally, her work has not been so lucky as her mother's in escaping

'Time's fell hand,' and nothing of it remains to be seen.

⁹ Baker, *Northants*, ii, 298.

¹⁰ See essay on Cotterstock in *Rambles Roundabout and Poems*, by G. J. De Wilde, Northampton, 1872, in which some of Dryden's letters are quoted at length.

¹¹ Close, 14 Hen. III, m. 21d. The forest of Clive, in which these places were, was enclosed in 1805, when compensation was given for rights of common.

¹² *Pope Nicb. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), p. 55.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

probably came to Sir Robert Kirkham and his successors with the other lands of that house.¹

In one or two of the many documents concerning the gift of the manor of Adington Parva to the convent of Sulby by Humphrey de Bassingburne, it is said the quarter-fee he held in Cotterstock was included in the gift.² But land there is never mentioned in any description or valuation of the lands of Sulby, and it seems more likely that the land held by the Bassingburnes in Cotterstock was either that which was afterwards known as Holt's manor in Cotterstock, or the land held with some in Glapthorn, of which an account is given in that parish. Possibly Humphrey merely granted overlordship rights to Sulby Priory.

View of frankpledge in Cotterstock was granted with that of several other places to the earl of Gloucester some time in the reign of Henry III.³ It remained in the hands of the holder of the honour of Gloucester until the attainder and execution of the duke of Buckingham in 1513.⁴ It was then granted by Henry VIII to Lord Cromwell,⁵ whose son sold it to Thomas Brudenell,⁶ in whose family it has remained.

The right of presentation to the **ADVOYSON** church of St. Andrew,⁷ to which the vicarage of Glapthorn is annexed, belonged to the holders of the Torpel fee and their successors in Cotterstock until it was appropriated to the college or chantry in 1340.⁸ A vicarage was ordained at the same time. It was then for a few years served by the college, the provost, who became later merely an incumbent of the church, being presented after 1398 by members of the Holt family.⁹ From that date the presentation has followed the descent of Holt's manor in Cotterstock. Viscount Melville is the present patron. The rectory and tithes after the litigation of the 16th century with regard to the possessions of the college were divided between the owners of the two manors.¹⁰ Viscount Melville, lord of both manors and patron of the church, is now also lay rector.

The church stands to the west of the **CHURCH** Nene, at a short distance from the river, its site being on ground rising from the level water-meadows through which the river runs.

The church has a large chancel with a north vestry (built 1877), a nave with north and south aisles and south porch, and a west tower. A college was founded here in the 14th century by John Giffard,¹¹ the foundation charter being dated 1338, and the chancel was probably rebuilt a few years earlier in order to accommodate the provost and members. The nave retains at the east in both north and south walls a little herring-bone masonry belonging to a church built not later than the end of the 11th century, probably a small aisleless building of nave and chancel only. Its nave was about 30 ft. long by 12 ft. 9 in. wide inside, the latter dimension being retained to the present day, though the nave has been slightly

lengthened. The only record of 12th-century alterations is given by the west doorway of the tower, inserted after the tower was finished, and not during its building. It may perhaps have been the south doorway of the nave. Aisles were added in the 13th century, and a west tower also. The nave clearstory belongs to the 14th century, and the aisle walls may have been rebuilt about the same time, as they show no 13th-century features. The south porch is an addition of c. 1440. The church underwent a 'restoration' in 1878, at which time the plaster was stripped off the internal walls.

The chancel has an east window of five cinquefoiled lights, two of three lights on the north, and three on the south, all with flowing tracery in the heads, of excellent design and detail.¹² Below the first window on the south side is a cinquefoiled piscina, and west of it three sedilia with stepped seats under three arched heads, of which that to the west is cinquefoiled, the next trefoiled, and the third uncusped. In the north wall is a small arched recess,¹³ and west of it an original doorway to the north vestry, which has been completely rebuilt, and a second doorway of which the jambs only are ancient. None of the fittings of the collegiate quire remain, but the position of this doorway shows that the stalls did not extend as far east as this point. The rood-loft staircase, which was at the north-east of the nave, was entered from the north-west corner of the chancel.

The nave is 36 ft. long, and has north and south arcades, with pointed arches of two chamfered orders, circular shafts, and octagonal capitals. Both arcades are of the earlier part of the 13th century, but are of somewhat different detail. The bases of the south arcade¹⁴ have angle spurs, which do not occur on the north, and the capital of the central pillar has incised fleurs-de-lis on the bell, while that on the north is plain. The clearstory has two square-headed windows a-side, each of two trefoiled lights, with cusped spandrel lights over, c. 1340. Externally there is a contemporary cornice over the windows and a plain parapet.

The north aisle has two north windows of the same description as those in the clearstory, an east window of two trefoiled lights with a trefoiled light in the head, also of the first half of the 14th century, and a 16th-century west window of two uncusped lights under a square head. At the south-east of the aisle is a 13th-century piscina with a trefoiled head and roll cusps, and in the north-east angle an image bracket with carved detail.

The north doorway has continuous mouldings of plain 14th-century type, and a square head inside. Round the west and north walls runs a stone bench, stopping a short distance from the east end of the aisle, and the same arrangement exists in the south aisle. The south aisle has a 14th-century east window of two trefoiled lights with a trefoiled light in the head, and a south window of the same date near the

¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 449.

² Writ to Inq. a.q.d. File 33, No. 17; Soc. Antiq. MS. No. 38, fol. 26.

³ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, p. 14.

⁴ For descent of honour of Gloucester see Glapthorn.

⁵ Pat. 30 Hen. VIII, pt. ii, m. 15; Chan. Inq. p.m. (ser. 2), xciv, No. 35.

⁶ Feet of F. Northants, Trin. 16 Eliz.

⁷ Will of William Houghton, 1523 Bk. 13, fol. 153, Northampton Probate

Office), mentions churchyard of St. Andrew's in Cotterstock.

⁸ Linc. Epis. Reg. Burghersh, 232.

⁹ See Provost's manor, above.

¹⁰ Exch. Dep. 3 Jas. II, Trin. No. 6.

¹¹ For history of College see 'Religious Houses' in this vol.

¹² The external string below the east window of the chancel has a plain chamfer above and below, a common 12th-

century detail, and is returned a short distance along the north and south walls, where the section changes to one of normal 14th-century date. This points either to a re-use of old material in the first part of the work, which would be begun from the east, or, what is perhaps more likely, a pause in the work.

¹³ Probably for the Easter sepulchre.

¹⁴ They are modern copies of old work.

east end of the wall with two trefoiled lights under a square head. Below it are two recesses, one narrower than the other, and on the outer face of the wall at this point is a blocked square-headed low-side window 14 in. by 19 in., its sill being 2 ft. from the ground.¹ From the north-east angle of the aisle is a squint to the chancel, and in the south-east angle a plain image-bracket. The west window of this aisle is of the same date as that in the north aisle, but has three lights instead of two. The south doorway is of c. 1340, with two sunk quarter-round mouldings on a continuous arch. The south porch has a ribbed stone vault with the Trinity on the central boss, and the evangelistic symbols on four others. The boss over the outer arch has a scallop-shell, and that over the door to the aisle the keys of St. Peter. In the north and south walls of the porch are small two-light windows, and on the vault bosses above them are in one case a dolphin and in the other some wool sacks. The outer arch of the porch is four-centred, and over it is a low-pitched embattled gable with heraldic beasts on the apex and angles, the embattled parapet being carried round the north and south sides of the porch. The west tower is of c. 1220, of three stages, with a panelled and embattled parapet of the 15th century, built on an original cornice with masks. The belfry windows are of two lights, with central and jamb shafts, and a blank quatrefoil in the head.² In the second stage is a lancet in the west wall, its lower part destroyed by the insertion of a 14th-century canopied niche containing the pedestal of an image³ and a carved corbel below; and on the ground stage is a lancet in the west wall, its sill cut into by the head of an inserted west doorway, made up of re-used 12th-century masonry. It has a round arch, less than a semicircle, with two orders of zig-zag and jamb-shafts with scalloped capitals. The east arch of the tower is of two chamfered orders, with half-round shafts and moulded capitals with nail-head.

In the north and south walls of the ground story of the tower are small blocked doorways near the western angles, and in the south wall is a second blocked opening above the doorway, with a square head. There is nothing to show what their use was; they may have led into buildings, perhaps of wood, on either side of the tower, and it is to be noted that the west windows of the aisles, which would have been blocked by anything in such a position, are later than any others in the church, and may have been made after the destruction of such buildings.

The roofs of the nave and aisles are of low pitch and leaded, but that of the chancel is high pitched and covered with Collyweston slates. Internally it has a low-pitched ceiling, with moulded beams of original date, with carved heads at the junctions of the ridge and principal rafters, the middle bay having in this position a shield bearing nine roundels. The other roofs of the church are modern.

The font has an octagonal panelled bowl on a panelled stem, the base, on which is carved a vine-trail, being the only ancient part.

The internal plastering of the church having been destroyed no traces of wall paintings survive, and the only remains of ancient glass are to be seen in the eastern window in the north wall of the north aisle.

On the south side of the chancel is the beautiful brass of Robert Wyntryngham, provost of the college, who died 4 July, 1420.⁴ In the churchyard are two grave slabs of late 13th-century date, one having a figure with the bust and feet appearing in sinkings at either end, and the other giving a good example of the bracket-shaped scrolls on either side of the central stem, whose meaning has never yet been satisfactorily explained. In the former of these a chalice was found. At both ends it has a mortice to take the tenons of the head and foot stones, which were probably small crosses.

Near the south porch is the churchyard cross with an inscription in three lines on its base, fairly legible when the stone is damp. It runs 'Johs Leefe et Jac . . . uxr eis hanc fecerunt fieri.'

The church plate was renewed at the restoration in 1878, and consists of a silver-gilt cup and paten of 1877, a white metal bread-holder, and a brass alms-basin. There is also a silver credence paten given by the present vicar.

There are two bells by Henry Penn, 1708, two others recast by Taylor in 1878, and a tenor also by Taylor, given by the late Lord Melville in memory of his marriage.

The first book of the registers contains baptisms and marriages from 1631 to 1644, and burials from 1631 to 1645. There is then a gap of 45 years, the next book beginning in 1690, and taking baptisms to 1782, burials to 1783, and marriages to 1790. Book iii contains marriages from 1790 to 1812, and book iv, baptisms and burials from 1783 to 1812.

There is one book of churchwardens' accounts from 1793 to 1897, and two of the accounts of Bellamy's Apprenticing Charity from 1699 to 1904.

Clement Bellamy, by will dated *CHARITIES* 12 October, 1658, left his real estate and residuary personality for the poor. This demise was the subject of proceedings in chancery and of a decree of Commissioners for Charitable Uses. By a deed, dated 15 September, 1693, it was provided that a rent-charge of £20 per annum should be settled for the benefit of this parish and the neighbouring parishes of Glapthorn, Tansor, and Oundle, £5 of which is used for apprenticing poor children of Cotterstock.

John Whiteing, by will dated 5 January, 1701, left £5, the interest of which is divided among the poor of the parish.

¹ It is higher in the wall than the recesses within, and its opening must have sloped downwards to them. This suggests

a bone-shoot, and the position is a common one for a charnel.

² In the west window the quatrefoil is pierced, enclosing a fleur-de-lis.

³ A new figure of St. Andrew has now (1906) been set in this niche.

⁴ For a description of it, with the inscription, see p. 169 of this volume.

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DUDDINGTON

Dodintone (xi cent.) ; Dudintun (xii cent.) ; Dodynton (xv cent.).

The parish of Duddington, bounded on the west by the River Welland, covers about 1,400 acres. The ground rises gradually to a height of 300 ft. to the east and south of the village ; it is liable to floods along the river bank. The soil, on a substratum of great and inferior oolite, is excellent for agricultural purposes, good hay being obtained from the river meadows, while the arable land, which comprises 653 acres, produces wheat and barley of superior quality. There are 433½ acres of pasture and 135 of wood. There are several disused slate quarries in the north and east, but the population is now entirely engaged in agriculture. There were 280 persons in Duddington in 1901.

The main road from Kettering to Stamford passes through the parish, with a branch south of the village

school, largely supported by private donations, stands on the east side of the main road, while at the south end of the village is a disused chapel built by the Quakers, but now in possession of the Congregationalists. The vicarage stands at some distance to the north of the village at the junction of the main road with the branch towards Peterborough.

In 1086 Duddington, rated at one *MANOR* hide, was held by the king. It is noted that the land 'pertinet ad Gretone manerium,' to which town its church was until lately a chapel of ease. There was a mill rendering 4s., and woodland a league in length and four furlongs in breadth. There was a priest, though no church is mentioned. The value of the land, £10, had not changed since King Edward's time, though 'many things are wanting to it which belong to its ferm in woods and other matters.' In the 12th-century

Northamptonshire survey, Duddington, still apparently in the hands of the crown, is simply stated to contain one hide.² The first recorded holder of Duddington under the crown was Richard de Humez, constable of Normandy, and a useful friend to Henry II. From 1155-6 onwards he appears as the grantee of Duddington which was reckoned as worth £15 yearly, and it is mentioned in an undated grant to him which appears to belong to the year 1173, but which must have only been a confirmation of his possession of the place.³ He married Juliana, daughter and coheirress of Richard de la Hay, to whose family Duddington afterwards belonged. After the death of Richard de Humez it was confirmed to his son William, with the constableness of Normandy in 1180.⁴ William lost his English lands on the separa-



THE MANOR HOUSE, DUDDINGTON.

towards King's Cliffe, and one to the north leading to the road from Peterborough to Uppingham.

Among the place-names found in this parish are Sart Farm, a remembrance of the fact that Duddington was originally reclaimed forest land, the Marcrams, Spider Eye, Long Stockings, Noses Holt, and Peter's Hook. Duddington was enclosed in 1775, the award is enrolled on the Common Pleas Recovery Roll at the Record Office.¹

The village of Duddington is built on ground with a considerable fall on the north and west towards the Welland, between the main road from Kettering to Stamford and the river. The manor house, with an early 16th-century gable end towards the road, is almost in the centre of the village, and the church stands at a lower level to the north-west. A mixed

tion of England from Normandy in 1204, and Duddington passed to his brother-in-law, Gerard de Camvill, who had married Nichola de la Hay, sister of Juliana. The exact nature of this transaction is not very clear. According to a case concerning the title of Duddington brought in 1231 there seems to have been a family arrangement in the reign of Richard I by which William de Humez gave up Duddington to Gerard and Nichola in exchange for some lands in Normandy. It appears from the contemporary documents that the grant was not absolute, but that Gerard held of his brother-in-law.

William of Duddington is the holder until 1204, but Gerard de Camvill is ordered in that year 'to have such seisin of lands in Duddington and Easton which he held of the fee of the constable of

¹ Com. Pleas Recov. R. Mich. 16 Geo. III, m. 14.

² *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 306a, 388b.

³ Pipe R. 2-26 Hen. II ; *Cal. Doc.*

France, p. 186 ; *Red Bk. of Exch. (Rolls Ser.)*, p. 655.

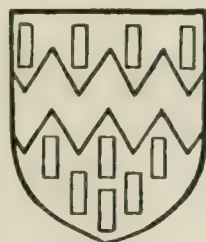
⁴ *Cart. Antiq. DD.* 1.

Normandy, as he had before the constable lost his lands by the war.' There is another grant next year to Gerard of the land in Duddington which had been held by William de Humez, and in 1207 and the following years he pays the £15 ferm for Duddington.¹ In a late 13th-century statement of the title to Duddington it is said to have belonged to Richard de la Hay in King Richard's time, and to have descended from him to his daughters, but there is no evidence that this was the case.² Five and a half virgates of land in Duddington with cottages and a mill were held in the time of Richard I by Fulk Paynel, and were seized by the king on the loss of Normandy. These were given to Gerard and Nichola by King John in exchange for the land in Easton held by William de Humez.³ On the death of Gerard de Camvill about 1215, Duddington, according to an entry on the Pipe Roll, was granted to his widow during the king's pleasure; there is also a royal command that Lady Nichola should have seisin of Duddington, but it does not state her tenure.⁴ She granted the manor, about 1230, to Oliver Deyncourt, who had married Nichola, either her niece or grandchild.⁵ In 1231, however, the manor was taken into the king's hands and granted to Ralph Brito and his heirs, as land forfeited at the time of the loss of Normandy, and held by Nichola only during pleasure. A suit was brought by Oliver and his wife, and as they recovered their seisin, apparently the family arrangement, in the time of Richard I, was considered to give Gerard and his wife full possession, though William de Humez was entered annually as the holder.⁶ The king does not appear to have been quite satisfied, for a second suit was brought against John son of Oliver in the latter part of the reign, in which John was considered to have proved his title.⁷ John was not a model lord: the tenants complained of his treatment of them with regard to customs, and an order was sent to the sheriff not to allow him to vex the men of Duddington.⁸ In all these disputes of title during the 13th century Duddington is called a manor, but after the reign of Edward I it is called sometimes a 'vill,' more often land and tenements only, and no reference has been found in the many surveys of the lands of the Deyncourts to a court at Duddington. This is perhaps due to the connexion of Duddington with Gretton manor, but there is no evidence to show that the men of Duddington paid suit at Gretton, and the connexion appears to have entirely lapsed. Duddington was included in the tourn of the sheriff at King's Cliffe twice a year.⁹

John Deyncourt was succeeded by his son Edmund, whose grandson William obtained tallage from his tenants in Duddington in 1313.¹⁰ During this William's life some change was made in the tenure of the land. The £15 entry disappears, and William and his descendants are said to hold land in Duddington of

the earldom of Lincoln for one sore sparrow-hawk.¹¹ William died in 1364, seised of the 'vill of Duddington';¹² his estate there is described in 1379, on the death of his wife Millicent, who held Duddington in dower of the inheritance of her grandson William, as 17 virgates of land and meadow, with rents from various tenants.¹³ William died in 1381, and was succeeded by his two sons Ralph and John successively. William, the son and heir of John, died in 1422, leaving as heiresses his sisters Alice and Margaret, who married respectively Lord Lovell and Ralph Lord Cromwell.¹⁴ On the death of Margaret without children Alice became sole heiress.¹⁵ She and her second husband, Ralph Boteler, granted the manor in 1467 to feoffees, apparently with the intention of bestowing it on Magdalen College, Oxford.¹⁶ But though royal licence was obtained to do so in 1475 the grant appears to have never taken effect, for Duddington was confiscated by the crown on the attainder of Francis Lovell, grandson of Alice, in 1485, and was granted by Henry VII to Sir Thomas Brandon, uncle to Charles Brandon, who was created duke of Suffolk by Henry VIII. In 1515, after the death of Sir Thomas, Duddington was granted to Sir Edward Guildford and his heirs male.¹⁷ It again escheated to the crown, and was granted in 1538 to Sir John Russell in tail male.¹⁸ It remained in his family until 1585, when Francis, earl of Bedford, descendant of Sir John, sold it to William Lord Burghley and Sir Thomas Cecil,¹⁹ with whose descendants the manor remained until 1798. The manorial rights and some of the estate were then sold to Thomas Jackson, whose family had owned land in Duddington since the beginning of the 17th century. His son sold the lordship of the manor and a portion of the property to John Monckton in 1843, whose son, Mr. E. P. Monckton, is now lord, though the Marquis of Exeter and Mr. N. Goddard Jackson have still considerable property in the parish;²⁰ the latter still holding the manor-house.

There was another holding in Duddington which can be traced through the greater part of the 13th and 14th centuries. Henry III in 1229 granted to Ralph Brito land in Duddington, and the rent-service of Roger de Eston, William son of Ralph of Blatherwick, and of certain land held to ferm by the men of Duddington.²¹ Two years later he granted to William Brito 50 acres of wood next the land of his brother Ralph.²² All this land, held of the crown by the service of a pair of gilt spurs, was in the hands of William at his death, about 1261.²³ He was suc-



DEYNCOURT. Azure
a fesse dancetty between
ten billets or.

¹ Close R. 6 John, m. 21, m. 3; Ibid.
⁸ John m. 2; Pipe R. 27 Hen. II-
6 John; Ibid, 9 John-17 John; Bracton,
Note Book (ed. Maitland), 503, 565.

⁹ Chan. Inq. p. m. 21 Edw. I, No. 149.

⁸ Ibid. Norman R. 6 John, m. 2.

⁴ Pipe. R. 2-14 Hen. III; Close,
17 John, m. 6. After her husband's
death Lady Nichola was sheriff of Lin-
colnshire (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*)

⁵ The word used is 'nepte.' Pipe R.
15 Hen. III.

⁶ Close, 15 Hen. III, m. 19, 13;
Bracton, 503, 565.

⁷ Cur. Reg. R. No. 152, m. 6d.

⁸ Chan. Inq. p. m. 21 Edw. I, No. 149;
Close, 35 Hen. III, m. 10 d.

⁹ Assize R. No. 632, m. 30.

¹⁰ Close, 6 Edw. II, m. 10. For
pedigree of Deyncourt see Blore, *Rudland*,
p. 150.

¹¹ Assize R. No. 632, m. 30.

¹² Chan. Inq. p. m. 38 Edw. III, No. 11.

¹³ Ibid. 3 Ric. II, No. 18.

¹⁴ Ibid. 5 Ric. II, No. 20; 3 Hen. IV,
No. 16; 7 Hen. IV, No. 30; 1 Hen. VI,
No. 22; 25 Hen. VI, No. 10.

¹⁵ Ibid. 33 Hen. VI, No. 34.

¹⁶ Feet of F. Northants, 6 Edw. IV,
No. 16; Pat. 15 Edw. IV, pt. iii, m. 15.

¹⁷ L. and P. Hen. VIII, ii, pt. i, p. 312;
Pat. 7 Hen. VIII, pt. iii, m. 21.

¹⁸ Pat. 30 Hen. VIII, pt. iii, m. 14.

¹⁹ Feet of F. Northants, Hil. 27 Eliz.

²⁰ Deeds belonging to Mr. Monckton.

²¹ Close, 11 Hen. III, m. 17.

²² Ibid. 15 Hen. III, m. 10; Fine R.
17 Hen. III, m. 5.

²³ Chan. Inq. p. m. 45 Henry III,
No. 18.

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ceeded by his son, grandson, and great grandson, all named John, and the land they held came to be called 'Bretonesybbing'.¹ The last John had no children, but about 1312 died, leaving his sister Maud, wife of Richard de la Ryver, as heiress.² Maud's daughter Margaret left as co-heirs, in 1376, Sarah, wife of John Garlek, and Margaret, wife of Robert Swyllington, and 'Bretonesybbing' is then said to comprise 200 acres of land and 2 acres of wood still held of the king *in capite* for the service of a pair of gilt spurs.³ Next year Robert Swyllington, who was a large landowner in several counties, bought the share of Sarah, and so obtained the whole estate.⁴ 'Bretonesybbing' is mentioned in the description of his lands taken on his death in 1391,⁵ but after this date no further

Duddington the privilege of freedom from toll throughout the realm as tenants of ancient demesne.⁶

The church of Duddington was, *ADVOWSON* until the 19th century, a chapel of ease to Gretton, and in the gift of the prebendary of Gretton in Lincoln Cathedral. This prebend was dissolved under the Ecclesiastical Commission Act of 1836, and by the Act of 1840 the patronage of the vicarage of Duddington was vested in the bishop of Peterborough, who now presents.

The church is dedicated in honour *CHURCH* of our Lady, and stands in the middle of the village on a level site, though the general line of the ground falls quickly from south to north. The churchyard lies on the north and south, the church coming close to the east and west boundaries.

It has a chancel 34 ft. by 16 ft., a tower and spire at the south-west of the chancel, and a nave 40 ft. by 14 ft., with north and south aisles 7 ft. 6 in. and 9 ft. wide respectively. There is an unusually deep south porch near the west end of the aisle. The chancel, porch, and north aisle have roofs covered with Collyweston slates, while those of the nave and south aisle are of flat pitch, leaded. The nave roof has an embattled parapet, and that of the south aisle is plain.

The development of the building is interesting, and seems to be somewhat as follows:—The first building was a small aisleless nave and chancel church, the nave measuring about 30 ft. by 14 ft. inside. To this a north aisle was added c. 1150–60, and a south aisle some thirty years later.

A new chancel was built round the old one about the beginning of the 13th century on a considerably larger scale, being made 2 ft. wider than the nave, and a tower was about the same time begun at its south-west angle, probably for want of space at the west of the nave, where the levels fall quickly, though now in the course of time made up to some degree by the churchyard soil.

A bay was added to the nave about 1230, bringing it to its present internal length of 40 ft., and both aisles must have been lengthened westward in consequence. The north aisle seems to have been entirely rebuilt at this time, and perhaps slightly widened, while the south aisle was widened and rebuilt about 1330, the south doorway being re-used. The south porch is of this date or a little later, and the clearstory of the nave may be of the 14th century also.

The chancel has been practically rebuilt in modern times, but retains early 13th-century shallow buttresses at its east angles, and a dwarf buttress in the middle of the east wall with a chamfered string over it. In this wall are three lancets under a semicircular arch



DUDDINGTON CHURCH FROM THE SOUTH.

reference has been found to this estate. It is possibly now represented by the Sart Farm, owned by Mr. W. Goddard Jackson, which is a separate estate, not part of the manor.

The men of the vill of Duddington in the time of Henry III had common pasture in the wood of the king of Westhay.⁶ This common was still claimed by the tenants of the manor in the 17th century.⁷ Queen Elizabeth in 1583 confirmed to the men of

¹ Chan. Inq. p.m. 34 Edw. I, No. 29; *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 14.

² Chan. Inq. p.m. 5 Edw. II, No. 30.

³ *Ibid.* 49 Edw. III, No. 32; *Orig. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 338.

⁴ *Orig. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 349.

⁵ Chan. Inq. p.m. 15 Ric. II, pt. i, No. 61.

⁶ *Misc. Inq. File* 5, No. 24.

⁷ *Forest Proc. bdle.* 59, No. 57. Right

extinguished by enclosure of Forest of Clive in 1805.

⁸ Confirmation R. 32–30 Eliz. No. 15. This grant was not enrolled until 1743. See back of roll.

with dogtooth, all the masonry being modern, and there are modern lancets in the north and south walls, with segmental rear arches.

The chancel arch is of two chamfered orders with half-octagonal responds and moulded capitals and bases. It belongs to the early 14th century, taking the place of a narrower arch.

The north arcade of the nave is of three bays, the first two having round arches of two orders with a roll on the inner order and a lozenge pattern on the outer towards the nave, the orders towards the aisles being plain. The capitals are scalloped and the central pillar round, the responds having half-round shafts with small nook-shafts on the south side. The third bay of the arcade has a 13th-century round arch, not continuous with the other two, and having moulded capitals.

The south arcade has two bays belonging to the end of the 12th century, and a third at the west coeval with that on the north side and of like design. The arches of the south arcade are higher than those in the north, and the two east bays have round arches of two chamfered orders, with transitional foliage on the capitals.

The west window of the nave is a single lancet, tall and wide, which has been modernized. The nave clearstory has three windows a-side, each of two trefoiled lights under a square head, unevenly spaced, with a wide gap between the middle and western windows, on the line of the former west end of the nave. It is possible that they take the place of earlier windows in the same positions, the two eastern of which on both sides were made before the western extension, while the western windows were set out in the new work without reference to the others.

The north aisle has a widely-splayed east window, of two narrow lights with a quatrefoil in the head. In the north wall are two square-headed windows of three trefoiled lights, probably 16th-century work. The blocked north doorway has a shouldered arch with mask corbels, and a square internal head, and is probably coeval with the aisle.

The south aisle has a trefoiled piscina at the east, and near it a square-headed window of four trefoiled lights, c. 1330. The south doorway is of two moulded orders with jamb-shafts, and capitals with transitional foliage and square abaci, of the same date as the south arcade. West of the doorway is a square-headed window of three trefoiled lights, with an embattled transom, and in the south-west angle is an ogree-headed doorway, now built up, perhaps leading to a vice at the angle of the aisle, which has disappeared. Both window and doorway are of the 14th century, probably of the date of the rebuilding of the aisle.

The south porch is 13 ft. 6 in. long by 8 ft. 2 in. wide, with stone seats on the east and west. In its east wall is a small window of two trefoiled lights worked in one stone, and in the west wall a square-headed loop. The outer arch is of two chamfered orders with half-octagonal responds and moulded capitals.

The tower opens to the chancel with a pointed arch of two orders with clustered shafts and moulded capitals, with nailhead ornament on that of the west respond. To the south aisle it opens with a similar arch, but of three orders. The ground stage of the tower has contained an altar, a trefoiled piscina of the

13th century remaining in its south wall. In the east and south walls are round-headed lights, that in the south wall, which seems to be an insertion, having been widened and altered in the head, and below it to the west is a plain round-headed doorway. In the second stage there is a lancet window on the south side, with nailhead on the label. The tower has pairs of shallow buttresses at the angles, and sets back on the first and second stages. The third or belfry stage is of somewhat later date than the work below it, and there seems to have been an interval of some twenty years between the two. Each of the four belfry windows is of two lights divided by a shaft, under a pointed head, which has a roll on its outer order on the east and south faces of the belfry, being those which would be seen by anyone coming by the main approach to the church, while those on the north and west faces are left plain. The stone spire is octagonal, with two tiers of spire-lights, each of two lancet openings divided by a shaft under a gabled head. The tympana of the gables are plain, except in the case of the lower spirelight on the south side, which contains a pierced quatrefoil.

The chancel has a good modern roof of 14th-century style with arched braces carved with ball flowers and resting on moulded stone corbels. The nave roof is plain, as are those of the aisles, some old timbers remaining in the north aisle. The south door is probably as old as the doorway, made of oak boards braced together and hung with heavy wrought-iron strap hinges ornamented with a fish-bone pattern.

Under the tower is a 17th-century communion table, with rows of turned balusters on three sides. It is 3 ft. by 3 ft. 9 in. and looks as if it had stood with one narrow end against the east wall, as there are no balusters in that portion. They may, however, have been removed. The seating is modern save for a few 17th-century bench-ends.

There are some remains of a red and black foliage pattern painted on the south face of the north-west respond of the nave.

The plate consists of a small silver cup and cover paten of 1605, a second cup and paten of modern date, a plate of 1845, and a flagon of 1865.

There is one bell, from the Newcombes' foundry at Leicester, inscribed: NO MENN O M N.¹

The first book of the register contains baptisms from 1733 to 1812 and burials from 1735 to 1812; the second, marriages from 1754 to 1812. There is a clerk's book which contains marriages from 1737 to 1754, and also baptisms from 1733 to 1810, and burials from 1737 to 1808.

William Jackson by will, dated 12 November, 1667, bequeathed a capital sum of £50 for building a school, and a rent-charge of £10 per annum on his farm at Helpston for maintenance of a schoolmaster to teach twelve poor children.

James Marsh Weldon's Charity—subject to £1 for repair of gravestones in the chancel of the church—was founded by will, proved at London, 30 January, 1851, and consists of the dividends of £169 3s. 11d. consols, held by the official trustees, distributed to the poor in bread.

¹ Possibly Nomen omen, but meaningless inscriptions are common on bells at this date, c. 1600.

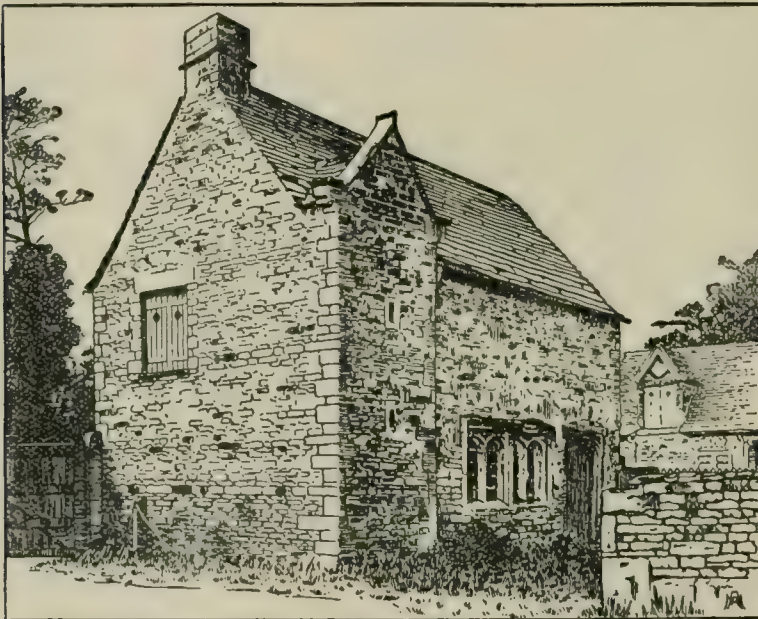
A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

The Town Land consists of an allotment containing 4 a. 2 r. 10 p. comprised in an enclosure award made under 14 Geo. III, cap. 2, let at £5 9s. per annum. By an order of the Charity

Commissioners dated 27 April, 1900, 1 a. 0 r. 31 p. part thereof, was apportioned as an ecclesiastical charity. There is also an allotment under the same award of 2 r. 17 p. for the repair of the highways.

EASTON ON THE HILL

The parish of Easton is one of the largest in the hundred of Willybrook. It is picturesquely situated on the south side of the Welland valley on a ridge, on whose slope the village of Collyweston is built a short distance to the south-west. The parish, with a population of 821 in 1901, covers about 3,375 acres, of which 15 are water, 2,065 arable, 860½ pasture, and 361 woodland. The soil is of a sandy character on an upper lias and inferior oolite foundation. It is very productive, but the population in this parish is not so entirely engaged in agriculture as the rest of the hundred.



THE OLD RECTORY, EASTON ON THE HILL.

Messrs. John Lee & Sons' fur factory employs about thirty hands, while some are engaged in the ironstone works belonging to the Marquis of Exeter, and many work in Stamford. In the 18th century Easton was much celebrated for its limestone, for which the many old quarries in the parish were principally worked. There are still a few lime-burners in the parish. Slate is also worked to a small extent.

The principal road is that running through the parish in a north-easterly direction from Collyweston to Stamford. Near the village of Easton this is crossed by another road from King's Cliffe towards Tinwell, and a short distance north of the village a road also strikes off in an easterly direction towards Peterborough.

The village of Easton is built to the west of the road from Collyweston to Stamford. The High Street, which joins the main road nearly opposite the turn towards Peterborough, divides the village into two portions, that south of the road being called the new town. The greater part of the village is, north

of the High Street, built round a quadrangle of roads, of which the High Street forms one side, with a road branching off from each corner. A Wesleyan Methodist chapel, rebuilt in 1874, stands at the north-west corner of the quadrangle. The endowed schools are situated where the road to Peterborough diverges from the road to Stamford. A large modern house in the parish, with good grounds, is now occupied by Mr. Neville Day.

Near the present rectory, at the north end of the village, is a building said to have been the rectory until the building of the present house about the

middle of the 18th century. From its size it would certainly be better adapted for a celibate priest than for a parson with a family, and all the indications point to its not having had more accommodation in the past than it now possesses. It consists of two floors, the access to the upper one being by a stone staircase in the north-east corner. The east wall appears to have been partly rebuilt, but it retains the old recesses for the fireplaces; the entrance door has been rebuilt, and the roof is modern; otherwise it seems to have survived fairly intact. The upper floor, however, has evidently been raised some 12 or 18 in., the old moulded beams and stop-chamfered joists being re-used. The mouldings of the window-jambs and the four-centred heads of the lights point to the early part of the 16th century as the date

of erection of this interesting little house. There are no indications left of any internal walls, but the disposition of the windows suggests the probability of the ground floor having been all one room, while the upper floor may have been divided into two. For many years the building has been used as a cow-house or stable, with a loft over it.

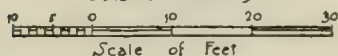
The parish was enclosed in 1820, and the award is in the custody of the parish council. Among the place-names found in this parish are the Cranes, Hollebrynke, Crekele, Crabtree Corner Sale, Priest Coppe, and Dankesale Coppe.

EASTON at the Domesday Survey was *MANORS* situated partly in the hundred of Willybrook and partly in the soke of Peterborough, then called Upton Green hundred. Rolland held of Eudo 1½ hides in Easton in Willybrook hundred, which had been held by Drond freely in the time of King Edward the Confessor. There was land for four ploughs and a mill, rendering 20s.—the whole was worth £6. Rolland also held of Eudo

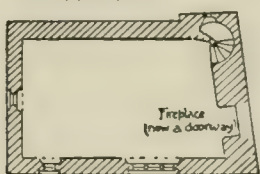
WILLYBROOK HUNDRED EASTON ON THE HILL

1½ hides in Upton Green hundred. Though the same hidation is given, there was only land for two ploughs, and the whole was worth only 40s.¹ Both portions, however, had increased in value enormously since the time of King Edward, showing that this village had suffered exceptionally little from the recent ravaging of the country.² It is noted of the land in Upton Green hundred that it belonged to 'St. Peter of Burg.' This is explained by an entry of the time of Henry I in a Peterborough cartulary. Anschtitil de St. Medard held of the abbot of Peterborough 10 hides and three parts of a virgate in

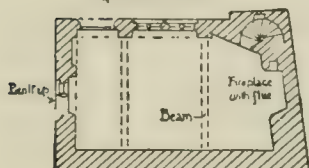
EASTON ON THE HILL OLD RECTORY



Upper plan



Ground Plan



Northamptonshire. Of this fee King William gave to Eudo Dapifer one hide and a half in Easton, commanding the abbot to recompense Anschtitil with other land, but this the abbot refused to do.³ The king's action did the abbey a real injury, for it was not merely a change of tenants for the land, but the holder of Easton from henceforth never did service or paid dues to Peterborough at all. Eudo was the son of Hubert de Rie, a great favourite of his sovereign. In the 12th-century survey of Northamptonshire Easton is still entered under two hundreds, both portions being held by Simon de Lindon. The amount, one hide and a half, is the same in the soke, but in Willybrook Simon is said to hold 2 hides in Easton.⁴ Both portions were held of the crown, the lands of Eudo having escheated to the

king on his death, without male issue, in 1120. Simon de Lindon, also called Simon of Easton, mortgaged his land to Robert, nephew of the bishop, grandfather of William de Humez, constable of Normandy.⁵ William de Humez by force of this mortgage had entered into land in Easton, and in 1204 Simon de Lindon, grandson of the above Simon, demanded an inquiry as to his rights. William just at this period forfeited his lands in England on account of the loss of Normandy, and Simon's petition was so far successful that he was allowed to have the lands in Easton on payment to the crown of 300 marks.⁶ Simon was followed before 1229 by his son Alan, who does not seem to have been a very estimable character, being strongly suspected in 1231 of murdering his brother Rolland.⁷ He was succeeded by Richard, who died about 1255, holding the manor of Easton of the king in chief as two knights' fees.⁸ Richard's son Simon enfeoffed Eleanor, consort of Edward I, with the manor.⁹ It fell to the crown on her death, and was granted in 1305 to Queen Margaret of France as dower,¹⁰ and after her death to Queen Isabella in 1318.¹¹ She surrendered it, however, the next year with the Northamptonshire manors of Torpel and Upton in exchange for other lands.¹² From this date until the death of Edmund de Holand, earl of Kent, in 1408, the manor of Easton follows the descent of that of Upton in Castor, except that on the forfeiture of Edmund, earl of Kent, in 1330 it was granted temporarily to Bartholomew de Burghersh instead of, as in the case of Upton, to Simon de Bereford.¹³ On the death of Edmund, earl of Kent, in 1408, Easton formed part of the portion of his sister Eleanor, wife of Thomas, earl of Salisbury.¹⁴ After her death it was held by her husband by the courtesy of England until 1428, when it descended to his daughter and sole heiress Alice,¹⁵ who married Sir Richard Neville. Their son was the famous Richard, the king-maker, earl of Warwick and Salisbury, who lost his life in 1471 on the field of Barnet. Easton then fell to George, duke of Clarence, husband of Richard's eldest daughter Isabel, who, being suspected of disloyalty to his brother, King Edward IV, was attainted and executed in 1477. His young son and heir Edward was kept in prison by the successive sovereigns until his attainder and death in 1503-4. His lands and titles by his attainder were forfeited to the crown, but on her own petition his sister Margaret, the wife of Sir Richard Pole, in 1513, was restored to his lands and the dignities of the earldoms of Warwick and Salisbury. She, as the last of her race, was regarded jealously by King Henry VIII, and was attainted in 1539, and executed two years later.¹⁶ Easton, therefore, fell once again into royal hands, and was granted in 1551 to John, earl of Bedford,¹⁷

¹ *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 343b.

² *Ibid.* p. 261.

³ *Chronicon*, p. 168.

⁴ *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 367b, 388a. Probably the valuation in Willybrook hundred included the ½ hide of St. Pierre sur Dive, assessed separately in 1086.

⁵ *R. of Fines and Oblations* (Rec. Com.), p. 218.

⁶ *Pipe R.* 6 John, m. 11d. It is not certain whether William de Humez had the whole or only part of the Easton lands. Two entries in the *Red Book of the Exchequer* (Rolls Ser.) pp. 173, 534, look as if he had held the whole. In

1201-2 Simon de Lindon was holding two knights' fees in Northamptonshire 'pro' William de Humez, and in 1210-12 he had two knights' fees which had belonged to William de Humez by fine with the king. The whole of Easton was held as two knights' fees in the reign of Henry III (Chan. Inq. p.m. 39 Hen. III, No. 25). On the other hand, in a suit concerning the land of William in Duddington, he is stated to have held only 5 virgates of land in Easton, which the king gave to Simon de Lindon for 200 marks (Bracton, *Note Bk.* (ed. Maitland), Nos. 503, 565). The survey of William's land in Easton, taken on his forfeiture in

1204, unfortunately does not give the exact amount, but the value and the amount of stock seem large for only 5 virgates (Norman R. 6 John, m. 2).

⁷ Bracton, *Note Bk.* 514.

⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. 39 Hen. III, No. 25.

⁹ *Ibid.* 26 Edw. I, No. 28.

¹⁰ Pat. 33 Edw. I, pt. ii, m. 19.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 11 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 30.

¹² *Ibid.* 13 Edw. II, m. 27.

¹³ *Ibid.* 4 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 25.

¹⁴ Chan. Inq. p.m. 10 Hen. IV, 51.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 7 Hen. VI, No. 57.

¹⁶ G. E. C. *Complete Peerage*, vii, 36.

¹⁷ Pat. 3 Edw. VI, pt. vii, m. 42.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

whose son Francis sold it about 1584 to William Lord Burghley.¹ His descendant, the marquis of Exeter, is now lord of the manor. The Cecil title was not quite unchallenged, for in 1592 Easton was granted as 'concealed lands' to the famous 'fishing grantee,' William Tipper, and others,² but the question to title was apparently settled satisfactorily, for the manor was in the hands of Thomas, earl of Exeter, in 1612,³ and remained from henceforth, without interruption, in the possession of that family.

There are fairly good accounts of the condition of the manor of Easton at different periods. Alan seems to have been the first member of his family to be closely connected with it; probably the Lindons generally lived at Creton, in Lincolnshire, where they had a messuage in the reign of Henry III. Alan had a house where he stayed sometimes in Easton, and in 1229 he obtained a royal licence to enclose his wood called La Lounde, in Easton, containing 8 acres and lying between his manor of Easton and the king's highway to Stamford, and to make a park.⁴ One of the privileges obtained by Simon de Lindon in return for the grant of the advowson of the church of Easton to the abbey of Crowland was to build a 'Chapel in his manor of Easton.'⁵ The house to which this park and chapel are annexed was no doubt the messuage mentioned in a description of the manor in 1298; a water-mill and a fishery in the Welland as well as the park were parcel of the manor at that date.⁶ A rent from a water-mill had been granted to Crowland in return for a quit-claim to their right to the advowson of the church in 1245, and was probably the mill mentioned in Domesday. Edmund of Woodstock was granted free warren in his demesne lands at Easton in 1320.⁷ In the middle of the reign of Edward III the park is called Le Grave, and Easton is said to have suffered from a great mortality during the pestilence.⁸

KNEVETTS MANOR.—A manor of this name appears in Easton in the middle of the 15th century. It was formed partly of land belonging to the manor of Easton for which rent was paid, and partly of some smaller holding in the parish with a separate history. In 1086 the abbey of St. Pierre sur Dive held half a hide in Easton of the gift of Gilbert de Gand. Tonna had formerly held the land with sac and soc.⁹ In 1261 some of this land was occupied by Simon son of Simon de Bricelesworth and Maud his wife, to whom the abbot of St. Pierre sur Dive gave up all right in the land for six marks rent to be paid to him or to the prior of Wolston in Warwickshire, a cell of St. Pierre sur Dive.¹⁰ The land was taken into the king's hands in the reign of Edward III as being held by an alien priory,¹¹ and about 1387 the whole of the possessions of the cell of Wolston including the rents from Easton were transferred to the Carthusian House of St. Anne at Coventry.¹² In 1535 this house received over 50

shillings rent from Easton, part from the nuns of St. Michael at Stamford, part from the college of Fotheringhay, part from the hospital of All Saints at Stamford, and part from the college of Tattershall.¹³ They seem also to have had some land held directly of Coventry by inferior tenants for rent, which was granted in 1557 to Thomas Reve and Richard Budd as the lordship or manor of Easton next Stamford, late parcel of the possessions of the priory of Coventry.¹⁴

It was the land which belonged to the college of Tattershall which formed part of the manor of Knevetts. About 1441 Sir John Knyvet and John Kynvet, junior, and Richard Bernamour sold to William, bishop of Lincoln, Sir Ralph Cromwell, and others, the manor of Easton called Knevet's manor.¹⁵ In the reign of Richard II, Eleanor, widow of John Knyvet, had been seized of a messuage and land in Easton as dower held of the manor of Easton.¹⁶ The Knyvet family had probably between that time and 1441 acquired other small portions of land in Easton, some held of the manor, and others of the priory of Coventry, and had called them all together Knevet's manor. Sir Ralph Cromwell must have been the chief mover in the sale of 1441, for in 1463 his heirs, Humphrey Bouchier and Joan his wife, and Gervase Clyfton and Maud his wife, conveyed the manor to the college of Tattershall which Ralph had founded.¹⁷ The college in 1535 paid rent for this land to both the lord of Easton and the prior of Coventry.¹⁸ One court roll exists for this manor dated 1544, when it was in the hands of the crown after the dissolution of the college.¹⁹ The manor was granted in 1547 by Edward VI to John Gate in fee.²⁰ He obtained leave in 1550 to alienate it to Richard Cecil and his heirs for ever.²¹ Thus the manor of Knevetts came into the hands of the same family as the chief manor in Easton, and with them it has remained.

In 1147 the church of Easton **ADVOWSON** was confirmed to the abbey of Crowland by Pope Eugenius. In the same century Richard de Humez confirmed the church as the gift of his ancestors to that abbey.²² The latter's title was however challenged in the king's court by this Richard or his son William, and about 1203 by Simon de Lindon,²³ when Crowland lost the suit. About 1249 the abbot gave up all right in the church to Richard de Lindon in return for a rent from a mill in Easton.²⁴ But in 1276 Richard's son Simon granted the advowson to Robert, abbot of Crowland, in return for the remission of the rent from the mill and permission to build a chapel in his manor of Easton and have a priest to celebrate there on Sundays.²⁵ From this time until the dissolution of the monastery the abbey of Crowland presented to the church. About 1550 the advowson was granted with the manor to John, earl of Bedford, and from this date it followed the descent of the manor.²⁶

¹ Feet of F. Northants, Trin. 25 Eliz.

² Pat. 34 Eliz. pt. vii. See Upton for account of concealed lands.

³ Feet of F. Div. Co. Hil. 9 Jas. I.

⁴ Close, 14 Hen. III, m. 10, 22.

⁵ Feet of F. Northants, 4 Edw. I, No. 30.

⁶ Chan. Inq. p. m. 26 Edw. I, No. 28.

⁷ Chart. R. 14 Edw. II, m. 5, No. 15.

⁸ Ibid. 23 Edw. III, pt. i, No. 88;

⁹ Orig. Mins. Accts. bdle. 1090, No. 5.

¹⁰ I. C. H. Northants, i, 346b.

¹¹ Feet of F. Div. Co. 45 Hen. III, No. 74.

¹² Orig. R. (Rec. Com.), ii, 350.

¹³ Pat. 20 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 32; Add. MS. 6164, p. 494.

¹⁴ Valor Eccl. (Rec. Com.), iii, 53; iv, 43, 141, 142, 287.

¹⁵ Pat. 4 and 5 Phil. and Mary, pt. xii, m. 53.

¹⁶ Feet of F. Northants, 19 Hen. VI, No. 101.

¹⁷ Chan. Inq. p. m. 12 Ric. II, No. 32.

¹⁸ Feet of F. Div. Co. 3 Edw. IV, No. 15.

¹⁹ Valor Eccl. (Rec. Com.), iv, 43.

²⁰ Ct. R. (Gen. Ser. P. R. O.), bdle. 184, No. 73.

²¹ Pat. 1 Edw. VI, pt. ii, m. 2.

²² Pat. 3 Edw. VI, pt. v, m. 40.

²³ Crowland Cart. in possession of Lord Lucas, ff. 49, 208.

²⁴ Abbrev. Plac. (Rec. Com.), p. 39.

²⁵ Feet of F. Northants, 33 Hen. III, No. 577.

²⁶ Ibid. 4 Edw. I, No. 30.

²⁷ Pat. 3 Edw. VI, pt. vii, m. 42.

WILLYBROOK HUNDRED EASTON ON THE HILL

In 1293 a chantry of one chaplain was founded in the church of Easton by Henry Sampson, parson of that church, to pray for the souls of Queen Eleanor and of the founder and his father and mother.¹ He endowed it with a toft and land in Easton, but the endowment does not seem to have been sufficient, for in 1411 the chantry then stated to be in the chapel of St. Mary the Virgin in the church of Easton was united to the rectory by Robert Soukel, rector.² It was served by Thomas Williamson the incumbent, 'Scant meet to serve a cure,' in 1548. It was then worth £1 6s. 8d. and was said to have been founded by Richard Sampson, clerk.³ The lands belonging to this chantry were granted the next year to William Cecil,⁴ by whose family the manor of Easton was afterwards acquired.

The church of All Saints⁵ stands to **CHURCH** the north of the village, on high ground overlooking the valley of the Welland. Its site has a slight slope to the east, but at a short distance the ground falls quickly on the north, east, and south. The greater part of the churchyard lies on the north side, away from the village, and a large additional piece of ground at the north-west was consecrated in 1892.

The church consists of chancel with north and south chapels and south vestry, nave with aisles and south porch, and west tower. The tower is faced with ashlar, the rest of the building having rubble walls with ashlar dressings and buttresses. The roofs of the north chapel and south porch are covered with Collyweston slates, all other roofs being of low pitch, leaded, and the chancel has embattled parapets.

At the beginning of the 13th century the church seems to have consisted of chancel and nave with south aisle, enlarged about 1230 by the addition of the south vestry. About 1330 the north-east angle of the chancel was rebuilt, and the north chapel thrown out: the north arcade of the nave and the north aisle, now rebuilt, may have been of this date. The west tower was added in the 15th century, no traces being left to show whether an earlier tower existed. The south aisle, except the south doorway, was rebuilt in 1786, and the north arcade of the nave with the clearstory and north aisle in 1856, the north doorway being taken out and set up as an entrance to the churchyard on the west side. The chancel was repaired in 1846.⁶

The chancel has a 15th-century east window of five cinquefoiled lights with tracery under a four-centred head, and a square-headed north window of four trefoiled lights with cusped circles in the head, of excellent detail, c. 1340.

The south wall of the chancel has no window in its eastern bay, the vestry being built against it, but contains a 14th-century trefoiled piscina.⁷ The west bay of the chancel opens to the north and south chapels with wide arches, that on the north being of the first half of the 14th century, of two chamfered orders, with a moulded capital to its east respond, while the west capital has lost its original detail.

Across the opening runs a stone screen of the 14th century, with a solid base and open trefoiled arches above, and a four-centred doorway of later date at the east. At the west end is a cinquefoiled arch inserted to range with the rest. The arch on the south of the chancel is of c. 1230, with half-round responds and moulded capitals, the east capital having a line of nailhead ornament.

The north chapel has an east window of four lights, the jambs being of the 15th century, but the tracery poor modern work. South of the window is a plain image-bracket. There is a five-light north window with a square head and trefoiled lights, of c. 1340.

The south vestry is entered from the church by a small doorway of uncertain date, and contains some very good 13th-century detail in the jambs of a blocked east window with nook-shafts, and on the south in a chamfered wall arch with a label, enclosing a square-headed opening⁸ with angle rolls, below which runs a moulded string to a clustered shaft in the south-west angle. The shaft is partly hidden by a wall dividing the vestry from the south chapel, but not carried up to the roof. In the north wall is a small ogee-headed recess 6½ in. wide by 19 in. high, and east of the window in the south wall is a very good 13th-century piscina with a trefoiled arch.

The south wall of the south chapel was rebuilt in 1786, and contains a modern four-light window copied from the north window of the chancel.

The chancel arch is of the 14th century, with two chamfered orders and half-round responds, the details of the capitals having been destroyed no doubt in the fitting of a rood-loft. On the south side is the rood-stair, entered from the aisle, with an exceedingly steep rise. Over the arch are the royal arms of George IV, dated 1826. The north arcade of the nave, of three bays, with the north aisle, was rebuilt in 1856, the square heads of some 14th-century windows being re-used in the new work. The south arcade, of three bays, has round pillars with plain octagonal capitals and round arches of two chamfered orders, probably dating from c. 1200. The only ancient feature of the south aisle is the doorway, coeval with the arcade, with a well-moulded arch and nook-shafts. Over the arch, and cutting into the label, is a 14th-century trefoiled niche. The south porch has stone seats on the east and west, and an outer arch with two hollow-chamfered orders and mask dripstones to the labels. The nave clearstory has windows with two cinquefoiled lights under a four-centred head; those on the south side being of the 15th century, and those on the north modern copies of them.

The west tower is of five stages. It is of early 15th-century date and local type with shallow clasping buttresses at the angles, being an almost exact replica of the tower of St. John's Church at Stamford. The mouldings of the west window on the ground stage are especially to be noted in this connexion, being identical in both churches and having a keeled roll on the outer order characteristic of the 13th rather than the 15th century.

¹ Inq. a. q. d. File xx, No. 18.

² Linc. Epis. Reg. Repingdon, Memo. 54 d. For the commemorative inscription see below.

³ Chant. Cert. 35, No. 39.

⁴ Pat. 3 Edw. I, pt. v, m. 11.

⁵ A parishioner in 1514 desires to be buried in the churchyard of All Hallows of Easton 'upon ye hill.' (Bk. A, fol.

196, see also will of John Saunders, Bk. D, fol. 76. Wills in Northampton Probate Office).

⁶ The chief internal measurements are: chancel 33 ft. by 13 ft. 2 in.; north chapel 17 ft. by 18 ft. 2 in.; nave 51 ft. by 19 ft.; north aisle 9 ft. 4 in. wide, south aisle 8 ft. wide, and tower 13 ft. square.

⁷ The vestry, which is not later than c. 1230, is built with a straight joint against the chancel, and is clearly an addition, so that the chancel, which shows no traces of 12th-century masonry, must belong to the early years of the 13th century.

⁸ A wide four-centred light has been inserted in this opening.

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The top stage of the tower is embattled, with tall crocketed angle pinnacles, projecting gargoyles and, at the base of the parapet, a band of quatrefoils.

The belfry windows are of four trefoiled lights with four-centred heads, each pair of lights, with a quatrefoil over them, being enclosed under an arch ranging with the outer orders of the head. Below the belfry stage are four two-light windows with quatrefoils in the head, and in the stage below these is a square opening enclosing a quatrefoil. The ground stage has a west window of three lights with tracery; the exceptional detail of its outer moulding has already been noticed. Below it is a doorway of two continuous moulded orders, and at the base of the tower is a good moulded plinth.

The roofs of nave, chancel, and north aisle are modern, but the south chapel has a flat roof with moulded beams of the 15th century, and the roof of the south aisle is of the 14th century, of low pitch, with moulded braces and jacklegs against the aisle wall. The north chapel has a plaster ceiling.

In the east arch of the north arcade is the lower part of a 15th-century parclose screen with moulded posts and plain panels from which tracery heads have been removed. There are seven rows of wooden benches in the nave¹ with very solid plain ends, their date being given by a shield on the last bench-end on the north side, with the names of rector and churchwardens and the date 1631. The seats are supported in the middle of their bearing by pieces of 15th-century bench-ends, which had buttressed fronts and small animals as finials to the buttresses. In the aisles are 17th-century benches, like those in the nave, and extending westward to the same line; they are fitted with later doors.

There is a little 14th-century glass with foliage patterns in the heads of the north window of the chancel and the north-east window of the north aisle.

The font has a panelled octagonal bowl and stem, and is a good example of 15th-century date.

Below the modern south window of the south chapel is a stone slab with a 13th-century inscription:

✠ Les : cors : sire : Richard : de : Lindone :
✠ e dame : Iuete : sa feme : gisent : ici : priez
✠ pur les : ames : ke : Deus : en : eit : mercy

Richard de Lindone died about 1255.

In the vestry floor is an incised slab with a figure under a canopy and an inscription in French round the edge, too much broken to be read; the lines are filled-in with black composition. Two slabs with indents of brasses remain, one of c. 1330 in the south aisle, with a cross and a figure in the head, the other, c. 1500, set in the north wall of the chancel, showing a kneeling figure with a scroll, and what may have been an Annunciation, and below this a shield and a place for an inscription.

On the same wall, below the north window, is a slab with a 15th-century inscription with directions for

the keeping of an obit, thus—the first few letters of the inscription being destroyed:

... Robertus Senkel' quondam Rector istius ecclesie
Anno domini Millesimo cccc° xj° registratur quod
idubus marcij quibus Rector istius ecclesie suet obitum henrici
Sampson et Alienore fundatorum cuiusdam cantarie et Roberti
Sen
kel unitoris in capella beate marie cum ij denis pulsantibus et
una die in qualibet septimana dicetur memoria viz Inclina
domine cum
secreto et postcommunione in perpetuum pro predictis quorum
animabus propicietur deus amen.

The plate consists of a silver cup of 1662, given by Mary Brutnell or Brudenell (and in the inscription on her monument in the church called a 'communion chalice'), a cup of 1777, and a cover paten of 1776, fitting neither cup; an alms-dish of 1772; a plated flagon, and a pewter plate.

There are four bells: the treble and tenor by Thomas Norris of Stamford, 1640, the third by T. Eayre of Kettering, 1749, and the second of the 15th century, possibly from a Nottingham foundry, inscribed in black letter smalls:

PERSONET HEC CELIS DULCISSIMA VOX GABRIELIS

The registers began originally in 1581, but nearly all the first page has been cut out. Book i now contains baptisms from 1598 to 1652, burials from 1583 to 1653 (in both cases the entries after 1646 are very fragmentary), and marriages from 1578 to 1646. Book ii contains baptisms from 1650 to 1699, marriages and burials from 1653 to 1699. Book iii baptisms and marriages from 1700 to 1741 and burials from 1699 to 1741. Books iv, v, vi, and vii contain baptisms, marriages, and burials from 1742 to 1812.

CHARITIES Richard Garford by will, dated 24 May, 1670, left three messuages, being Nos. 3, 4 and 5, Saint Olave's, Hart Street, Crutched Friars, London, of which the rents were to be used, after deduction of 6s. 8d. for a yearly sermon on the Sunday after Michaelmas, for bringing up and apprenticing four poor children. This property is let on a lease for 99 years from Lady Day 1862, at a yearly rent of £75. The charity was further endowed in 1766 by Brownlow, earl of Exeter, who gave a copyhold house and small garden in Easton for a school and master's residence. On the Easton enclosure in 1818 an allotment was made to the school trustees. A sum of £600 consols also is held by the official trustees in trust for this charity.

Tenements and lands 'appropriated under ancient deeds to the reparation of the church and highways, the relief of the poor inhabitants, and the common profit of the town' are called the town estate, and the rents are applied in aid of the poor's rate. In 1868 there was also a sum of £327 5s. 4d. consols arising from the sale of certain houses belonging to this trust.

The church estate produced £40 17s. and is used for church purposes.

The Benefaction Fund consists of £81 1s. 8d. consols, held by official trustees, arising from various donations, the interest of which is distributed annually among the poor in fuel.

¹ The last benches are just east of the nave doorways, and the rest of the nave westward was probably without seats.



EASTON-ON-HILL CHURCH : THE TOWER FROM THE WEST



FOTHERINGHAY CHURCH : THE NAVE, LOOKING EAST

WILLYBROOK HUNDRED

FOTHERINGHAY

Fodringeia (xi and xii cent.) ; Foderingeye (until xvi cent.).

The parish of Fotheringhay is situated in the widest and richest part of the valley of the Nene. It is one of the largest in this district, covering about 2,130 acres, of which 23 are water, 824 arable, 1,165½ pasture, and 11½ wood. The population in 1901 was 195. The parish lies very low, never rising more than 100 ft. above the ordnance datum, but it is very different in character from the somewhat bare, flat district round Peterborough. There is little real woodland, but many trees along the roads, and about the village ; and the soil, varying from a rich loam to clay, partly upon alluvium, and partly great oolite, is very fertile. The 'mervelus faire corne grouned and pasture' noticed by Leland in the 16th century is still a distinctive feature of Fotheringhay.

The main road passing through the parish is that from Oundle to Stamford, which crosses the Nene by Fotheringhay Bridge. Just north of the river where the village is built this road is joined by one running south-east from Woodnewton. The Northampton and Peterborough branch of the London and North Western Railway passes through the east side of the parish ; Elton Station on that line being just within the boundary.

The village of Fotheringhay lies on the north side of the River Nene, which, with a tributary passing to the north of the village, almost surrounds it. It is approached from the south by a stone bridge of four arches, which is on the site of a bridge built by order of Queen Elizabeth. The first reference to a bridge at this village is in 1330, when the inhabitants of Fotheringhay and Nassington were distrained for neglecting to repair 'the bridge at Walcotforth which is crossed by footmen, horses, and carriages, from the vill of Undale to Stunford,' and is 'broken so that hardly any winter passes without danger of death in crossing there.'¹ Queen Elizabeth ordered a new bridge to be built with stone piers covered with wood, and an inscription commemorating the donor from which the line 'God Save the Queen' was cut by Parliamentary soldiers.² The present bridge was built with stone from the quarries at Kings Cliffe in 1722, by order of Daniel, earl of Nottingham, then trustee for the owners of the manor.³

Many descriptions of Fotheringhay have been written within the last three centuries, all note certain distinguishing features, but they illustrate also the great change which has come over the place within this period. Leland, in the middle of the 16th century, says : 'The Toune self of Foderingeye is but one streat al of stone building. The glorie of it standith by the Paroche chirch of a fair building and collegiatid . . . There be exceeding goodly [meadows by] Foderingey . . . The bridg to Fotheringey over Avon [is of timber]. The castelle of Foderingey is fair and meately strong with doble diche, and hath a kepe very auncient and strong.'⁴ The first part of this is applicable to-day, the latter part shows the

difference three centuries have wrought. The destruction of the castle must have entirely altered not only the appearance, but the whole character of the village ; from being a state stronghold and a favourite home of princes, Fotheringhay has now become an insignificant and declining country village, which lives on the associations connected with its earlier and more glorious days. The efforts of its lords to raise the town to importance by grants of market and fair and various liberties were never successful. Fotheringhay, apparently, during the existence of the castle lived on the trade and business it brought, as it now lives on its memory.

By the time of the visit of Stukeley in the early 18th century the appearance of Fotheringhay must have been much the same as it is to-day. He refers to 'the pleasant and woody country,' and wide, 'extended meadows,' but the castle was by then 'mostly demolished,' and very little of the college remained.⁵ All that is now left of the castle is a high mound at the extreme east of the village close beside the river, with remains of a moat encircling it, and one shapeless mass of masonry. Of the two ancient inns which stood near the west entrance of the castle little is left. The Old Inn, indeed, has quite disappeared, and its site is now occupied by cottages. The New Inn, according to a survey taken in 1624—quoted by the Rev. H. K. Bonney in his *Historic Notes in reference to Fotheringhay* (1821), was 'built with stone with two fair courts and a back part with barns and stables, and contained 'a hall, a parlour, a kitchen, divers other chambers, fair stables, barns, and out-houses,'⁶ but of all this only a small part now remains facing the road. The interior has been entirely modernized, a few moulded ceiling-beams being the only remnants still visible, and the exterior has been much renovated. But the gateway is left in a good state of preservation, and is a charming specimen of 15th-century domestic architecture. It consists of a flat-pointed moulded arch springing from broad splayed jambs ; a square-headed label surmounts the arch, leaving a spandrel on each haunch which is filled with cusping, and above the label is a row of cusped and quatrefoiled panels. Above this again is a two-light window with cusped heads surmounted by a square label. The composition is flanked on either side by a buttress. The label terminations, now somewhat defaced, bear shields of arms which serve to date the building. They all have reference to Edward IV and his ancestors, and represent four generations, terminating with himself. On the label of the gateway are Castile and Leon, for Isabel of Castile, wife of Edmund of Langley, fifth son of Edward III, and great-grandfather of Edward IV ; and Mortimer, for Ann Mortimer, wife of Richard, earl of Cambridge, second son of Edmund of Langley. On that of the window are France and England, quarterly, impaling Nevill, for Richard, duke of York (only son of Richard, earl of Cambridge), and his wife, Cecily Nevill ; and lastly, France and England, quarterly, for Edward IV himself, who was son of Richard, duke of York.

¹ Assize R. No. 632, m. 30 d.

² Stukeley, *Itin. Curios.* (2nd ed.).

³ *Bib. Topog. Brit.* iv, 21.

⁴ *Itin.* (ed. Hearne 1744), i, 5.

⁵ *Itin. Curios.* p. 35.

⁶ Taken from a manuscript referred to

by Bridges, *Northants*, ii, 449, and Bonney, *Fotheringhay*, p. 3.

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It may be supposed that with the destruction of the castle the need for the inn ceased; at any rate it has now for many years been occupied as a private house.

A little to the west of the parish church is an open space called the marketstead, where the market used to be held. John of Brittany, in 1308, was granted a market on Wednesday in each week at his manor of Fotheringhay, and a fair there every year on the vigil, day, and morrow of St. Michael.¹ These seem soon to have lapsed, for there is no reference to them in several full descriptions of the manor in the latter part of the reign of Edward III. Henry VI, in 1457, renewed the grant of the Wednesday market to Richard, duke of York, and a fair for two days, namely, the morrow and day following of Relic Sunday.² If Leland's statement that Edward IV had thoughts of privileging Fotheringhay with a market³ be true, this grant also must very soon have lapsed; in any case, from this time there is no further mention of a market at Fotheringhay. But the fair is still held for one day in the marketstead; up to about forty years ago every house in the village while it lasted was allowed to sell beer. In the marketstead a cross probably stood which was destroyed about 1580. A maypole also was erected there in the 16th century, and in 1578 a sum was paid to the carpenter for 'squaring the maypole that stands in the market-steede.'⁴ May revels were kept up in Fotheringhay until the middle of the 19th century.⁵

Fotheringhay was enclosed in 1635.⁶ Among the place-names found in this parish are Swans nest, Saphon Close, Petigreymore, Brakesbalke, Curtilwong, Appulhoo, and Radulforde.

In 1086 the Countess Judith, niece of *MANOR* William the Conqueror and widow of the ill-fated Waltheof, earl of Huntingdon, held six hides in Fotheringhay. Of this two hides were in demesne; the rest was held by three serfs, nineteen villeins, six bordars, and the priest. There was a mill, and woodland 1 league in length and 9 furlongs in breadth, which when it was stocked and the king did not hunt there was worth 10s. Turchil held the land freely in King Edward's time.⁷ The Countess Judith was succeeded in her lands by her only daughter Maud, who married as her first husband Simon de St. Liz, the rejected suitor of her mother, who was created earl of Huntingdon. Fotheringhay was considered part of the honour of Huntingdon, and it followed the descent of that honour for the next century.⁸ Simon died about 1109; his widow Maud married soon after David I, son of Malcolm III of Scotland, who became king of that country in 1124. David did homage to Maud, daughter of Henry I, and rose to support her claim to the throne when the kingdom was seized by Stephen. He invaded Northumberland, but was met by Stephen with a large force, and an agreement was made by which Henry the son of David was confirmed in the honour of Huntingdon and did homage

to Stephen, thus saving his father's oath.⁹ Henry, who is represented by the chronicles as a model of all that a prince should be, died, in 1152, before his father.¹⁰ The earldom of Huntingdon was given by Stephen to Simon, son of Simon de St. Liz and Maud, a staunch supporter of Stephen, and the real heir by hereditary right to the earldom, but who was a minor at his father's death. He was described by Robert earl of Gloucester, according to Henry of Huntingdon, as one 'whose deeds never went beyond words, nor his gifts beyond promises.' Henry himself remarks, on his death in 1153, that Simon 'abounded in all that was unlawful and unseemly.'¹¹ He was very munificent to the Church, being founder of the nunnery of De la Pré and the abbey of Sawtre. After his death the earldom of Huntingdon remained for a time in abeyance; it was confirmed in 1159 by Henry II to Malcolm, 'the Maiden,' king of Scotland. On his death without children in 1165 it descended to his brother William the Lion. In 1173 both William and his brother David joined the great baronial rising of that year against Henry II. William was taken prisoner at Alnwick, and as the price of his release had to submit to the ignominious treaty of Falaise in 1174. Among his losses was the earldom of Huntingdon, which was granted by Henry to Simon son of Simon de St. Liz the second. Simon died ten years later, when the earldom was re-granted to William king of Scotland, who immediately passed it on to his brother David. Richard I confirmed the honour to David, with all liberties and customs.¹² At the beginning of the reign of John, Earl David was in favour, but he seems to have later sided with the barons, for in 1212 he was commanded to deliver up Fotheringhay immediately for the king's use.¹³ The castle was returned to him in 1215, but in 1216 he was again termed the king's enemy, and apparently his lands were seized, for in the beginning of the next reign Henry III ordered that Earl David should have seisin of all his lands, etc., whereof he was disseised on account of the war.¹⁴ On David's death in 1219, the wardship of his lands belonging to the honour of Huntingdon was granted, during the minority of his son John 'le Scot,' to Alexander, king of Scotland.¹⁵ In 1227 John, who was also earl of Cambridge, and soon after became earl of Chester by right of his mother, did homage, and had seisin of all his lands.¹⁶ He died without children in 1237, leaving as co-heirs his sisters Margaret, Isabel, Matilda, and Ada. Fotheringhay, at first the dower of John's widow Elena, who married Robert de Quincey, afterwards fell to the two daughters of Margaret, wife of Alan, lord of Galloway, eldest sister of John, Christiana wife of William de Fortibus, earl of Almarle, and the celebrated Devorguilla, who married John Balliol.¹⁷ In 1243 Christiana died without issue, and Devorguilla succeeded to the whole of the lordship of Fotheringhay. Devorguilla survived her husband more than twenty years; she is said to have spent much of her widowhood at Fotheringhay. It

¹ Chart. R. 2 Edw. II, m. 12, No. 40.

² Third Sunday after Midsummer Day. Chart. R. 27-38 Hen. VI, No. 18.

³ *Itin.* (ed. Hearne), i, 5.

⁴ See Bonney. He quotes from an ancient MS. then (1821) in his possession; perhaps the MS. book of the affairs of the parish alluded to by Stukeley (*Itin. Curios.* p. 36).

⁵ For an account of them see A. E.

Baker, *Glossary of Northants Words and Phrases*, App. p. 427.

⁶ Bridges, ii, 456.

⁷ *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 350b.

⁸ For descent of earldom of Huntingdon see G. E. C. *Complete Peerage*, iv, 282.

⁹ Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 164.

¹⁰ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

¹¹ *Henry of Huntingdon* (Rolls Ser.), 270, 288.

¹² Cart. Antiq. X, 28.

¹³ Pat. 14 John, m. 4.

¹⁴ Ibid. 17 John, m. 23; Close, 18 John, m. 1; *ibid.* 2 Hen. III, pt. ii, m. 9.

¹⁵ Pat. 5 Hen. III, pt. i, m. 4.

¹⁶ Close, 11 Hen. III, m. 12.

¹⁷ Ibid. 22 Hen. III, m. 20; Close, 30 Hen. III, m. 2; *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), p. 38.

was a native of that place, Walter of Fotheringhay, who was made first master of Balliol College at Oxford, which she and her husband jointly endowed.¹ She held Fotheringay for her life of the king of Scotland by the service of one sore sparrow hawk, and, her sons Hugh and Alexander having predeceased her, she was succeeded in 1290 by her youngest son John, the first king of Scotland of her family.² When war broke out between Edward I and Balliol in 1294 all his lands in England were seized.³ King Edward granted Fotheringhay to his nephew John of Brittany, earl of Richmond, who in 1331 obtained leave to grant the castle and manor for life to his niece Mary de St. Pol, countess of Pembroke, widow of Aymer de Valence.⁴ She, like Devorguilla, lived at Fotheringhay, and devoted her vast wealth to acts of piety and munificence. Pembroke College at Cambridge was founded by her in memory of her husband.

In 1337 the reversion of the castle of Fotheringhay was granted to William de Bohun, who was created earl of Northampton.⁵ He, however, died before the countess of Pembroke; the reversion was then granted by Edward III to Robert of Ashton, treasurer of the king and other subordinate ministers.⁶ This arrangement never took effect, for on the death of Mary in 1377 Edward III immediately gave the castle and manor of Fotheringhay to his son Edmund Langley, earl of Cambridge, and Isabella his wife. The gift was ratified the same year by Edward's successor, Richard II, who also created his uncle duke of York in 1385.⁷ Edmund was succeeded in 1402 by his son Edward, who first began the magnificent college at Fotheringhay, finished by his descendants; though the project is said by Leland to have originated with his father.⁸ Edward was killed in 1415 at Agincourt. His brother Richard, earl of Cambridge, had been executed for treason just before the expedition started from England, and Edward is said to have felt that his own loyalty was suspect, and 'desirid of King Henry to have the forewarde of the Batel, and had it where be much hete and thronggid being a fatte man, he was smoulderid to death, and afterward brought to Foderingey and there honourably buried in the bodie of the quire.'⁹ Richard son of the late Earl of



BALLIOL. *Gules a voided scutcheon argent.*



EDMUND OF LANGLEY. *Old France quartered with England with the difference of a label argent with three roundels gules on each point.*

Cambridge, then a minor of three years old, was his heir. One third of Fotheringhay was held by Philippa duchess of York, widow of Edward, in dower until about 1432.¹⁰ Richard duke of York, through his mother Anne Mortimer, had a stronger hereditary right to the crown than Henry VI, and after leading a party against Henry's rule for a long period, he finally asserted his right by birth to the throne. War, which had broken out earlier between the rival factions, was renewed on this definite issue and the duke in 1460 was killed in the first engagement at Wakefield.¹¹ His widow, Cicely, spent much of her long widowhood at Fotheringhay, which was granted to her by her son Edward IV in the first year of his reign.¹² Here her youngest son, afterwards Richard III, had been born, and here her husband and his third son Edward, who had been slain with him, were removed from their first burial-place at Pontefract.

In 1469 Cicely surrendered to the king all her estate in Fotheringhay in return for other lands,¹³ and for the rest of this reign and the two following, Fotheringhay remained in the hands of the crown. Henry VII in 1497 granted the castle and manor as dower to his wife Elizabeth, not however as representative of the house of York, for during the next year he resumed all grants which had been made to Edmund Langley, duke of York, though with no prejudice to the recent grant for life to the queen.¹⁴ Henry VIII in 1509 granted to his betrothed wife, Princess Katharine of Aragon, the castle and manor of Fotheringhay.¹⁵ After her death they formed part of the dower of Jane Seymour, Anne of Cleves, Katharine Howard, and Katharine Parr in succession.¹⁶ Fotheringhay then remained in the hands of the crown until the accession to the English throne of James I, the son of Mary queen of Scotland, when it was granted to Edward Blount and James Earth and the heirs and assigns of Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, earl of Devon.¹⁷ The earl left no legitimate issue, but his property passed by a special arrangement to Mountjoy, his eldest son by Lady Penelope Rich, created Earl of Newport by Charles I. He sold it in 1663 to Sir George Savile, afterwards first marquis of Halifax, the celebrated 'Trimmer.'¹⁸ On his death in 1695 Fotheringhay descended to his son William, and from him to his three daughters, Anne who married the Earl of Ailesbury, and Dorothy and Mary, respectively the wives of the Earl of Burlington and the Earl of Thanet.¹⁹ Daniel earl of Nottingham and other trustees for the three co-heiresses sold Fotheringhay in February, 1725, to Hower Edgeley Hower, adopted son and heir of William Hower. He died without heirs, leaving the estates to his wife, from whom they passed to members of the Blackborne and Cockerell families, with whom the Hewers were connected. In 1806 the manor was sold by Samuel Pepys Cockerell, Charles Cockerell, and others to William and Thomas Belsey. William died without

¹ Pat. 13 Edw. I, m. 3; *Hist. MSS. Com. Report* iv, pp. 442-6.

² Chan. Inq. p.m. 18 Edw. I, No. 28.

³ Fine R. 23 Edw. I, m. 3.

⁴ Pat. 34 Edw. I, m. 1; *ibid.* 5 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 1. There is some mystery about the manner of the death of Aymer de Valence, and Mary is spoken of by Gray as 'Sad Chatillon on her bridal morn who wept her bleeding love,' but there was really nearly two years between their marriage and the earl's

death. (*G. E. C. Complete Peerage*, vi, 207).

⁵ Chart. R. 11 Edw. III, m. 24, No. 49.

⁶ *Orig. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 346.

⁷ Chan. Inq. p.m. 51 Edw. III, No. 28; *Orig. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 351; Pat. 1 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 4.

⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. 3 Hen. IV, No. 36; Pat. 3 Hen. V, pt. ii, m. 43.

⁹ Leland, *Itin.* (ed. Hearne 1744), i, 6.

¹⁰ Chan. Inq. p.m. 3 Hen. V, No. 45; *ibid.* 10 Hen. V, No. 45.

¹¹ *Engl. Chron.* ed. Davies (Cam. Soc.), 107.

¹² Pat. 1 Edw. IV, pt. iv, m. 1.

¹³ *Ibid.* 9 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 19.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 10 Hen. VII, m. 21; *Parl. R.*

(Rec. Com.), vi, 460.

¹⁵ Pat. 1 Hen. VIII, pt. i, m. 8.

¹⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, 52; *ibid.* xvi,

240; *ibid.* xx, pt. i, 82.

¹⁷ Pat. 1 Jas. I, pt. xx.

¹⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. (ser. 2), ccvi, 146;

Feet of F. Northants, East. 15 Chas. II.

¹⁹ *G. E. C. Complete Peerage*, iv, 135.

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heirs in 1812, and his share went to his brother Thomas, who left the manor by his will in 1832 to his sister Mary for life, and afterwards to his cousin Robert Sacklin Tomlin. Tomlin sold it in 1842 to Lord Overstone, one of the greatest financiers and wealthiest Englishmen of the 19th century. He died in 1883 leaving an only daughter, Harriet Sarah, the wife of Baron Wantage, who is now lady of the manor of Fotheringhay.¹



LOYD, LORD OVERSTONE. *Party bend sinisterwise ermine and argent an eagle with two heads sable in a border sable bezanty.*

Almost all the liberties which it was possible for a subject to have were attached to the lordship of Fotheringhay, chiefly through its being part of the honour of Huntingdon. Richard I granted to David, earl of Huntingdon, and the men holding of the honour that they should have and hold their lands with sac and soc, toll and team, infangenethef and out-fangthef, and all other liberties free and quit of toll, pontage, passage and pedage, stallage, tallage and scutage, suits of shires and hundreds, assizes and superassizes and summons, aids of the sheriffs and serjeants, of gelds, danegelds, and hidages, bloodwite and fyrdwite, fischwite and murdrum, and forest fines and works on castles, walls, bridges, roads, etc.² These liberties and others, including view of frankpledge with pillory and tumbrell and the assizes of bread and ale, were claimed specifically as pertaining to the manor of Fotheringhay by John of Brittany in 1330.³ He also successfully asserted his right to free warren in all his demesne lands at Fotheringhay by virtue of a grant made to him by Edward II a few years previously.⁴

A park is first mentioned in connexion with Fotheringhay in the reign of Henry III; it is probable by several grants to John, earl of Huntingdon, that he first imparked land there. In 1230 he was given permission to make two deer-leaps in his park of Fotheringhay, and twice in the next few years he was granted does and bucks from Rockingham to stock his park at Fotheringhay.⁵ In the Tudor period there were two parks at Fotheringhay, the little park on the east of the castle and the great park on the north and south.⁶ These two are included in the grant of the castle and manor in 1603, but after this date no reference has been found to any park at Fotheringhay, they were probably disparked when the castle was dismantled in the 17th century. The fishings appurtenant to this manor, owing to its situation on the Nene, which bounds it on the south and east, were valuable. They were often in the 16th century leased by the lords, and form a considerable item in the revenue obtained from the manor. John earl of Huntingdon carried on a dispute with the abbot of Ramsey concerning the common of fishery belonging to Fotheringhay,⁷ and

a several fishery always appears in the thirteenth and fourteenth century surveys of the manor. In the reign of Henry VI and henceforth the fishery was divided into three parts which were accounted for separately. The first was from Oxenforth to Warmington Dam, the second from Warmington to Elton, and the third from the floodgates at Elton to Nassington Moor. All three were about 1461 in the hands of the college of Fotheringhay, but not permanently, for a deed exists by which Katharine of Aragon leased the fishery from Elton to Nassington to a certain Richard Darnold.⁸ There was a watermill appurtenant to this manor from the time of Domesday, until at least the end of the 16th century. There is now no mill in the parish.

The custom of free labour in return for land seems to have been kept up in this manor exceptionally late. In 1656 one of the conditions of a lease of land on the manor by Mountjoy earl of Newport to Charles Preston, was that Charles should be ready 'upon two days' warning with a team and two sufficient men to work three days every year during this present lease without wages for the said earl, his heirs and assigns, in ploughing or sowing his ground or carriage of his coal, wood, or tymbber.'⁹

The castle of Fotheringhay was probably **CASTLE** built by Simon de St. Liz, the first earl of Huntingdon and Northampton of his name. Though from many descriptions it must have been a solid and massive building of great strength, it never appears prominently in the early history of the country. The 13th century is the only time when it played at all a national part. It is first mentioned in 1212 when Earl David was commanded to immediately deliver the castle of Fotheringhay to Simon de Pateshull and Walter de Preston for the king's use.¹⁰ Resistance was evidently expected and the strength of the castle considered likely to make it effectual, for a few days after this preremptory demand the king commanded the reeves and good men of Northampton to go with horses and arms and the whole 'posse' of their town to Fotheringhay and there to act as Hugh de Neville should instruct them on the king's behalf. Henry de Braybrook and others were also ordered to assemble themselves with horses and arms at Fotheringhay if Earl David refused to obey the king's behest.¹¹ The castle was surrendered, for in April, 1215, orders were given that Walter de Preston should be allowed firewood for the castle of Fotheringhay and also twigs and timber to fence it.¹² The castle was returned to Earl David in June of the same year for a short time, but was again seized into the king's hands, probably in October, 1216, when orders were given to allow knights who had been assigned land in the king's forests 'to do their will' in the woods next Earl David's lands and that of others of the king's enemies 'so that the tracks made by them may always appear.'¹³ Earl David died in 1219 and William Marshal the younger, earl of Pembroke, immediately took possession of Fotheringhay Castle, and refused for some time to give it up to

¹ The descent from the death of William marquis of Halifax is taken entirely from papers in the possession of Lady Wantage.

² Cart. Antiq. R. p. 19.

³ Quo Warr. R. (Rec. Com.), 547.

⁴ Chart. R. 12 Edw. II, m. 9, No. 30.

⁵ Close, 14 Hen. III, pt. i, m. 18;

ibid. 16 Hen. III, m. 18; ibid. 20

Hen. III, m. 23.

⁶ Rentals and Surv. 33.

⁷ Close, 20 Hen. III, m. 5 d.

⁸ Orig. Mins. Accts. bdlc. 1115, No. 6 and

No. 7; Misc. Bks. (Aug. Off.), xlili, No. 123.

⁹ Harl. MS. iii, D. 39.

¹⁰ Pat. 14 John, m. 4.

¹¹ Close, 14 John, m. 6.

¹² Ibid. 16 John, pt. ii, m. 4.

¹³ Pat. 17 John, m. 23; Close, 18 John, m. 1.

envoys of the king of Scotland, as he was commanded by Henry III, who wrote saying he had promised to restore the castle and Earl David's lands, and he wonders greatly the earl has not obeyed his command, as longer detention of the castle will be a subversion of the business of his sister's marriage, 'which will remain unfinished to the king's great loss and disgrace.'¹ William gave the castle up, but it was subjected the next year to another outrage by William earl of Albemarle, when it was in charge of Ralph earl of Chester, in trust for John le Scot, the young son of Earl David. William earl of Albemarle, 'a feudal adventurer of the worst type,' enraged at having to surrender his castle, rose in revolt in January, 1221, and after being repulsed at Newark, Sleaford, and Kimbolton, aided by the ice took Fotheringhay, at that time very insufficiently garrisoned, and ravaged the country in all directions. For this he was excommunicated by the legate; an expedition led by the king in person proceeded against him, and he was taken at Fountains Abbey in February.² This was the only time in its history that Fotheringhay Castle suffered a siege. In 1237, on the death of John earl of Huntingdon, the castle was again delivered to the king of Scots.³ During its tenure by John Balliol it was given up by Richard de Hemmington to Baldwin Wake, an enemy of the king, to the 'great loss' of John.⁴ In 1296, when it was forfeited to the king on account of the war with John Balliol, Fotheringhay was first used as a state prison, six Scottish prisoners taken at Dunbar being confined there.⁵

The best description of Fotheringhay Castle before its practical rebuilding by Edmund Langley is that taken in 1341, when the reversion was assigned to William de Bohun. It had a tower of stone and cement, well-built, walled, and crenelated, a ditch well dug out, two chapels, one great hall, two chambers, one kitchen, and one stone oven, one gatehouse with a chamber above, under which was a drawbridge. Outside the castle was another place, with various outhouses, called the manor. The whole was worth nothing except repairs.⁶ This statement is repeated, and it is added that on the death of Mary de St. Pol in 1377⁷ the buildings are weak and ruinous. The castle was entirely rebuilt, according to Camden, by Edmund Langley, with a strong keep in the form of a fetterlock, and (if we may judge from the munificence of the House of York in endowing the college and frequent requests in their wills to be buried at Fotheringhay), it seems to have been a favourite place of residence of that family. Early in the reign of Henry VI, when the heir of this house was a minor, Fotheringhay was used as the place of confinement of the seven Scotch knights who were hostages for the performance of the treaty of 1424 with the king of Scots.⁸ Some important French prisoners were also confined at Fotheringhay at this period, including Charles duke of Orleans.⁹

King Edward IV had much affection for the home of his race, 'the love he bare to Fodringey' is men-

tioned by Leland, and he paid the castle at least two visits after he became king—in 1469, when he met his queen there, and in 1482, when the treaty with the duke of Albany, called Alexander king of Scots, was signed at Fotheringhay Castle.¹⁰

Leland, in 1546, in describing the castle of Fotheringhay mentions: 'There be very fair lodgyns in the Castel & as I hard Catarine of Spain did great costs in late time of refresching of it.' This statement is borne out by an entry in Catherine's accounts of over £200 spent on Fotheringhay Castle.¹¹ In 1539 Sir Christopher More visited Fotheringhay and sent an account of the guns and ammunition to Cromwell. The castle seems to have been fairly well equipped, and in an account of the early years of Edward VI's reign it is said to be 'sufficiently maintained.'¹² In the reign of Mary it was made the prison-house for a short period of Edward Courtenay, earl of Devon.¹³

Sir William Fitzwilliam was seneschal of the castle in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and he will ever be remembered for his chivalrous consideration for the unfortunate queen of Scotland, whose unhappy fate cannot but win pity and sympathy whatever opinion may be held of its necessity or justice. A full description of Fotheringhay Castle was sent to Lord Burghley just before the removal of Mary thither. The castle at that date was 'environed upon the northe part & the weste, and some parts of the south, and a little on the east with a wall.' There were two gates, and the moat which passed round the north and west sides was dry. The wall in parts also was so low that with little help a man might climb over it. There was a second moat in which was some water, but in most parts passable. The river on the south was of no great breadth, and not an effectual barrier. The whole description evidently refers to the security and defensive resources of the castle, which were not thought highly of by the writer.¹⁴ However Mary was removed to Fotheringhay from Chartley, 25 September, 1586, in pursuance of a policy of greater severity towards her in consequence of Babington's conspiracy. On 14 and 15 October (N.S. 24 and 25 October) the trial of the queen took place in a large room in the castle next to her apartments,¹⁵ before a commission presided over by the Lord Chancellor (Sir F. Bromley), and composed of all the lay peers then available, including Lords Burleigh, Mordaunt, Compton and St. John of Bletsoe, and certain privy councillors, including Sir Christopher Hatton and Sir Walter Mildmay. This commission having adjourned to London and pronounced the queen guilty (25 October, O.S.) the Houses of Parliament demanded Mary's execution (November), and this was announced to her by Lord Buckhurst (20 November, O.S.). The warrant of execution was signed by Queen Elizabeth on 1 February, 1587 (O.S.), and Mary was executed in the great hall of the castle on 8 February in the presence of the Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury representing Queen Elizabeth, and under dramatic conditions which have been frequently described.

¹ Pat. 4 Hen. III, pt. i, m. 7; *Royal L. of Hen. III* (Rolls Ser.), No. 624; Close, 4 Hen. III, pt. i, m. 4.

² Matt. Paris, *Cbron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 60; *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.); *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

³ Pat. 21 Hen. III, m. 7.

⁴ *Cal. of Doc. Scotland*, i, 488; *Hist.*

MSS. Com. Rep. iv, p. 443; *Rot. Selecti* (Rec. Com.), p. 206.

⁵ Close, 24 Edw. I, m. 7, 6.

⁶ Chan. Inq. p.m. 14 Edw. III (2nd nos.), No. 67.

⁷ *Ibid.* 51 Edw. III, No. 28.

⁸ Close, 2 Hen. VI, m. 8.

⁹ Add. Chart. 303.

¹⁰ *Itin.* i, 5; *Hist. Crowland* (Fulman, *Scriptores*), p. 542; *Foedera*, xii, 156.

¹¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, pt. iii, p. 2731.

¹² *Ibid.* xiv, pt. i, p. 13; *Rentals and Surv.* 34.

¹³ G. E. C. *Complete Peerage*, iii, 109.

¹⁴ Lansd. MS. No. 48, p. 31.

¹⁵ Chantelauze, *Mary Stuart*.

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The surveyor who visited the castle in 1625 gave a better report than that of 1586, saying that the 'castle is very strong, built of stone, and moated about with a double moat.' He then goes on to describe the rooms in detail, and it is evident that the process of dismantlement cannot at that date have been carried very far.¹ It is difficult from the description ten years later by an anonymous visitor to tell the actual state of the castle, for his sympathy for the Stuart queen is such that he reads the effect of her fate into the very walls, 'Her stately Hall I found spacious, large, & answerable to the other prince-like rooms, but drooping & desolate for that there was the altar where that great queene's head was sacrificed; as all the rest of those precious sweet buildings do sympathize, decay, fall, perish, & goe to wrache for that unluckie & fatall blow.'²

By the time of Stukeley's visit in the early 18th century the gradual process of demolition was nearly complete, 'the castle seems to have been very strong; there was a high mount or keep environed with a deep ditch; the space around it is guarded by a wall, double ditch, and the river; it is mostly demolished, and all the materials carried off.'³ Even then the exact time of the castle's destruction must have been forgotten, for Stukeley mentions the impossible legend of James I's revenge. The small remains of the castle left in the latter half of the 19th century were used up by the late Lord Overstone for farm buildings. He also filled up part of the moat.⁴

The advowson of the church of **ADVOWSON** St. Mary and All Saints⁵ at Fotheringhay was granted by Simon de St. Liz, the second earl of Huntingdon of the name, to the nunnery of Delapré.⁶ This nunnery is said to have been first founded by him at Fotheringhay on the site where the college was afterwards built, and to have been removed later to its position near Northampton.⁷ A vicarage was ordained at Fotheringhay in the early 13th century by Bishop Hugh Wells, of Lincoln.⁸ In 1415 the church was taken from the nunnery and given to the new college of Fotheringhay, the creation of the Yorkist princes, in return for a pension.⁹ The church was served from the college until its dissolution by Henry VIII and Edward VI.¹⁰ For a short time after this the church was served by a curate paid by Richard Okeham on the strength of a grant by Elizabeth in 1560 of the rectory and church of Fotheringhay lately belonging to the college in that place.¹¹ Okeham transferred his rights to James Cruys, to whom the site of the college and the land belonging to it in Fotheringhay had been granted in 1558.¹² Gamaliel son of James Cruys brought a suit against John Welby, who had been presented by the crown to the vicarage of Fotheringhay on ground of lapse because the patron, ordinary or metropolitan, had not

presented. Gamaliel pleaded that there was not, and had never been, an ordained vicarage at Fotheringhay, and he was supported by most of the evidence of the parishioners, the existence of the vicarage having evidently been forgotten through the long service of the college. The chancellor, however, found that there had been an endowed vicarage, and since there was no proof that this had been dissolved, John Welby was lawfully vicar, and an endowment was settled by commissioners.¹³ The rectory, with the site of the college of Fotheringhay and the land which had belonged to it, was sold by Gamaliel Cruys to Henry Beecher in 1597, who, like his predecessors, used the mansion or chief house of the college for a dwelling-place. The rectory and the rest of the property were conveyed by William son of Henry Beecher to John Browne, of the Middle Temple, in 1629; he sold them five years later to Mountjoy earl of Newport, lord of the manor of Fotheringhay, and they have since followed the descent of the manor.¹⁴

There was a chantry chapel outside the church in Fotheringhay to which some land was attached as endowment. The chantry was apparently founded by one of the Balliol family, not improbably Devorguilla, in order that a priest should be found by the abbey of Sawtre to celebrate at the Hermitage on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday every week, for the souls of John Balliol and his ancestors.¹⁵ A 'hermitorium' in Fotheringhay was, however, confirmed to the abbey of Sawtre by the pope in 1176; it may possibly have been given them by Simon de St. Liz, second earl of Huntingdon of his name, lord of the manor of Fotheringhay, and founder of Sawtre.¹⁶ After the dissolution of Sawtre in the reign of Henry VIII all its possessions were given in 1537 to Richard Williams *alias* Cromwell.¹⁷ He alienated the land in Fotheringhay next year to Clement Giles, who passed them on in 1539 to Richard Warde and John Gilbert.¹⁸

The church of our Lady and All Saints **CHURCH** has a nave of five bays, 57 ft. 6 in. long, by 29 ft. 9 in. wide, with aisles 12 ft. 6 in. wide, two-story north porch, and engaged west tower, 18 ft. 3 in. east to west, by 27 ft. 3 in., all measurements being internal. The chancel, which was dismantled at the suppression of the college in the 16th century and left to decay, was built about the year 1410, on the site of the chancel of the old parish church.¹⁹ The contract for the rebuilding of the body of the church, made between Richard duke of York and William Horwood, freemason, is dated in the thirteenth year of Henry VI (1434), and printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vi, 1414.

It provides for 'a new body of a kirk joyning to the quire of the college of Fotheringhay of the same

¹ Bonney, *Fotheringhay*, p. 27.

² Lansd. MS. No. 213, fol. 3-7.

³ *Itin. Curios*, p. 35.

⁴ *Northants N. and Q.* i, Art. 13.

⁵ The full dedication appears to have been 'The Annunciation' of the B.V.M. and All Saints. See will of Simon Morton (1522); *Northants Will Bk.* B, fol. 103.

⁶ Chart. R. 2 Edw. III, m. 15, No. 47.

⁷ See history of nunnery in this volume.

⁸ *Lib. Antiq. de Ordinationibus Hugonis Wells* (Soc. Cant. et Ebor.), p. 31.

⁹ Fine R. 2 Hen. V, m. 4; *Feodera* ix, 204.

¹⁰ See history of the college of Fotheringhay in this volume.

¹¹ Pat. 2 Eliz. pt. xv, m. 26.

¹² They had been leased to him in 1553 on the forfeiture of William, marquis of Northampton, to whom the college had been granted by Edward VII (Pat. 1 Mary, pt. xi, m. 1; *ibid.* 5 and 6 Phil. and Mary, pt. ii, m. 20).

¹³ Exch. Dep. East. 38 Eliz. No. 10; *ibid.* Mich. 40-41 Eliz. No. 22; Exch. Spec. Com. No. 1699.

¹⁴ Feet of F. Northants. Mich. 39 and 40 Eliz.; Close, 5 Chas. I, pt. xiv, No. 19; *ibid.* 10 Chas. I, pt. xix, m. 32.

¹⁵ Chan. Inq. p.m. 14 Edw. III (2nd nos.), No. 67.

¹⁶ Cott. Aug. ii, 125.

¹⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii, pt. ii, 468.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* xiii, pt. ii, 407; xix, pt. ii, 101.

¹⁹ The evidence for this is taken from the east wall of the present church, which shows on its west side the line of the roof of the nave of the former parish church, destroyed when the existing nave was built, while over it is a window belonging to the destroyed quire, and formerly looking over the roof of the parish nave.

height and brede that the said quire is of,' and the aisles also are to be of the same height and breadth as the quire aisles, with windows, 'accordyng in all poynts unto the wyndows of the said quire, sawf they shal no bowtels haf at all.'

Some idea therefore of the appearance of the quire may be gained from the existing nave, for which it served as a model.

The nave arcades are of five bays in the arches of two moulded orders, 'growndid upon ten¹ mighty pillars with four resounds,' which have shafts to the inner order and others on the face running up to end in corbels for the jacklegs of the wooden roof. The eastern bay of the nave is blank on both sides, 'two perpeyn walls of free stone clene wrought . . . on aither syde of the myddel qwere dore,' and in it are set the monuments of Edward of York and Richard of York, made in 1573 by order of Queen Elizabeth to supply the place of their former monuments, which perished with the quire in which they stood. They have panelled bases, with Corinthian columns in pairs round the upper part of the monuments, which are finished with a frieze and cornice and have strap-work panels of heraldry, the falcon and fetterlock badge being carved on both monuments. The clearstory windows in this bay are of three cinquefoiled lights under a four-centred head, and in all other bays of four lights 'according in all points to the wyndows of the clerestory of the said qwere.' The same arrangement exists in the aisles, the east bays having tracery windows of three cinquefoiled lights, and the other bays four-light windows, including those at the west ends of the aisles.

The north doorway, in the sixth bay of the north aisle, has a four-centred arch under a square head. It opens to a large porch, over which is a room with a square-headed north window of five cinquefoiled lights, and a blocked south window of three lights, formerly looking into the church. It contains a piscina, and is approached by a stair on the west, its lower entrance being in the west bay of the aisle. It continues upwards, being carried over the west end of the aisle to the north-west angle of the tower, and so to the lantern stage above.

At the east end of the south aisle are remains of the abutment of the collegiate buildings, which stood to the south of the church. This is the site of the 'porch joyning to the dore of the said cloystre' of the contract. In the east bay is a square-headed doorway and a three-light window, both set in a square recess, and on the outside the marks of a two-story building with an east window in the upper story. On the north side of this bay is a square-headed window of two lights with iron stanchions, in the wall above the monument of Richard of York, and there must have been a gallery or loft over the aisle at this point. In the second bay is a large blocked doorway, and over it a small single light. No other remains of the collegiate buildings are to be seen, though their site is clearly shown.²

The west tower is of three stages, the lowest open to nave and aisles by 'three strong and mighty arches vawthid with stoon,'³ with a large west doorway under a square head with quatrefoils in the spandrels, and above it a window of eight lights with tracery and transoms.⁴ There are claspings buttresses at the angles, which end in the second stage in short octagonal embattled turrets, with crocketed spirelets. This stage is lighted by large four-light windows with smaller two-light openings below them. At the third stage the tower changes from a square to an octagon with three-light tracery windows in each face, and panelled angle buttresses running up to an embattled parapet, and crowned with pinnacles. The lights of the windows are nearly entirely blocked, only the heads being left open. On the top of the tower is set a flagstaff, with a finial of copper, representing a falcon and fetterlock. The lower stage of the tower has an inserted stone fan-vault, on the north-west springer of which is a date in arabic numerals, A^o D^o 1529⁵.

The aisles have tall pinnacled buttresses between each bay, and the clearstory has flying buttresses to take the thrust of the nave roof. This is a fine piece of work, with arched and braced principals, embattled wall plates, and large carved bosses at the junctions of the purlins and principals.⁶ The north aisle has a good roof with moulded timbers, the tiebeams being slightly cambered, and heavy braces which rest on slender stone shafts, like those in the nave. The south aisle has a roof of like construction but plain detail.

The pulpit is of the 15th century, hexagonal, on a slender stem. It is set against a pier of the north arcade, and has a hexagonal fan-vaulted canopy, and a panelled back on which are the arms of Edward IV⁶ with his supporters, a lion and a bull, and in panels on either side are a bull and a boar.

A 17th-century canopy has been set over the older one, with arabesques and pendants of acorn shape. The body of the pulpit has a moulded cornice and two tiers of panels, the upper tier being cinquefoiled with carved spandrels, while the lower has a plain linen-pattern. At the angles and between the panels of the upper tier are crocketed pinnacles.⁷

The font has an octagonal bowl with quatrefoiled panels, and a panelled shaft with a band of carving at the top. It stands on two steps, under the east arch of the tower.

The casements of several fine brasses remain, two being within the altar rails (one partly hidden by the monument of Edward of York), two in the middle aisle, and one at the east end of the north aisle.

The church has only one old piece of silver plate, a paten of 1640. There are two cups, a paten, a flagon, an alms-dish, and a strainer spoon, all of 1827, and a pewter flagon.

There are four bells and a priest's bell. The treble of 1595, the second of 1614, by Tobie Norris of Stamford, the third, formerly of 1609, re-cast by

¹ Really eight. There are a good many variations from the contract in the finished building.

² For their condition in 1550 see Harl. 608, fols. 61b, 67.

³ This suggests that a vault under the tower was part of the original design; but there is nothing to show whether that now existing had a predecessor.

⁴ 'A window rysing in height al so high as the gret arche of the stepill, and in brede as the body will issue.'

⁵ It is very insufficiently tied, and the flying buttresses which are set to counteract its thrust, being by no means the 'six mighty arches butting on aither side to the clere-story' specified in the contract, are in a very shaky condition, and are now (1906) receiving a much-needed repair.

⁶ The lis are 1 and 2, not 2 and 1 as usual.

⁷ The beautiful detail of the pulpit makes it all the more to be regretted that nothing else of the ancient fittings has been retained. The stalls in the chancels of Tansor and Hemington churches came from the quire at Fotheringhay.

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Mears in 1860, and the tenor of 1634 by Thomas Norris of Stamford. The priest's bell is by T. Mears, 1817.

The first book of the registers contains baptisms, marriages, and burials, from 1557 to 1653; the second marriages and burials from 1653 to 1715, and baptisms from 1653 to 1714; the third baptisms and burials from 1715 to 1802, and marriages from 1740 to 1802; and the fourth baptisms and burials from 1803 to 1812.

Mountjoy earl of Newport by
CHARITIES his deed of 6 March, 1664, granted a yearly rent-charge of £30 from lands in this parish for the poor. The official

trustees hold a sum of £2,474 *os.* 1*d.* consols, arising from the investment of other benefactions and surplus income, and the proceeds are applicable for the general benefit of the poor under the trusts of a deed, dated 5 February, 1824.

Robert Roane by will of 10 May, 1672, left 4*os.* per annum charged on the rectory of Oundle, which, after deduction of expenses, is distributed every two years among the poor.

Thomas Belsey's charity consists of the dividends of £100 consols held by the official trustees, which are applied to the support of the Sunday School.

£627 *4s.* 5*d.* consols are held by the official trustees of charitable funds for Fotheringhay school.¹

GLAPTHORN

Glapthorp (xiv cent., rare).

The parish of Glapthorn, though a separate civil district, is ecclesiastically attached to Cotterstock. The history of the two places is very closely connected, every estate in one stretches into the other, so that it is difficult sometimes to tell under which parish to give their history. The civil parish of Glapthorn is now more than double the size of Cotterstock, covering about 1,480 acres, with a population in 1901 of 244. It is bounded on the east by the River Nene, and its general surface rises gradually from below 100 ft. above the ordnance datum to about 200 ft. above at the west of the village. The subsoil is various, the village itself being on great oolite with a little alluvium near the river. Both north and south is a narrow belt of cornbrash and beyond that Oxford clay. The upper soil is principally clay; 841 acres are arable, 362½ pasture, and 77 woodland. Wheat, barley and beans are the chief crops. Limestone has been worked a little in this parish for road and building purposes, but the population is now entirely engaged in agriculture.

The main road is that leading north from Oundle to Southwick, which forms for a short distance the eastern boundary of the parish. This is crossed just east of the village of Glapthorn by a road running from Benefield to Cotterstock.

Glapthorn was enclosed in 1815 with Cotterstock and the award is in Cotterstock church. Among the field names found in this parish are Carvilestybbing, Grymslande, and Storkewellsik.

The village of Glapthorn is divided into two parts called Upper and Lower Glapthorn. Upper Glapthorn is built in one street on the road from Benefield to Cotterstock. This is much the smaller half of the village, the chief buildings being the church school, on the south side of the road, and the ancient manor-house, now used as a farm-house. Between these two a road branches off in a south-easterly direction, joining the road from Oundle to Southwick some distance south of the spot where it is crossed by the Benefield to Cotterstock road. Along this loop road, Lower Glapthorn is built. The most conspicuous feature of this part of the village is the church.

The vill of **GLAPTHORN** is included
MANOR in the spurious charter of Wulfhere to the abbey of Peterborough, dated 664.² It is not mentioned in Domesday nor in the description of the possessions of Peterborough in the time of Henry I. In the 12th-century survey of Northamptonshire, Geoffrey de Normanville was holding one hide and a half, Ridel and Hugh half a hide and one virgate, and Fulk de Lisurs three-quarters of a hide.³ Nothing is said of any connexion with Peterborough. In 1185 the land of Alice, who was wife of Fulk de Lisurs, in Glapthorn, was worth 10*os.* and there were on it 2 ploughs, 6 cows, 1 bull, 30 pigs and 40 sheep.⁴ In the reign of Henry III, Nicholas de Bassingburne, who had married Alice, widow of Fulk de Lisurs, and whose father Humphrey had married Alice, daughter and heir of William de Lisurs, was holding half a fee in Glapthorn of the honour of Peterborough.⁵ There seems to have been some trouble between Peterborough and the holders of this Bassingburne fee; Walter de St. Edmund, abbot of Peterborough between 1233 and 1246, succeeded in obtaining an acknowledgement from Nicholas de Bassingburne, that he held four fees of the abbey of Peterborough; of this Glapthorn formed a part.⁶ It seems likely also that the Bassingburnes held at least part of the land of Geoffrey de Normanville as well as that of Fulk de Lisurs, for there is no history of any considerable estate in Glapthorn except theirs, and three-quarters of a hide alone would have been a small holding. About 1285 Humphrey de Bassingburne granted the manor of Glapthorn to Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, and gave up all rights there to him.⁷ Gilbert settled it on his daughter Joan, who married as her first husband Duncan earl of Fife, by whom she had a son, Duncan. Her second husband was Gervase Avenel, who, with his wife and stepson, took part with the Scots against Edward II, with the result that their manor of Glapthorn and other lands were seized by the king and granted to Hugh le Despenser the younger in 1317.⁸ The manor returned later to the heir of Gilbert de Clare, Hugh de Audley, earl of Gloucester, who had married Margaret, second daughter of Gilbert. He in 1344 settled it with Ralph de

¹ For account of this endowment see article on Schools in this volume.

² Birch, *Cart. Sax.* No. 22.

³ *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 388a.

⁴ *Rot. Dominabus*, etc. (ed. Grimaldi Stacey), p. 13.

⁵ *Soc. Antiq.* No. 60, fol. 253. For Bassingburne pedigree see Baker, *Northants*, i, 9; *Soc. Antiq.* No. 38; *Genealogist* (new ser.), vii, 245, x, 88.

⁶ Swapham, fol. 118.

⁷ Feet of F. Northants, 13 Edw. I, No. 170; *Soc. Antiq.* No. 38, fol. 218.

⁸ *Pat.* 27 Edw. I, m. 3; 11 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 31.

Stafford and Margaret his wife, daughter of Hugh, in fee on Ralph, son of Ralph and Maud, daughter of Henry, earl of Lancaster.¹ Ralph son of Ralph died without issue, and after the death of Maud, who married as her second husband William of Bavaria, the manor reverted to Ralph earl of Stafford, her father-in-law.² On his death in 1372 it passed first to his son Hugh and then to his three grandsons Thomas, William, and Edmund.³ Edmund was succeeded by his son Humphrey, first duke of Buckingham.⁴ His eldest son, also Humphrey, was killed in the battle of St. Albans in 1455, before his father's death. His son Henry, on his grandfather's death in 1460, succeeded to the dukedom of Buckingham. He did not become politically important until after the death of Edward IV. He was then at first the enthusiastic supporter of the claims of Richard III, but suddenly changing his policy in October, 1483, he declared for the earl of Richmond, and being defeated and taken prisoner by Richard, was attainted and executed in 1483. His estates were confiscated for the time, but his attainder was reversed in 1485 in favour of his son Edward, who became a very prominent political figure in the early part of the reign of Henry VIII. He, however, fell under royal displeasure, and probably on insufficient grounds was attainted and executed in 1521.⁵ Some of his confiscated lands were returned to his son Henry, but Glapthorn was not among them, being granted in 1522 for life to Roger Radcliffe.⁶ After his death without children, the manor was given by Henry VIII, in 1538, to Thomas Lord Cromwell, in fee.⁷ In spite of Lord Cromwell's attainder and execution in 1539, his son Gregory was created Baron Cromwell a few months after his death and succeeded to some of his estates, including Glapthorn. Gregory's son Henry completed a transaction which had begun during the tenure of Roger Radcliffe for the sale of Glapthorn and all its appurtenances to the Brudenell family. John Morrice, who appears to have been a tenant of the manor under the Staffords, sold it about 1512 to Robert Brudenell and Thomas Teryngham. Thomas died without children and the whole of his interest in the manor passed to Robert Brudenell, who died, holding it of Roger Radcliffe, in 1530. Henry Lord Cromwell, about 1574 released all right in Glapthorn to Thomas Brudenell with also view of frankpledge in Glapthorn,



STAFFORD. Or a chevron gules.



BRUDENELL. Argent a chevron gules between three caps azure.

Cotterstock, Tansor, Southwick, and other neighbouring places.⁸ From the time of Elizabeth, the Brudenells have continued to own Glapthorn, the countess of Cardigan, the present representative of the family, being now lady of the manor.

The Brudenell family throughout the 17th century were Roman Catholic, and Sir Thomas Brudenell in the reign of Charles I settled his lands on Francis earl of Rutland, Francis earl of Westmorland and Mildmay his son, in order to avoid the recusancy fines. His estate in Glapthorn is then described as a manor called Cromwell's manor, and another manor called Brown's manor.⁹ No reference has been found to a manor of the latter name in Glapthorn before this date, but there is some history of an estate separate from the manor which was at one time in the hands of a family named Brown. In 1248 Henry III granted to Hugh Franceys, in fee, 18 acres and 1 rood of land in Glapthorn which had formerly been held by Ralph de Carville.¹⁰ This small holding may have been one of those held by Ridel or Hugh or part of that held by Geoffrey de Normanville in the 12th century. In a perambulation of the forest of Clive in the latter part of the reign of Edward I, the land of William Brown, next that of the countess of Fife, is mentioned,¹¹ and probably this was the land formerly held by Hugh Franceys, for in 1330 Edward III confirmed to William Brown of Glapthorn the land formerly in possession of Hugh.¹² There is no subsequent history of this holding; it may well have come into the hands of the Brudenells, and with perhaps other small portions of land may have been called Brown's manor in distinction from the manor of Glapthorn proper.

No lord of the manor lived in Glapthorn until the 16th century; it is probable then that John Morrice, who is described as of Glapthorn, lived there,¹³ and later some members of the Brudenell family for a time.¹⁴ A more interesting resident at this period was John Johnson, 'of the staple at Calais,' several of whose letters are printed in the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*.¹⁵

Sir Thomas Brudenell obtained from James I a grant of free warren in his lands of Glapthorn and Cotterstock.¹⁶

The men of Glapthorn in the reign of Henry III complained that they were not allowed by the sheriff their free pasture in Totenho and the chase of Perio. The king ordered that they should have their common as they had been accustomed.¹⁷

The monastery of Crowland from a very early date held land in Glapthorn. The pre-Conquest charters of this monastery are nearly all spurious, but they probably rest on a foundation of truth. Wiglaf, king of Mercia, in 833 is said to have confirmed to Crowland three virgates of land in Glapthorn, 'the gift of Asketel, my cook.' This is repeated in several subsequent charters.¹⁸ The land of Crowland in Glapthorn

¹ Pat. 18 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 1.

² Chan. Inq. p.m. 21 Edw. III, No. 59; ibid. 36 Edw. III, (pt. i), No. 37.

³ Ibid. 46 Edw. III, No. 62; ibid. 10 Ric. II, No. 38; ibid. 16 Ric. II (pt. i), No. 27; ibid. 18 Ric. II, No. 43.

⁴ Ibid. 4 Hen. IV, No. 41.

⁵ Ibid. (Ser. 2), lxxx, 177; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

⁶ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), lxxxii, 67; Pat. 14 Hen. VIII, pt. i, m. 9.

⁷ Ibid. 30 Hen. VIII, pt. ii, m. 15.

⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iii, pt. ii, 1529; Exch. Accts. Northants, 19 Hen. VIII; Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), xlv, 64; ibid. liii, 64; Feet of Northants, Trin. 16 Eliz. For the rest of the history of view of the frankpledge in Glapthorn, see Cotterstock.

⁹ Pat. 2 Chas. I, pt. iii, m. 22.

¹⁰ Chart. R. 32 Hen. III, m. 1.

¹¹ Forest Proc. bdle. 102, m. 11.

¹² Pat. 4 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 27. Browns of Glapthorn are occasionally mentioned in the 14th and 15th centuries.

¹³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iii, pt. ii, 1529.

¹⁴ Lay Subs. R. 352.

¹⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xix.

¹⁶ Pat. 10 Jas. I, pt. xi, No. 14.

¹⁷ Close, 14 Hen. III, m. 21 d. Right extinguished by enclosure of forest of Clive in 1805.

¹⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* ii, 110. Crowland also had some land in Glapthorn of the gift of the Torpel family (Crowland Cart. in possession of Lord Lucas, p. 24).

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seems to have been an appurtenance of their larger estates in Elmington, with which it is valued in 1291 and in 1535.¹ At the end of the 15th century it was held from Crowland for rent by Sir Guy Wolston; it descended to his daughter, and with some land in Cotterstock, which is sometimes called the 'manor of Cotterstock,' it henceforth followed the descent of the manor of Apethorpe.²

The hospital of St. John of Jerusalem had a few tenants in Glapthorn, and the prior held a view of frankpledge there for them and tenants in Woodford, Titchmarsh, Warmington, Fotheringhay, and other villages near.³

The church is served by the same **ADVOWSON** incumbent as Cotterstock. It appears always to have been a chapel of ease to Cotterstock, and there is no evidence that Glapthorn has ever been a separate ecclesiastical unit. It is never assessed separately in any ecclesiastical valuation, but from the 16th century has separate registers.

The church of St. Leonard 'stands to **CHURCH** the south of the village street, on a level site, and consists of chancel 28 ft. by 14 ft. 6 in. with north chapel, nave 48 ft. 6 in. by 14 ft., with aisles 13 ft. wide, and south porch and west tower. The churchyard lies for the most part to the south and east, and has been lately enlarged on the south.

The architectural history of the church in some way resembles that of the neighbouring church at Tansor. The earliest work now to be seen *in situ* is in the two western bays of the south arcade of the nave, which belong to the last years of the 12th century; but the base of the middle pier of the two western bays of the north arcade is an inverted capital of c. 1160.

The building has developed from a small aisleless nave and chancel church, whose approximate dimensions were, nave 23 ft. by 14 ft., chancel perhaps 10 ft. by 10 ft., internal measurement. The first enlargement was probably that of the chancel, and north and south aisles were added to the nave before the end of the 12th century, the north aisle probably being the first to be built. In the 13th century the area of the old chancel was thrown into the nave, the aisles continued to its eastern limit with a chapel at the east end of the north aisle, and a new chancel built to the east of the old one. The aisles are only 1 ft. less in width than the nave; it is possible that, as at Tansor, this width may imply the former existence of transepts. The two western bays of the north arcade were rebuilt c. 1330, and the east and south walls of the south aisle were probably also rebuilt a little earlier. The west tower is built against the west wall of the nave, and retains no features older than the 15th century.

The chancel, 28 ft. by 14 ft. 5 in. inside, dates from c. 1250. The east window, of three trefoiled lights with geometrical tracery, is an insertion of the beginning of the 14th century, and a good example of its kind.⁴ In the south end of the east wall of the chancel is a small recess with an arched head ornamented with dog-tooth, and having a rebate for a door. Below the east window is a moulded string,

with a second string some 2 ft. below it, and connected with it by vertical strings on the lines of the jambs of the east window, thus enclosing an oblong space below the window.

In the south wall are three two-light windows of the 13th century, that in the middle being more elaborately treated than the others; it has a moulded rear arch with a label, jamb-shafts with capitals ornamented with nailhead, and a shaft worked on the mullion. The head is pierced with an oval, the window to the east having a lozenge, and that to the west a quatrefoiled circle. In the last window both lights have an external rebate for wood frames, and the sill is a little lower than the others. In the north wall is a square locker, and along the south wall a stone seat.

The chancel arch, of the date of the chancel, has two chamfered orders, with half-round responds and plain capitals, the mouldings having probably been destroyed to accommodate the chancel screen. The east capital of the north arcade of the nave has been destroyed in the same way, and is made up in plaster.

The nave is of four bays, the two eastern bays on both sides having pointed arches of two chamfered orders, with circular shafts and moulded capitals of poor detail, c. 1250. At the west of these bays the arcade is interrupted by a piece of walling, marking the position of the east wall of the original nave, and to the west of this are two more bays of the arcade, of a different date to the eastern bays, and with capitals at a lower level. On the north these bays are of the 14th century, c. 1330, with sharply-pointed arches and circular shafts with moulded capitals; the base of the middle shaft, as already noted, is a square scalloped capital of c. 1160, inverted, and perhaps belonging to a former arcade on this site. In the south arcade the two arches are semicircular, of two orders, with round shafts and octagonal capitals with abaci of square section, c. 1190-1200. There is a clearstory having four single square-headed lights on each side, the heads of the windows being modern. They may be of the 14th century, but there is nothing to fix their date.

The north chapel has a two-light east window, with a quatrefoil in a circle in the head, of 13th-century style, and in the north wall of the chapel and aisle are three late 15th-century windows, each of three cinquefoiled lights. The west window of the aisle is a modern copy of the corresponding window in the south aisle.

The north doorway has lost its original mouldings; it may have been of the 13th century.

In the south aisle the east window and that nearest to it on the south are of early 14th-century date, of two lights with flowing tracery; the jamb section is, with the exception of the outer order, the same as that of the east window of the chancel, and there can be little difference of date between them, though the tracery of the aisle windows is more advanced.

The south doorway is of the 14th century, with a continuous wave moulding, and west of it is a late 15th-century window of three cinquefoiled lights. The west window is of two shouldered lights, with a roll on the inner order on both faces; its date is c. 1250.

¹ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), p. 55; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.) iv, 86.

² Feet of F. Northants, 7 Hen. VII; *ibid.* 7 Hen. VIII; Chan. Inq. p.m.

(ser. 2), xxxii, 9; Partic. for grants, Aug. Off. No. 792.

³ *Quo Warr. R.* (Rec. Com.), 532.

⁴ Richard Goram (1512) leaves his body to be buried in the churchyard of the church

of St. Leonard in Glapthorn, Northants Will Bk. A. 161, also Bk. B. 49.

⁵ Its external dripstones are curious, being carved to represent a boar and a sow with pigs.

The south porch, of the 14th century, has an outer arch, with half-round shafts and moulded capitals, and a stone bench along each side.

The tower has a plain parapet and four belfry windows of two trefoiled lights, of 15th-century style, repaired in the 17th century or later. In the second stage are narrow single-light openings, and on the ground stage the west window, of two uncusped lights with a lozenge over, is of modern stonework, and below it are traces of a west doorway.

The tower arch is a plain pointed square-edged opening, made in the west wall of the nave when the tower was built; and over it, visible only from the interior of the tower, are two small arched openings in the old west gable of the nave, against and upon which the tower is built, which are too small to have held bells, and must have lighted the roof of the nave. They are of 13th-century date.

The nave and aisles have flat-pitched leaded roofs and plain parapets, and the chancel roof is of steeper pitch, with Collyweston slating. The woodwork of the roof is modern, as are all the wood fittings of the church, except three plain 16th-century bench-ends in the nave. Some 15th-century linen-pattern panels and tracery are used up in the chancel reading desks, and the pulpit has some 17th-century work. The poppy-head of a 15th-century bench-end forms part of the font cover.

There are many traces of wall painting in the north chapel and aisle—a border of foliage round the arches, and a diaper of roses on the wall, with traces of figure subjects. On the north wall are bands of ornament at the level of the springing of the windows, and a little above that of their sills and to the east of the north doorway is a large figure holding a staff,

but too much damaged to be certainly identified, which is of later date than the bands of ornament, being painted over them. There are also traces of painting on the west wall of the north aisle.

In the sill of the south-east window of the chancel is a piscina, and in the south wall of the north chapel a good late 13th-century pillar piscina. In the south wall of the south aisle, at the east end, is a third piscina, with an arched head, and there are image-brackets on both sides of the east windows of the north chapel and south aisle.

The font stands at the west end of the south aisle, and is of the 15th century, with octagonal bowl and stem, with quatrefoiled panels and foliage.

On the buttresses at the north-west angle of the north aisle is cut a set of verses in English, dated 4 February, 1604, at present partly overgrown with ivy.

The plate consists of a silver cup, paten, and alms-dish of 1813, and a plated flagon.

There are three bells, the treble by Henry Penn, 1710; the second a mediaeval bell, inscribed *INNORE SATTI MARIA IOHANNES SLEYT ME FECIT*; and the tenor, also mediaeval, with *SANCTE ANDREA ORA PRO NOBIS*.

The first book of the registers contains marriages from 1568 to 1788, baptisms from 1583 to 1748, burials from 1614 to 1812. The second contains baptisms from 1749 to 1812, and the third marriages from 1776 to 1812.

Glaphorn shares with Cotterstock *CHARITIES* and Tansor in Bellamy's Charity, £5 being devoted to apprenticing poor children in this parish. John Webb by will about 1765 left £10, of which interest was to be spent in a dole of bread, but the payment ceased about 1826.

KING'S CLIFFE

Clive (until xiv cent.). Kingsclive (xiv–xvi cent.).

The parish of King's Cliffe is in many ways one of the most interesting in this district. A bailiwick of Rockingham Forest, of which it formed a part, took its name from the village. The parish is exceptionally well wooded, and nearly 2,000 acres have only been brought into cultivation within the last sixty years. The large tract of woodland called Westhay in the north was an extra-parochial district in Rockingham Forest until 1869, when it was added to King's Cliffe. As its name denotes, the parish was closely connected with the royal house, and has only been for about a century in private hands. It is one of the largest parishes in the neighbourhood, covering about 3,750 acres, of which 1,619½ are arable, 1,510½ pasture and 478 woodland. The Willow Brook, which forms its western boundary for a short distance, runs close beside the village, and widens near the church into a lake. The Seaton and Wansford branch of the London and North-Western Railway crosses the parish, having a station a short distance north of the village. Several good roads converge at King's Cliffe, the chief being from Blatherwycke, Apethorpe, Easton on the Hill, and Wansford.

The sub-soil of the parish is various, the village being on inferior oolite, a narrow stratum of which runs up towards the north, while on each side of this is a belt of great oolite, and beyond cornbrash. The

top soil is very heavy; the chief crops are wheat, beans, and barley. The staple trade is wood-turning.¹ A large number of old stone quarries and some gravel pits are scattered over the parish, but none are now worked. Charcoal-burning was carried on to a small extent until the middle of the 19th century.

There are many springs, especially near the village; one called the Spa, about half a mile to the south, was formerly well known for its medicinal properties, and its waters are still sometimes used by the people of the neighbourhood.²

The surface of the parish is undulating, but does not rise in any place more than 200 ft. above the ordnance datum. The village is built on the highest part with grey stone houses, roofed with Collyweston slates, though a few retain the old-fashioned thatch, which sixty years ago was almost universal in the village. The long main street runs east and west, the church standing a little back from it on the south, just to the west of the Hall yard, the site of the 'King's House,' which was often used as a royal hunting lodge in the 13th century. At the east end of the village street stand the new almshouses, endowed by Mrs. Cornforth; and in Park Street, branching from the main street to the north,

¹ See article on Industries, p. 292.

² Morton, *Northants*, 274.

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are the old almshouses, built by John Thorp, with this inscription on a panel :—

Aedificavit charitas
Inhabitabit Paupertas
Ornabit honestas
Durabit omnis aetas
Ex Dono Johania
Thorp arm^o año
1638.

Near them is the school, incorporating a good 17th-century hall, and associated with William Law the celebrated divine, and on the road to Apethorpe is the public library founded by him. Over its door is this inscription : ‘Books of piety are here lent to any persons of this or the neighbouring towns.’

In Park Street, not far from the school, stands The Fisheries, a house occupied by Dr. Lewis ; another modern house on the Stamford Road belongs to Mr. George Miles. There is in the village a Wesleyan chapel built in 1828, a Congregationalist chapel built in 1846, a Calvinist chapel and a Zion chapel now used as a loft.

King’s Cliffe was at one time the most considerable town in this district and had a market on Tuesdays, now long discontinued, and a three days’ fair on the vigil, day, and morrow of St. Luke, especially for its own turning ware, which flourished until about thirty years ago. Both market and fair and permission to take toll on those occasions as was done in other parts of the kingdom were originally granted by Henry III.¹ They were discontinued in the 15th century when King’s Cliffe passed through a period of depression owing partly to disastrous fires and partly perhaps to the fact that it was no longer a royal residence, but remained in the king’s possession and had no private owner to interest himself in its prosperity. In a survey taken for Henry VI by petition of the inhabitants in 1439, many of the cottages were returned as waste,² and in consequence Henry reduced the ferm from £62 to £40 for ten years because of the waste and decay of the place.³ An extensive fire took place in 1462, when over a hundred houses were consumed, the ferm being entirely remitted for two years on this account.⁴ In 1604, however, James I for the relief of the poor of the town renewed Henry III’s grant of a market every week on Tuesday, and a fair there on the vigil, day, and morrow of St. Luke the evangelist.⁵ Both market and fair are accounted for in the Parliamentary survey of King’s Cliffe in 1650, but the profits are small, only £2 in all to the lord of the manor.⁶ Morton, whose history was published in 1712, places King’s Cliffe in his list of market-towns, ‘though scarce thought worthy the name.’⁷ The fair for one day only was held until the last half of the 19th century. One curious privilege in connexion with it was that any house during its continuance by merely placing a bough outside the door might become a licensed house for the sale of beer, etc. Beer tasters were appointed by the vestry meeting the day before the fair to investigate the quality of the beer sold.

Another sign of the old time prosperity of King’s Cliffe is the number of tradesmen’s tokens, chiefly belonging to the 17th century, which still exist. One, dated 1659, belonged to Thomas Law, grocer, the father of William Law, author of *The Serious Call*.⁸

William Law (d. 1761) was born here in 1686. He showed signs of talent in childhood, and entered Emmanuel College, Cambridge, as a sizar in 1705, became fellow and took orders in 1711. He appears to have held a curacy in London, but on the accession of George I in 1714, he refused to take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration and so deprived himself of all preferment, in spite of the vain efforts of his friend Dean Sherlock, who more than once offered him a living. From 1727–37 he was tutor and domestic chaplain to Gibbon, the father of the historian. His interest in his native place was constant, and in 1727 he founded a school of fourteen girls at King’s Cliffe ; in 1740 he retired there for the remainder of his life, carrying out in his mode of living the principles he had laid down in his most famous work, published in 1728, *A serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life, adapted to the State and Condition of all Orders of Christians*. Law was a man of great theological and literary activity, and his letter (1717) to Bishop Hoadly is the best statement of the high-church position made in that age. His answer to Mandeville (1723) is the best of the replies to the famous ‘Fable of the Bees.’ Spoken of even by Gibbon with reverence, responsible by his advice for much of the early career of the Wesleys, he was at once non-juror, high churchman, a keen polemic reasoner, and a believer in the ‘inner light,’ with a strain of mysticism which increased under the influence of Jacob Behmen, whose works he edited in 1737. To him Dr. Johnson’s first religious convictions were due ; the Wesleys, and afterwards Cardinal Newman, owed much to his teaching ; and while memorable as an exponent of ideas in strong opposition to the matter-of-fact tendencies of his time (e.g. his attack on Warburton in 1737), his great influence on English religious life is chiefly due to the lofty spirituality of his writings and the saintliness of his personal character.

The tenants of King’s Cliffe had a common in the forest of Rockingham in the bailiwick of Clive. About 1229 they complained to the king that Hugh de Nevill, then forester of the bailiwick, did not permit them to have it as they had been accustomed, and he was ordered to allow them to do so.⁹ There appear to have been further difficulties, for an inquisition was taken concerning the matter later on in the same reign,¹⁰ when it was found that the men of King’s Cliffe ought to have common pasture in the demesne woods of the king in the bailiwick of Clive. The tenants of Duddington petitioned Edward III in 1361 that they should not have to pay ferm for a place called Duddington Short in the forest of Rockingham on which the men of King’s Cliffe had common pasture.¹¹ In 1463 the right of common within the

¹ Close, 33 Hen. III, m. 5 ; Pat. 52 Hen. III, m. 28. The fair was granted originally for the vigil, day, and morrow of St. James the Apostle, not St. Luke.

² Chan. Inq. p.m. 18 Hen. VI, No. 42.

³ Pat. 18 Hen. VI, pt. ii, m. 7.

⁴ Ibid. 2 Edw. IV, pt. ii, m. 22.

⁵ Pat. 1 Jas. I, pt. ix, m. 16.

⁶ Aug. Off. Parl. Surv. No. 38.

⁷ Nat. Hist. of Northants, 27.

⁸ Northants N. and Q. ii, 206, and Dict. Nat. Biog.

⁹ Close 14 Hen. III, m. 21 d. Hugh de Nevill had more control over King’s Cliffe than the foresters of the bailliwick

of Clive generally had. He accounted for its ferm instead of the sheriff or the ‘men of Clive’ as usual, and for the repair of the royal house (Pipe R. 2 John and following years).

¹⁰ Misc. Inq. Hen. III, file 5, No. 24.

¹¹ Close, 35 Edw. III, m. 13.

forest for the beasts of the tenants of King's Cliffe was stated by the king.¹

The men of King's Cliffe were also, as tenants of ancient demesne, free of toll throughout the realm.²

The parish was enclosed in 1813; the award is in the custody of the clerk of the parish council. Among the place-names found in this parish are Constable's Holm, Westhay Field, and Bailliff's Nook. The population in 1901 was 983.

KING'S CLIFFE was a royal manor, **MANOR** part of the ancient demesne of the crown.

It is only within the last century that it has come permanently into private hands. In 1086 King's Cliffe was rated at one hide and two and a half virgates, with a mill. Among the tenants was a priest. Earl Algar had held the manor in King Edward's time; it probably came to the crown through the forfeiture of Morcar, son of that earl.³ Throughout the reigns of the Norman and Angevin kings the manor remained in the hands of the crown, and after 1154 appears frequently in the Pipe Rolls. From the reign of Edward I until the 18th century King's Cliffe was frequently granted to the queen of England as dower. Edward I on his accession granted it to his mother, Queen Eleanor,⁴ and after her death to his second wife, Margaret of France.⁵ In 1327 it formed part of the augmentation of dower of Queen Isabella for her services in the treaty with France in suppressing the rebellion of the Despencers. The manor was surrendered by her in 1331, and re-granted at first during pleasure and afterwards for life.⁶ The manor later formed part of the dower of Queens Philippa of Hainault, Anne of Bohemia, and Joan of Navarre.⁷ During the reign of Henry VI it was kept in the king's hands, but was again granted as dower by Edward IV to his consort, Elizabeth Woodville.⁸ Its proceeds were appropriated by Henry VII to the expenses of the king's household,⁹ and seems to have been kept for this purpose throughout the Tudor period.

In 1612 James I granted the manor for the first time outside the royal family to Sir Thomas Howard, later earl of Berkshire, on a sixty years' lease, with right of holding court-leet and court-baron and all other perquisites and privileges generally belonging to the lord of the manor.¹⁰ The ferm was still the old amount of £62, £40 rent from the copyholds and £22 profits of demesne lands, etc. Next year the tenants of the manor, which consisted at that time except for one freehold entirely of copyhold land, bought the lease for £1,600 from Sir Thomas Howard, and the manor was still in the tenure of the township of King's Cliffe when it was taken into the hands of the Commissioners for the Sale of the King's Lands about 1650.¹¹

Charles I granted the fee farm rent of the manor,

nominally amounting to £62, but with reprises to only £12, to Henry earl of Holland and other servants of Queen Henrietta Maria as part of her dower.¹² King's Cliffe was sold by the Commissioners for the sale of the King's Lands in the Commonwealth to John Menhire and Thomas Banks, but it returned to Queen Henrietta Maria immediately after the Restoration,¹³ and was granted after her death in 1665 as part of the dower of Catherine of Portugal to certain of her servants for ninety-nine years.¹⁴ The next lessee of the manor was Brownlow earl of Exeter, and the trustees of his son in 1812 finally bought it from the crown for the sum of £3,000.¹⁵ The Marquis of Exeter, his descendant, is now lord of the manor.

A 'house of the king' at King's Cliffe is referred to as early as the reign of Henry II,¹⁶ and frequently later until the 15th century. There were appurtenant to it fishpools, which were kept in repair by the men of the manor, assisted sometimes by the neighbourhood, and traces of them can still be seen in the Willow brook.¹⁷ This house was probably of the nature of a hunting-lodge, and seems from the number of times wine is ordered to be carried there to have been frequently visited by John and Henry III, and on one occasion the pasture of the park at Clive is ordered to be kept for the food of the animals to be driven there against winter for the larder of the king.¹⁸

The expenses of celebrating divine service in the chapel of King's Cliffe are accounted for in the reign of Henry III.¹⁹ A survey of the manor was taken for the king in 1272, when the buildings were in good condition, only a few windows and doors needing repair, and there was plenty of fish in the fish-pools.²⁰ Queen Margaret was granted in 1305 timber for repair of her manor at King's Cliffe, and firewood for the use of her household there, and game as much and as often as she liked.²¹ Edward I and III both made occasional visits to the house.²² In the 15th century it ceased to be used as a royal residence, and is described as a waste site about 1450,²³ and as ashes have been found in the foundations on the site to the east of the church its remains were probably burnt down in the great fire of 1462.

The park of Cliffe was first mentioned in **PARK** the reign of Henry III, when deer was frequently granted out of it to various lords.²⁴ About 1339 two parts of the park of King's Cliffe were enclosed by the tenants of King's Cliffe and Woodnewton, who petitioned next year that this action might not be taken as a precedent.²⁵ Nevertheless, in the next reign carpenters and other workmen were 'arrested' to fence Queen Anne's park at Cliffe.²⁶ The park was not thrown open for some time after the disappearance of the king's house, for in Leland's day 'Cliffe Park was partly waullid with

¹ Pat. 2 Edw. VI, pt. ii, m. 14. Right extinguished by enclosures of the Bailiwick of Clive in the forest of Rockingham, sometimes called the forest of Clive in 1805. (Award in custody of the clerk of the peace.)

² Close, 1 Ric. II, m. 9.

³ *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 307a.

⁴ Pat. 1 Edw. I, m. 5. There is a grant to Eleanor of a 'manor of Clive' in 1243 (*ibid.* 27 Hen. III, m. 3), but it is not certain that this was the Northamptonshire manor.

⁵ Pat. 33 Edw. I, pt. ii, m. 19.

⁶ *Ibid.* 1 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 2; *ibid.* 5 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 30, 2.

⁷ *Ibid.* 33 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 23; *ibid.*

5 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 6; *ibid.* 4 Hen. IV, pt. ii, m. 1.

⁸ *Ibid.* 5 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 18; *ibid.* pt. ii, m. 7, 8.

⁹ *Parl. R.* (Rec. Com.), vi, 302.

¹⁰ Pat. 10 Jas. I, pt. xxvii, m. 5.

¹¹ Exch. Dep. East. 12 Chas. I, No. 37; Aug. Off. Parl. Surv. No. 38; Exch. Dep. East. 12 Chas. I, No. 37. In this document a town cross is mentioned, probably the one whose base still remains in the rectory garden.

¹² Pat. 5 Chas. I, pt. xv, m. 9.

¹³ Close, 1651, pt. lxiv, No. 19, Doc. at Burghley House.

¹⁴ Pat. 17 Chas. II, pt. ix, No. 1; *ibid.* 24 Chas. II, pt. ix.

¹⁵ Doc. at Burghley House.

¹⁶ Pipe R. 22 Hen. II.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 9 Hen. II, rot. 4, m. 1; Close, 17 John, m. 9.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 6 John, m. 12; 7 John, m. 22; 9 John, m. 13; 9 Hen. III, m. 19; 10 Hen. III, m. 13; 13 Hen. III, m. 20d.

¹⁹ Pipe R. 30 Hen. III.

²⁰ Chan. Inq. p.m. 1 Edw. I, No. 42.

²¹ Pat. 33 Edw. I, m. 19.

²² L. Close and Pat. dated there.

²³ Chan. Inq. p.m. 18 Hen. VI, No. 42.

²⁴ Close 15 Hen. III, m. 17, 13.

²⁵ Pat. 32 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 13;

34 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 32.

²⁶ Pat. 16 Ric. II, pt. iii, m. 18.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

stone and partly palid.¹ The keepership of the park was granted in 1517 to David Cecil, sergeant-at-arms, and Richard Cecil, page-of-the-chamber, in survivorship.² In 1592 Elizabeth granted Cliffe Park with all herbage, pannage, and other appurtenances, to Thomas Compton and others as the assigns of Robert earl of Essex, at a rent of 53s. 4d.³ Lord Burghley must either have bought the park from the earl, or received a new grant of it from the queen after his disgrace, for among Burghley's possessions at his death in 1598 was Cliffe Park, lately belonging to Robert earl of Essex.⁴ The Marquis of Exeter now owns the park. Lord Burghley is said to have disparked it,⁵ but it was still to a certain extent separate from the ordinary lands of the manor in the 17th century, when Dr. Michael Hudson, vicar of King's Cliffe, who has become famous by his heroic death at Woodcroft Castle in 1648, appeared in a suit concerning the tithes of the park of Cliffe.⁶

There was a mill rendering twelve pence at King's Cliffe in 1086;⁷ in the reign of Henry VI there were two mills appurtenant to the manor, a water-mill and a corn-mill.⁸ In the 17th century there were two corn-mills which were in 1650 under one roof.⁹ These mills were often leased separately from the rest of the manor.¹⁰ The present corn-mill of the village is on the Willow brook, just south of Hall yard. There is also a fine windmill.

The advowson of the church being **ADVOWSON** longed to the priory of Merton, in Surrey, having been given by William Gifford, bishop of Winchester, *temp.* Henry I, to Bernard the scribe, a benefactor of that house, to which it subsequently paid a pension of 20s.¹¹ It was granted in 1551 to Edward Lord Clinton,¹² who sold it immediately to Sir Walter Mildmay,¹³ from whom it descended to his grand-daughter and heiress, Mary, wife of Sir Francis Fane, afterwards Earl of Westmorland, whose descendants are now patrons.

The church of All Saints¹⁴ stands on **CHURCH** the south side of the village, the ground sloping down to the east and south from the churchyard, which lies chiefly on the south and west of the church.

The building is cruciform, with a central tower, north and south transepts, chancel 30 ft. by 17 ft., its axis being north of that of the tower, and nave 54 ft. 6 in. long by 18 ft. wide, with a north aisle 12 ft. wide, a south aisle 11 ft. 6 in. wide, and north and south porches.

The tower is the oldest part of the building, and dates from about 1100. It is the only remaining part of a church which had a tower between nave and chancel, without transepts, the north and south walls of the tower being external. If any alterations were made to this building before c. 1220, they have left no trace, but about that time a belfry stage and spire were added to the tower, and its east and west arches rebuilt and widened. The chancel may have been rebuilt at the same time, with its centre-line, like that

of the east tower arch, somewhat to the north of that of the tower. The nave was probably lengthened, if not rebuilt, as the lower part of the west wall contains work of this date. The north transept seems to have been built c. 1260, but the south transept has no features of so early a date. In the 14th century the nave arcades were built or rebuilt, with the west gable and window. The aisles and south transept appear to have been brought to their present form in the 15th century, and their earlier history is not to be deduced from any existing evidence, though there must of course have been aisles contemporary with, or earlier than, the 14th-century nave arcades. In the latter half of the 15th century the chancel was rebuilt. It has an east window of five trefoiled lights, with tracery in the head, and on either side of the window is a cinquefoiled niche for an image, that on the north side being the larger, as being intended to contain the image of the patron saints of the church.¹⁵

In the north wall of the chancel is a window of three cinquefoiled lights with tracery under a straight-lined four-centred head, and in the south wall are three similar windows. There is a plain north doorway, and in the north-west angle of the chancel is a squint from the north transept with clustered responds and moulded capitals, and bases of late 13th-century style. Between the first and second windows on the south side is a recess with a four-centred head, serving for sedilia, and to the east of it a trefoiled piscina of 14th-century date, and a small recess near it.

The central tower measures 17 ft. from north to south inside the walls and 15 ft. 8 in. from east to west. The west wall is 3 ft. 4 in. thick, the others 3 ft. The east and west tower arches are of two chamfered orders, the west arch being the higher, with half-round shafts in the responds, while those of the east arch are half-octagonal. In the north and south walls are narrower 15th-century arches, opening to the transepts, with half-round shafts and half-octagonal moulded capitals and bases. On the outer face of the north wall the original plinth remains, showing it to have been external, and high in the wall is a weathered string, just below the line of the transept roof. There is no masonry staircase to the tower, and its upper stages are reached by an iron circular stair¹⁶ in the south-west corner. The top stage of the original tower was lighted on each side by two round-arched openings, divided by a central shaft, with capitals of early detail, under a round head. Of these the eastern arch has been built up, but those on the north and south are still open, and that on the west, though blocked on the inside, remains perfect. It differs from the rest in having two central shafts in the thickness of the wall, that which is seen from the nave having early volutes at the angles. Below this opening is a string on the west face of the wall. The 13th-century upper stage of the tower has in each face wide two-light openings divided by a shaft, under a gabled head, the tympanum of the

¹ Leland, *Irin.* (ed. Hearne), i, 25. It was thus enclosed in the reign of Edw. III. (L T.R. Foreign Accts. 47 Edw. III, No. 7).

² L. and P. Hen. VIII, ii, pt. ii, 967.

³ Pat. 34 Eliz. pt. iv, m. 14.

⁴ Chan. Inq. p.m. (ser. 2), ccclvii, 91.

⁵ Bridges, ii, 433.

⁶ Exch. Dep. Mich. 17 Chas. I, No. 26.

⁷ V. C. H. Northants, i, 307a.

⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. 18 Hen. VI, No. 42.

⁹ Exch. Dep. Mich. 14 Jas. I, No. 18; Aug. Off. Parl. Surv. No. 38.

¹⁰ Doc. at Burghley House.

¹¹ Cott. Cleo. C. VII, Nos. 146 and 281.

¹² Pat. 5 Edw. VI, pt. vii.

¹³ Close, 5 Edw. VI, pt. v, No. 14.

¹⁴ John Higgs (1510) desires to be buried in the churchyard of All Saints in Kingscliffe. See Northants Will Bk. A.46, also Bk. E. 100.

¹⁵ An image of All Saints sounds an impossibility; but there is good evidence that such images existed. See the accounts of Allhallows Staining, London, for 1506, 'an image of Alhalowen.' Povah, *Annals of St. Olave's, Hart Street, and Allhallows Staining.*

¹⁶ The rood-loft stair was in the tower, and led up to a doorway in the west wall, on the south of the west arch.



KING'S CLIFFE CHURCH : SOUTH-EAST VIEW



LUTTON CHURCH : APREECE MONUMENT AND EASTER SEPULCHRE

gable being pierced, and the openings enriched with dogtooth. The base of the spire comes half-way down these windows, with excellent effect, making them practically spirelights. Over them are two tiers of spirelights, the upper with single trefoiled openings, the lower of two lights with dogtooth on the angles, and a central shaft. The top of the spire has been clumsily rebuilt.

The north transept has a 15th-century east window of four trefoiled lights under a four-centred head, and a square-headed north window of three lights with three cusps on the underside of the head in each light, and one on each mullion. The same detail occurs in Collyweston church, where it seems to be of 15th-century date. In the west wall is a small square-headed 17th-century window, low in the wall. The pitch of the gable has been lowered, and the square-headed north window and the diagonal angle buttresses date from this time, but the walls belong to the 13th century and there is a corbel-table with masks of this date on the west wall.

The south transept has east and south windows of three trefoiled lights with two quatrefoils over, the window arch being segmental of low pitch. At the north-east of the transept is a small doorway with a four-centred head. On a buttress at the south-east angle is the date 1694, denoting some repair. Both transepts open to the aisles of the nave with moulded arches having the same details as the nave arcades, and dying out at the spring.

The nave arcades are of four bays, with octagonal shafts, embattled capitals, and arches of two orders with a hollow between a wave-mould and a hollow chamfer. The clearstory is of the 15th century, with two-light windows trefoiled, and a quatrefoil in the head. The west window of the nave is of three lights with flowing tracery, *c.* 1340, the jambs and string at the sill inside belonging to a former 13th-century window. Above the window the line of the 14th-century gable, before the addition of the clearstory, is plainly to be seen.

In the north wall of the north aisle are two three-light windows like those in the south transept, and in its west wall a three-light 15th-century window. The north doorway has a four-centred arch with continuous mouldings, and the north porch has small pointed lights on the east and west, and a four-centred outer arch with engaged shafts and octagonal capitals. Over this arch is a stone with the initials L T T B dated 1663. The south aisle has two south windows and a west window like those in the south transept, and the south doorway and porch are like those on the north, except that the porch has no windows.

The woodwork in the church is mostly modern, but in the pulpit and reading-desk some pieces of 15th-century traceried panels are inserted and some thirty of the bench-ends are ancient.¹ The nave has a 15th-century roof with carved tiebeams and braces, intermediates with carved bosses of foliage, and stone corbels of angels holding shields. The other roofs are plain and for the most part modern, the south transept having stone corbels with 15th-century detail in its east wall, while those in the west wall are left in the rough.

The font is at the west end of the north aisle of

the nave and has a round bowl with four quatrefoils alternating with circles; the shaft is also round, flanked by four smaller shafts with moulded capitals of the 14th century.

In the west window of the nave are a few pieces of ancient glass, as also in that of the north aisle, with angels holding musical instruments. In the south aisle is the eagle of St. John, and several quarries, some bearing a fetterlock.

The plate comprises a silver cup, cover paten, and flagon of 1751, two bread-holders of 1691 and 1692, and four pewter plates.

There are five bells, the treble by Henry Penn, 1714, the second of 1619, inscribed—

Multi vocati pauci electi 1619 Richard Bardon Nicolas
Baili Gardian

Mistris Maria Hartleie Widdo Casthis (*sic*) bell 1619,

the third by T. Mears, 1832, the fourth of 1592, and the tenor by Thomas Eayre, 1738.

The first book of the registers contains marriages and burials from 1590 to 1640, and baptisms from 1590 to 1639; the second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh contain baptisms, burials, and marriages, consecutively, from 1642 to 1776. Book viii contains baptisms and burials from 1776 to 1812, and marriages from 1776 to 1783; and book ix marriages from 1784 to 1808.

John Thorp in 1688 gave three *CHARITIES* houses in Park Street as poor dwellings, and the buildings are kept up at the expense of the parish.

Under the will of Mrs. Elizabeth Hutcheson, who died in 1781, supplemented by that of Mrs. Hester Gibbon, of 28 November, 1786, £300 was settled upon the almshouses and 4s. 6d. a week is divided among the three poor women inhabitants. The official trustees hold a sum of £390 consols in trust for this charity.

Ann de Rippe by her will, proved 2 June, 1806, left £100 consols for the same object. The stock is held by the official trustees.

Richard Wildbore gave, on 9 October, 1688, an annuity of £5, secured on property here, for the education of eight poor boys of the parish.

In 1744 Mrs. Elizabeth Hutcheson established a school for eighteen poor boys, which she further endowed. In 1727 the Rev. William Law established a school for fourteen poor girls with endowment.

The above-named foundations are regulated by a scheme under the Endowed Schools Acts, dated 19 August, 1889. The gross income from endowment for the year 1890 was approximately £609. Under the scheme a yearly sum of £185 is applicable for the benefit of the almspeople. The official trustees hold a sum of £1,769 7s. 6d. consols in trust for this foundation.

Mrs. Charlotte Bonney's charity, founded by will, proved at London 27 March, 1851, consists of £454 1s. 1d. consols with the official trustees, the dividends on which are under the trusts of a deed, dated 30 June, 1851, applicable as to one moiety to the Sunday Schools, and the other moiety in clothing for the poor.

Rev. John Law by will, proved at Winchester in 1868, left £700, now represented by £674 9s. 9d. consols, with the official trustees, the proceeds of which are also applicable in clothing.

Louisa Perry under her will, proved in 1869, bequeathed £600 for the National and Sunday

¹ They came from Fotheringhay church. See the account of Fotheringhay by Dr. Bonney, p. 54.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Schools. The legacy is represented by £589 3s. 10d. consols, held by the official trustees. The charity is regulated by a scheme of the Charity Commissioners, dated 7 November, 1893.

Elizabeth Barbara Secker by her will, proved at London, 23 May, 1893, bequeathed to her trustees £1,000 upon trust to be invested and the income thereof, paid to her sister for life, and after her death the trust fund to be paid to the Peterborough Diocesan Trustees upon trust to apply one moiety of the income towards the repair of the parish church of King's Cliffe, and the other moiety

towards the repair of the parish church of St. Mary, Bozeat.

Mrs. Catherine Cornforth, a native of King's Cliffe, in 1891 built and endowed six almshouses, three for men and three for women, called the Cornforth Homes, for the benefit of old people who have lived continuously in the village for not less than seven years, preference being given to natives. The charity is under the sole management and control of a committee which always includes the rector, if resident, if not the curate-in-charge, and the guardians and overseers of the poor.

LUTTON

Lidintone (xi cent.); Lodington, Ludinton (xii cent.); Luddington or Ludington (until beginning of xv cent., when Lutton begins to be used occasionally).

The parish of Lutton is cut off from the rest of the hundred of Willybrook, only just touching Tansor at its extreme northern point, and being otherwise surrounded by parishes in Polebrook hundred, except on the east, where it borders Huntingdonshire. Washingly, part of the ecclesiastical parish of Lutton, is situated in this county, though the whole of the civil parish of Lutton is now in Northamptonshire. The parish lies higher than most of the hundred on the northern end of a ridge bordering the eastern side of the valley of the Nene. The comparatively lofty position, which, however, is only on an average about 200 ft. above the ordnance datum, helped to give rise to the couplet:

Lutton Hill, Yaxley Stone Mill, and Whittlesey Mere,
Are the three wonders of Huntingdonshire,

written apparently when Lutton was considered to be as much in one county as the other, though the most part of it has from the earliest times been included in Northamptonshire. The civil parish covers about 1,490 acres, of which 646½ are arable and 711½ pasture; it is on a subsoil of Oxford clay, with a strong clay surface soil of poor quality, which produces chiefly wheat, beans, and barley. It is entirely destitute of woodland. The population, numbering about 170 in 1901, is entirely engaged in agriculture.

The chief road passing through the parish is that running from Warmington to Yaxley, which here takes a decided curve to the south. At the village of Lutton roads branch off south-west and south-east towards Polebrook and Glatton.

The village is built irregularly along the road from Warmington to Yaxley, the principal buildings, the church, the school, built in 1875, and the ancient manor-house being grouped together at the eastern end of the village. The manor-house, now used as a farm-house, is carefully looked after and kept in good repair. North-east of the church is a Wesleyan chapel, built in 1872. The parish was enclosed in 1867, the award is in custody of the rector.

LUTTON, which in 1086 was held by **MANOR** William of the abbot of Peterborough as 2½ hides.¹ In the reign of Henry I this land was held by William son of Ralph; Lutton and Messingham were also confirmed to Peterborough as the fee of William son of Ralph by Pope Eugenius in 1146.² In the list of fees of Peterborough belonging to the reigns of Henry I to Henry II, two hides and a half in Lutton were held of Peterborough by Ralph son of William.³ Soon after this time Lutton came into the hands of the important family of De Dovre, owners since the Conquest of the honour of Chilham in Kent.⁴ In 1191 John de Dovre, under the heading of the debts of Aaron, Jew of Lincoln, owed £47 10s. on Lutton.⁵ John was succeeded about 1199 by his son Fulbert,⁶ who left an only daughter and heir, Rose.⁷ She in 1248 granted to William, son of Robert Marmion, and his wife Loretta, daughter of Rose, the manor of Lutton.⁸ William was succeeded about 1276 by his son, John Marmion, who released to Peterborough Abbey all his right in the manor of Lullington (now Luddington in the Brook), formerly a member of Lutton manor.⁹ He was granted by Edward I free warren in Lutton in 1292,¹⁰ and dying in 1322 was succeeded by his son John.¹¹ In 1338 the manor was settled on Robert son of John and Maud his wife.¹² Robert died without heirs, and after his death two parts of the manor were held for life by George Coleville and Maud his wife, with reversion in turn to Maud widow of John Marmion, Joan wife of John Bernak, and Avice wife of John de Grey of Rotherfield, Joan and Avice being daughters and co-heirs of John Marmion.¹³ The manor of Lutton was divided between the families of these two, the portion belonging to Joan and John Bernak descending to Maud their daughter, the wife of Ralph Cromwell.¹⁴ Her grandson Ralph was the founder of the college of Tattershall in Lincolnshire,¹⁵ and his half of Lutton presumably formed part of his endowment, for there is no further history of it until it is found among the possessions of the college in the reign of Henry VIII.¹⁶ The other half of Lutton passed through Elizabeth, heiress of the Greys, to the FitzHugh family,¹⁷ and thence through another

¹ *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 315b.

² *Chronicon*, p. 169; Sparke, *Scriptores*, p. 79. ³ *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 387b.

⁴ Surtees, *Durham*, iv, 61.

⁵ Pipe R. 3 Ric. I, m. 1.

⁶ *Ibid.* 1 John, m. 5d.

⁷ *G. E. C. Peerage*, i, 181.

⁸ Cott. Vesp. E. xxii, 35.

⁹ *Chronicon*, p. 24; Cott. Ch. xv, 18.

¹⁰ Chart. R. 20 Edw. I, m. 5, No. 3.

¹¹ Chan. Inq. p.m. 16 Edw. II, No.

40.

¹² Feet of F. Div. Co. 12 Edw. III, No. 224.

¹³ Feet of F. Northants, 16 Edw. III, No. 249.

¹⁴ Chan. Inq. p.m. 7 Hen. V, No. 72.

¹⁵ *G. E. C. Peerage*, ii, 430.

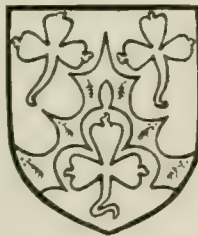
¹⁶ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 42, 43.

¹⁷ *Coram Rege R. East.* 7 Hen. VI, m. 48.

heiress to the Fiennes.¹ In 1571 Gregory Fiennes, Lord Dacre, sold this half of the manor to Robert Loftus of Lutton,² who was already possessed of the other moiety. The latter had been granted by Henry VIII, on the dissolution of Tattershall College, to Charles, duke of Suffolk;³ from him it may have passed to Thomas Glenham and Amy his wife, who in 1561 obtained licence to alienate the manor of Lutton to Robert Loftus.⁴ This family had lived in Lutton since at least the latter part of Henry VIII's reign.⁵ Robert died at Lutton in 1572, leaving his two manors there to John his son and heir,⁶ who was succeeded by a son John in 1615.⁷ The manor subsequently passed into the possession of the Watsons of Rockingham, who owned it until the beginning of the 19th century. Mr. Fitzwilliam of Milton is now lord of the manor.⁸



FIENNES. *Azure three lions or.*



LOFTUS. *Sable a chevron engrailed ermine between three trefoils argent.*

Half a hide of land was held in Lutton at Domesday by the abbot of Ramsey.⁹ This was probably the 9 virgates of land which Leoric, abbot of Peterborough, exchanged with Alfwyn, abbot of Ramsey, for land at Marholm, an exchange which was confirmed by Edward the Confessor.¹⁰ This land appears in the 12th century survey of Northamptonshire as belonging to Ramsey,¹¹ and was perhaps that land of 'Ludinthe' in which all right was released to Rainald, abbot of Ramsey, between 1114 and 1119, by Drew of Hastings and Leofwyn, brother of Colgrin of Grantham, his under-tenant.¹² Between 1114 and 1130 the same abbot granted to 'Herveus Monachus' all the land he had in 'Ludington' and Gidding beyond that which belonged to Henry the archdeacon.¹³ In two undated hidages of Ramsey Abbey, William le Moynes, perhaps a descendant of Henry, is stated to hold two and a half fees of Ramsey in 'Lodington'.¹⁴ Beyond these references, in several of which the identity is doubtful, no history has been found for the land of Ramsey in Lutton. No land there is included in the survey of the abbey's possessions in 1535.

The advowson of Lutton followed **ADVOWSON** the descent of the manor until the grant of it by Rose de Dover to her daughter Loretta and her husband when the advowson was specially excepted.¹⁵ It passed with Chilham to Rose's other daughter Isabel, who married first David Strabolgia, earl of Athole, by whom she had a son John, earl of Athole, and secondly, Alexander Balliol, who did homage for land in Lutton to Peterborough in 1275 and presented to the church.¹⁶ John, earl of

Athole, was executed for treason in 1306, and his land in consequence escheated to the king, and Chilham with its appurtenances, among which was the advowson of Lutton, was granted by Edward II in 1311 to Bartholomew de Badlesmere and Margaret his wife.¹⁷ The advowson descended to Giles de Badlesmere, and on his death as the advowson of the 'church of Ludington upon Bromeswold' was delivered to his widow Elizabeth,¹⁸ who subsequently married Hugh le Despenser. After his death it apparently descended to Roger, earl of March, son of Elizabeth, third sister and co-heir of Giles,¹⁹ for the earls of March and their descendants, the House of York, presented to the church until the right was merged in the crown by the accession to the throne of Edward IV.²⁰

In 1447 the church of Lutton had been united with that of Washingley in Huntingdon, and the fabric of the latter is said to have been applied to the repair of Lutton.²¹ In 1552 Edward VI granted the advowson of Lutton to Edward Lord Clinton,²² but it appears later to have again come into the hands of the crown, for it was given by Elizabeth about 1602 to Sir Edward Watson,²³ whose family also acquired the manor. From this date the advowson follows the descent of the manor, the present patron being Mr. G. W. Fitzwilliam of Milton House.

The church is dedicated in honour of **CHURCH** St. Peter,²⁴ and stands on the north side of a triangular space at the junction of three roads, round which the village is built.

No part of the existing building, which has a chancel, nave with aisles and south porch, and west tower, seems to be older than c. 1220, but two fragments of 12th-century detail are built into the chancel arch and the east end of the south aisle, and in the north wall of the tower is part of a cross-slab with interlaced ornament which appears to be of Saxon date.

The chancel and north arcade of the nave are about contemporary with each other, c. 1220, while the south arcade belongs to the end of the same century, and the aisle walls are probably of the same date as their respective arcades. The embattled tower is an addition of the 15th century. The parapets elsewhere are plain, and the roofs are of low pitch leaded.

The chancel has an east window of three lancets with three quatrefoiled circles over, the tracery being modern (1883), and in the north wall are a modern doorway and two-light square-headed window, and at the north-west angle a 13th-century low side window, being a small lancet with a flat inner head and sill. At the east end of the south wall is a square-headed window blocked on the inside by a mural monument, and about the middle of the wall is a widely splayed lancet with a moulded rear arch and small engaged shafts in the jambs, having capitals ornamented with nailhead. West of it is a window of four lights, the two west lights being of the 13th century with a trefoiled circle over them, while the other two lights have been added at a later date, and are larger with coarser detail, and have a quatrefoiled circle over them. Above the two circles is a cusped spherical triangle,

¹ G. E. C. *Peerage*, iii, 3.

² Cal. of F. Northants, East. 14 Eliz.

³ Pat. 36 Hen. VIII, pt. xi, m. 39.

⁴ Pat. 3 Eliz. pt. viii, m. 26.

⁵ Lay Subs. R. 1558.

⁶ Chan. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), cxlv, 131.

⁷ Ibid. ccclviii, 6.

⁸ Com. Pleas Rec. R. Mich. 26 Geo. III, rot. 8. ⁹ V. C. H. Northants, i, 518b.

¹⁰ Cart. Ram. (Rolls Ser.), i, 191.

¹¹ V. C. H. Northants, i, 387b.

¹² Cart. Ram. (Rolls Ser.), i, 131.

¹³ Ibid. ii, 260.

¹⁴ Ibid. i, 267; iii, 210.

¹⁵ Cott. Vesp. E. xxii, 35.

¹⁶ Chronicon. P. 23; Harl. 6,951, fol. 12;

G. E. C. *Peerage*, i, 181, 406.

¹⁷ Pat. 5 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 16.

¹⁸ Close, 13 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 28.

¹⁹ G. E. C. *Peerage*, i, 215.

²⁰ Bridges, ii, 464.

²¹ Epis. Reg. Linc. Chedworth Mem. 110 d; Fenland N. and Q. iv, 153.

²² Pat. 6 Edw. VI, pt. vii.

²³ Ibid. 44 Eliz. pt. xxv.

²⁴ See Northants Will. Bk. A 74, also Bk. B. 19.

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and below the sill of the west light a blocked low side window with a flat four-centred head 15 in. high by 12 in. wide. No trace of it is to be seen on the inner face of the wall. In the south wall of the chancel is a piscina with two blank arches in the head, under each arch being a half-round moulded bracket, and between the arches a rosette. In the north wall, east of the doorway, is a panelling of six cinquefoiled arches under a four-centred head, the lower part of the two middle panels being treated as a separate panel, 1 ft. 6 in. square, while below is a plain ashlar plinth. The Easter Sepulchre was doubtless set up against it, the rectangle marking the place of the coffer. The chancel arch is of the 13th century, with octagonal moulded capitals on cone-shaped corbels, the arch being of two plain chamfered orders.

The nave has a north arcade of c. 1220, with round pillars, octagonal moulded capitals with nailhead, and pointed arches of two chamfered orders. The south arcade, c. 1290-1300, has piers of four engaged shafts with moulded capitals and bases set on high plinths. The responds of this arcade have half-octagonal capitals resting on corbels of female heads, but in the east respond there is a small round base for a shaft below the corbel, 1 ft. 4 in. above floor level. The dripstones of the labels of this arcade take the form of large heads, carved with much spirit.

The north aisle has a 14th-century east window of two trefoiled lights under a square head, and in the north wall a window of two wide trefoiled lights with a quatrefoil in the head, a plain 15th-century north doorway with four-centred head and continuous mouldings, and to the west of it a 15th-century window with two cinquefoiled lights and a four-centred head. The window east of the doorway is of excellent detail and design, and is set in a projecting frame of ashlar. In the west wall of the aisle is a 13th-century lancet.

The south aisle has a 14th-century east window of two trefoiled lights under a square head, and in the south wall three lancets under a segmental head, and a south doorway with continuous mouldings and a four-centred arch of the 15th century. The west window is also of the 15th century with two cinquefoiled lights and a four-centred head. In the south-east angle of the aisle is a bracket. The south porch has benches on the east and west, and a plain outer arch with modern shafts in the jambs. On the porch are two incised sundials. The clearstory of the nave is of the 15th century with three windows a side, each of two trefoiled lights with four-centred heads.

The tower is of the 15th century, and has been built after a common fashion, free of the west end of the nave, the gap between being filled with masonry after the completion of the tower, which has flat clasping buttresses at all angles. It is of three stages, the belfry stage having an embattled parapet

and windows of four trefoiled lights with transoms and four-centred heads. In the second stage are square-headed loops on the north, west, and south, and on the ground stage a west window of two cinquefoiled lights over a four-centred west doorway with continuous mouldings. The east arch of the tower is of two moulded orders, with half-round shafts and octagonal capitals.

The nave roof is of the 15th century, and has moulded principals of low pitch, with braces resting on stone corbels, and intermediates with carved figures at their junction with the wall plates. Of these figures those on the north hold a book, a chalice and a host, and a crown of thorns, and those on the south a cross, a shield, and a crown. The north aisle roof is partly ancient, and that in the south aisle is a modern copy of it. The chancel roof is modern. The altar rails have good turned oak balusters, and the communion table is of Elizabethan or early Jacobean date.

The font stands west of the second pier of the south arcade, and has an octagonal bowl with mouldings on the lower edge, resting on four engaged shafts with moulded capitals and bases. It dates from the first half of the 14th century.

In the chancel at the east end of the north wall is a large mural monument with the kneeling figures of three bearded men, facing outward, under a cornice carried by Corinthian columns, with an arched pediment in the centre framing a shield of arms. It was set up in 1633 by Jerome Apreece, in memory of Robert, William, and Robert Apreece, his great-grandfather, grandfather, and father.

Opposite to it in the south wall of the chancel is another mural monument with a kneeling figure in a panelled frame, to Adlard Apreece, 1608.

The plate consists of a silver cup and cover paten of 1570, of excellent design and more highly ornamented than usual: a paten of 1637, and another of 1706, with the arms of Apreece quartering Bray.

The four bells are all from the Norris foundry at Stamford, dated 1610, 1682, 1604, and 1619 respectively.

The first book of the registers contains baptisms from 1653 to 1717, marriages from 1654 to 1710, and burials from 1655 to 1714. The second book, existing in 1884, is now lost. The third book contains baptisms from 1765 to 1812, and burials from 1766 to 1812. The fourth marriages from 1755 to 1812.

By a decree of Commissioners of *CHARITY* Charitable Uses, dated 1 April, 1618, a messuage called the Almshouse and a pigtle of pasture ground adjoining, containing about 1 acre, together with parcels of land containing about 12 acres, were declared to be for the perpetual aid and ease of the poor inhabitants for and concerning the payment of common taxes. The income, about £9 a year, is applied in aid of the poor rate.

NASSINGTON

Nessinton (xii cent.).

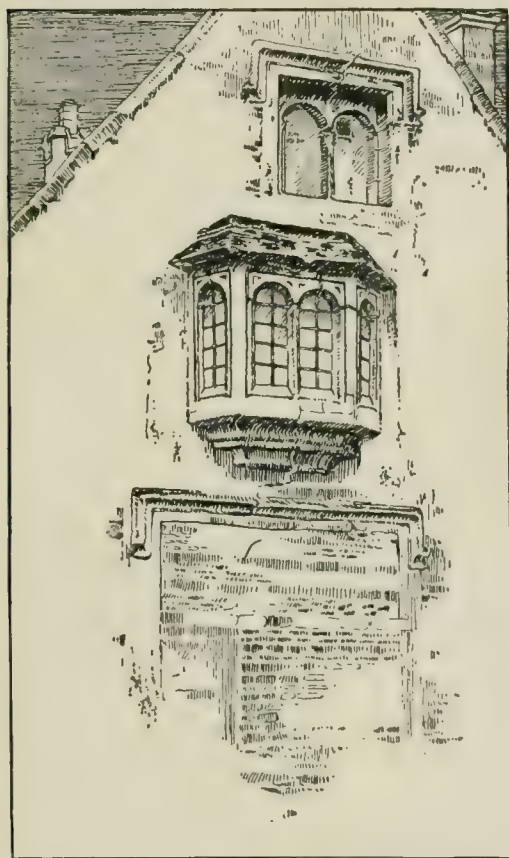
The parish of Nassington, which is bounded on the east by the River Nene, covers about 2,520 acres. The subsoil is for the most part inferior oolite, but there is a belt of great oolite near the Nene, and a patch to the north towards Yarwell and to the west towards Apethorpe. The parish is fairly well wooded

especially in the west and north, and the surface is sufficiently varied to prevent monotony, though it rises in no place more than 200 ft. above the Ordnance datum. The highest part is about half a mile to the west of the village.

The principal road is that from Fotheringhay to Wansford. At the village of Nassington two roads

branch off north-west and south-west which converge at Woodnewton. The Northampton and Peterborough branch of the London and North Western Railway runs through the east of the parish. The Seaton and Wansford branch of the same railway passes between Nassington and Yarwell, and there is a station at the north-east end of Nassington on that line.

The village of Nassington is built on a gentle slope, and consists of a long street running east and west, turning at right angles northward at its east and west ends, and bordered with picturesque grey stone houses, several of which are of ancient date. The fine church stands in the angle made by the street, and dominates the village, having the two manor houses side by side to the west, the southernmost, to which is attached a



NORTH GABLE OF THE MANOR HOUSE, NASSINGTON.

Three sides of a rectangular enclosure are thus formed, but there is no evidence for the fourth or north side. At the north-west angle pieces of Roman pottery and black earth have been found. The vicarage, a modern building on an old site, stands to the east of the church. Near it are the Council schools, opened in 1894. On the road leading towards the station is a stone cottage dated 1648. There are in the village Wesleyan and Congregational chapels built respectively in 1875 and 1839. There was in the early 19th century a small iron foundry here;³ and several old clay and gravel pits and quarries north of the village indicate former industries; now the people, except for a few stone-masons and some railway men, are entirely engaged in agriculture. There are 1,428 acres of arable land and 810½ of pasture. The chief crops grown are wheat, barley, beans, clover and roots. The population in 1901 was 505.

The parish was enclosed in 1778 in spite of the strenuous opposition of the Rev. J. Ibbetson, owner of the prebendal manor at that date. The award is in the custody of the vicar.

Among the place-names found in the parish are Hangman's Stile, Farthinggreen Piece, Long Shovels, Spires Copse, Froghall, Big and Little Framples, Wilgay, Brachnams and Scortwong.

Old Sulehay Lodge was added to this parish in 1869,³ it was formerly part of an extra-parochial district in Rockingham Forest. The lodge is in the extreme north-east corner of the parish.

The men of Nassington were granted in 1463 exemption from the imposition called 'Wodeshalf-marc,' and free common in Sulehay and elsewhere in the forest as it was enjoyed by the king's tenants of King's Cliffe.⁴ They were also, as tenants of ancient demesne of the crown, quit of toll through the realm.⁵

The 'royal vill' of NASSINGTON is MANORS alluded to in the time of Canute, who in one of his journeys through the kingdom turned to Nassington for the purpose of lodging there, but the smallness of the place compelled his suite to seek dwellings in the neighbouring villages and towns.⁶ In 1086 Nassington was still a royal vill, and was rated at six hides, in which Yarwell was probably included, as that village is not mentioned in Domesday, and it answered before the justices as one vill with Nassington in the time of Edward I.⁷ Nassington continued in the hands of the crown till granted to David, earl of Huntingdon, to make up a hundred marks of land which the king had promised him.⁸ The rest of Nassington and Yarwell, except a small amount of land in Yarwell held by serjeanty, and the prebendal lands in both parishes, was granted by King John to Earl David,⁹ who was also lord of the manor of Fotheringhay, and from this time until the reign of Elizabeth Nassington and Yarwell followed the descent of that manor, of which they were reputed members. They were, however, held by a different tenure; Fotheringhay was held of the honour of Huntingdon belonging to the king of Scotland, who

¹ The prebendal house has an ancient porch over the entrance door and a round-headed back doorway with 13th-century masks to the label. Near this doorway are two partly blocked round-headed windows, and part of a 13th-century buttress. (Note by Mr. R. P. Brereton). The second manor house is a picturesque 15th-century building, with a pretty oriel window in its north gable. There is another

dovecote, of fine ashlar masonry, at the back of the Three Mill Bills Inn.

² In a field about a mile north-west of the church, known as Waldens, are considerable remains of iron-smelting operations.

³ For history see Yarwell, where most of the land which used to belong to it lies.

⁴ Pat. 2 Edw. IV, pt. ii, m. 14. Right

of common extinguished by enclosure of forest in 1805.

⁵ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 14.

⁶ *Chron. Ram.* (Rolls Ser.), 135.

⁷ *V.C.H. Northants*, i, 307d; *Chan. Inq.* p.m. 18 Edw. I, No. 28.

⁸ *Pipe R.* 3 Ric. I, m. 1; *Cott. Nero*, C 111, fol. 191.

⁹ *Pipe R.* 1 John, m. 2.

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held it of the king of England, while Nassington and Yarwell were held in chief of the king of England. In consequence, on the death of Earl David, leaving an heir under age, the custody of Nassington and Yarwell was at first granted separately from Fotheringhay to Emeric de Clairvaux, though later they were kept with Fotheringhay by Ranulf, earl of Chester, uncle of the heir, John 'le Scot.'¹ On the death of John, when his lands held of the honour of Huntingdon were delivered, prior to division among the heirs, to Alexander, king of Scotland, Nassington and Yarwell with two other manors held in chief were especially excepted.²

From about the time of Edward IV the history of Nassington and Yarwell is somewhat different from that of Fotheringhay, for they were let by the royal holders to under-tenants, the owners of Fotheringhay retaining however the courts and other manorial rights. It appears that only part of the land in Nassington was so granted, but all the manor of Yarwell.³

In 1480 a suit for dower was brought by Egidia, the widow of Henry Ridel, against Robert Halley, son-in-law of Henry, and among the lands claimed were the manors of Nassington and Yarwell.⁴ The next possessor of land in Nassington, and the manor of Yarwell held of the queen, was Sir Guy Wolston, and from him they passed to Sir Walter Mildmay, and so to the Fanes, earls of Westmorland, exactly as the manor of Apethorpe did. The overlordship of the manor of Nassington was granted by Queen Elizabeth, who, like her brother, Edward VI, held courts for it and Yarwell, to Alexander King and Thomas Eastchurch in fee in 1599.⁵ Alexander King, the survivor of the two, in 1606 released all his right in the manor to Sir Anthony Mildmay, son and heir of Sir Walter, tenant of the manor,⁶ whose descendants from this time have been sole possessors of that manor. It remained in the hands of the earls of Westmorland until 1904, when it was sold with Apethorpe to Mr. Leonard Brassey.⁷

The lord of the manor of Nassington and Yarwell had the same liberties as the lord of Fotheringhay, except pillory and tumbrel and assizes of bread and ale.⁸ A court leet is held in November each year for the manor at the 'Queen's Head' or 'Three Mill Bills' at Nassington.

There were two mills appurtenant to Nassington in 1086, and they appear continually in accounts and surveys of the manor until the 14th century. The present representative of these is probably the Yarwell mill. There was also a fishery between Nassington and Yarwell, which was conveyed to Sir Anthony Mildmay with the manor from Alexander King.

PREBENDAL MANOR.—The prebendary of Nassington, who in addition to the church had received a grant of land in Nassington and Yarwell,⁹ is said to have exercised manorial rights,

though no court is now held. His land in Nassington is called a manor in a 16th-century suit,¹⁰ and also in 1650, when it was sold by the commissioners for the sale of the land of deans, prebends, etc., to Edward Bellamy. It was then in the tenancy of Mildmay, earl of Westmorland, on a twenty-one years' lease.¹¹ The prebend of Nassington was dissolved under the Act of 1836, and the lands by that of 1840 passed to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.¹² The prebendal manor was acquired by the Earl of Carysfort, the present owner, in 1875.

There was a priest at Nassington **ADVOWSON** in 1086. The advowson belonged to the king, and was made part of the endowment of the prebend of Nassington in Lincoln Cathedral by Henry I, the founder and patron of the prebend.¹³ The church remained attached to this prebend until its dissolution under the Ecclesiastical Commission Act of 1836, and according to the provisions of an Act in 1840 the advowson was transferred to the bishop of Peterborough, the present patron.¹⁴

The church is dedicated in honour of **CHURCH** our Lady,¹⁵ and consists of a chancel 33 ft. 4 in. by 20 ft., nave 61 ft. 3 in. by 17 ft. 4 in., with north and south aisles, the full interior width across nave and aisles being 49 ft. 8 in., south porch, and west tower 18 ft. 3 in. by 19 ft. 3 in. over all, and about 11 ft. 4 in. square inside. The tower is finished with a tall stone spire rising from an octagonal belfry, and at the west ends of the aisles, flanking the tower, are chambers narrower than the aisles, their west walls being level with the west face of the tower.

The stone used in the building, both for ashlar and rubble, is an oolite resembling Ketton stone, but probably from a local quarry. Barnack rag is also used.

The roofs are all of low pitch, leaded, except those of the western chambers, which are covered with Collyweston slates. The chancel and the clearstory over the nave have embattled parapets, while those of the aisles are plain. The masonry details of both aisles are very good, the gabled 14th-century buttresses of the south aisle being specially well designed.

The story of the building can be taken back to pre-Conquest times. The south-west angle of the nave of an aisleless church of the first half of the 11th century, or earlier, still exists to a considerable height, the characteristic quoins of long and short work remaining up to the level of the sills of the 15th-century clearstory windows. The width of the nave of this church was probably the same as that of the present nave, 17 ft. 3 in. inside, and about 23 ft. over all. It was clearly a large building, and it is quite possible that the length of the present nave is much the same as that of the pre-Conquest building,¹⁶ about

¹ Close, 4 Hen. III, m. 4, 5; 5 Hen. III, pt. i, m. 18.

² Ibid. 21 Hen. III, m. 11.

³ Esch. Accts. (Ser. 2), File 682; Partic. for Sale Aug. Off. No. 792.

⁴ Early Chan. Proc. bdle. 66, No. 59. These may have been only small portions of land, as was the case with other lands called manors in this suit (see Uphall in Ufford).

⁵ Pat. 41 Eliz. pt. xxi.

⁶ Feet of F. Northants, Trin. 4 Jas. I.

⁷ Doc. in possession of Mr. Leonard Brassey.

⁸ *Quo Warr. R.* (Rec. Com.), p. 547.

⁹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1, 274.

¹⁰ Chan. Proc. (Ser. 2) bdle. 102, No. 20.

¹¹ Close, 1650, pt. xxxvi, No. 5.

¹² 3 & 4 Vict. c. 113, sect. 22.

¹³ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1, 274.

¹⁴ 3 & 4 Vict. c. 113, sect. 41.

¹⁵ Bacon (*Liber Regis*) gives All Saints as the invocation of this church.

¹⁶ The east respond of the south arcade of the nave is built with a straight joint against a plastered surface which may belong to the original nave. (Information

from Canon Barrett, formerly vicar). A length of about 60 ft. is very usual in the naves of the larger pre-Conquest churches, just as one of about thirty is a common dimension in the smaller types. In this part of Northamptonshire the nave of Barnack church probably preserves its pre-Conquest dimensions of 60 ft. by 23 ft. inside, while the nave of Wittering is 30 ft. by 16 ft., Peakirk (slightly lengthened at the west), 33 ft. by 15 ft., and the original nave of Tansor, probably of pre-Conquest date, was about 32 ft. by 14 ft.

61 ft. Of its chancel no evidence remains. The west wall of the nave shows early work to nearly the full height of the present nave roof, and from the plan and the existence of a doorway high in the wall it appears that the early church had a west tower, parts of the walls of which may still exist, cased with later masonry, though no architectural features of the date are to be seen in the north, west, or south walls of the present tower. In the 12th century a north aisle was added to the nave, the bases of a north arcade of this date having been found below the floor, south of the line of the present arcade.

Towards the end of the 12th century the east arch of the tower was inserted, and it is possible that the tower was rebuilt at this time, as the head of a semi-circular arch remains over the present west doorway, and may belong to the period in question, and two string-courses on the west front have a section which would also suit this date. In the 13th century the nave was practically rebuilt, with north and south aisles and a south porch.¹ The west front of the church was also altered in the early part of this century, a new west doorway being inserted and the western chambers built.

The south aisle of the nave was rebuilt² in the early part of the 14th century, its south wall being set outside the line of that previously existing, and the western buttresses of the tower appear to belong to this time.

In the 15th century the octagonal top of the tower and the spire³ rising from it were built, and at a later date in the same century the clearstory and roof of the nave were added. Towards the close of the century the chancel was rebuilt, out of centre with and wider than the nave. It had probably been rebuilt at least once before, and the irregularities in its plan are such as might easily arise from the methods of rebuilding usual in the middle ages.

The chancel has an east window⁴ of five cinquefoiled lights with quatrefoiled tracery and a low four-centred head, and a window at the west end of the north wall of three lights with intersecting mullions forming quatrefoiled tracery under a four-centred head, as in the east window. In the south wall are two windows of the same kind, the sill of the eastern of the two being carried down to form the sedilia. There is sufficient space for the usual three seats, and the western third of the sill is 6 in. lower than the rest. East of the sedilia is a square recess, with no drain, and in the north wall is a second recess, to the west of which is a blocked doorway with a low four-centred head, formerly leading to a vestry on the north of the chancel, now destroyed.

The ground falls slightly towards the east, and the floor levels follow it, as there is one step down from the nave to the chancel, and a second⁵ at the line of the altar-rails, the altar itself being raised on four steps. The chancel arch is of two chamfered orders with half-octagonal responds and moulded capitals and bases. It is set centrally with the nave and not with

the chancel, and its date is about 1240-50. The nave arcades are of the same design but with three orders to the arches, and give an example of that not unusual feature, that the workmanship of one arcade, in this case the north, is much superior to that of the other. The chancel arch itself is affected by it, for its north respond is of the same workmanship as the north arcade, and the south respond as the south arcade. The probable explanation is that the north arcade was first undertaken, and that by the time it had been built, with the north respond of the new chancel arch, a pause in the work was made for lack of funds, and when the south arcade and south respond of the chancel arch were undertaken they had to be built with a strict regard to economy, and inferior workmen were employed in consequence.

The scale of the nave and height of the aisles seems to demand a clearstory, but whether this formed part of the original design or not, no evidence remains that it was ever built. The existing clearstory belongs to the latter part of the 15th century, and has windows of three cinquefoiled lights under four-centred heads. There are three on the north, and five on the south, spaced evenly in the wall, without reference to the bays of the arcade below them. The north aisle is of the date of the north arcade, and like it is of excellent detail and workmanship. The east window is of three lights with uncusped tracery formed by the intersection of the mullions, and has jamb-shafts and a moulded rear-arch. Under this window on the north side is a square locker.

In the north wall are six windows, the first two from the east having three lancets under an enclosing arch, with jamb-shafts, while the other four are of two lights under an arched head, the spandrels over the lights being pierced. Between the first and second windows from the west is the north doorway, with a round arch of two orders. The details seem earlier than the wall in which they are set, the inner order having an edge roll, and the outer a keeled roll between hollows, with rosettes at intervals on the label, while the nook-shafts have foliate capitals of early type, like those of the tower arch. The segmental rear arch is pointed, and the roll-moulded string which runs at the level of the window sills is continued round the arch. In spite of the early-looking detail, the doorway may be contemporary with the rest of the aisle.⁶

The south aisle is a few inches wider than the north aisle, but otherwise of the same dimensions. Its east window is an insertion of the date of the chancel, with three cinquefoiled lights under a four-centred head, but the three windows on the south are of the date of the rebuilding of the aisle, *c.* 1330, with net tracery, the first two from the east having three lights and the other two. West of the windows is the south doorway, with continuous mouldings of the same date as the windows. It opens to a south porch of the first half of the 13th century, with an outer archway of two orders, having lines of dogtooth

¹ There may have been aisles in the 12th century, but the evidence is not sufficient to settle the point. See below.

² After a fire, traces of which were found in 1885. (Information from Canon Barrett.)

³ There is a record of the building of the spire here in the 17th century, and in view of the parallel at Oundle, where the 17th-century spire might easily be

taken for mediaeval work, the Nassington spire may not have existed before that time. But the evidence of construction and detail points perhaps to the rebuilding of an old spire rather than the addition of a new one.

⁴ This window was much altered in 1885, being raised some 28 in. and each light narrowed 3 in. The tracery is a modern copy of the old work.

⁵ Before 1885 the nave, chancel, and sanctuary were on the same level, but this was not the original arrangement.

⁶ Instances of this conservatism in doorways are not uncommon. At Tansor, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the south, the north doorway of the nave has details which seem earlier than the wall in which it is built, but are probably contemporary.

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in the head and jambs, while the labels on both faces of the arch have the same ornament. There are stone benches on the east and west. The porch, which was in a dangerous state before 1885, has been repaired, the old masonry being re-used as far as possible.

A roll-string runs round inside below the windows of the south aisle, at a lower level than that of the north aisle.

The chambers at the west ends of the aisles seem to be contemporary with one another, and are somewhat narrower than the aisles. Each has a single lancet window on the west, and a second lancet, modern in both cases, in the north and south walls respectively. The north chamber is cut off from the aisle by a masonry wall 3 ft. thick, in which is a square-headed doorway with a wooden lintel, while the south chamber opens to the south aisle by a 13th-century arch of two chamfered orders, springing from cone corbels, with moulded capitals ornamented with a line of nailhead. The south chamber has a modern doorway on the south side, and a modern fireplace in the south-west angle, and is used as a vestry. It has on the outside a cornice with dogtooth ornament, composed of re-used voussoirs of arches.

The south chamber is 1 ft. 3 in. wider than the north, its width being no doubt that of the former south aisle, and the width of the north chamber probably represents that of the 12th-century north aisle, with which it may have been set out to correspond.¹

The tower is of many dates. Its east wall for a considerable height belongs to the pre-Conquest church, the original features which remain being a blocked round-headed opening over the tower arch—this does not show on the west face of the wall—and high above it a triangular-headed doorway with a slight rebate on the quoins of its western face. The quoins have no 'long and short' character on this face, and but little on the east, but the masonry is of early type. No traces of an original gable are to be seen on the wall.

The east arch of the tower is an insertion of the end of the 12th century, with an arch of two chamfered orders, square abaci, bell capitals with foliage in low relief, half-round responds, and moulded bases with spurs.

Other features, probably of this date, exist in the round arch over the west doorway, which seems to be the head of a destroyed window, and the double-chamfered strings on the west face of the tower.

The west doorway has a pointed arch of three orders, with a keeled roll between two lines of dogtooth, and nook-shafts with moulded capitals and bases. Over it is a small quatrefoiled opening, evidently a late insertion, and apparently replacing a circular window. The doorway is flanked by stepped buttresses, which seem to be an addition of the 14th century.

In the stage above is a small lancet light. Above this point the tower has been rebuilt in the 15th century, and its belfry stage is octagonal, rising from a square which sets back some 16 in. from the square of the tower below. In the cardinal faces of the

octagon are windows of two cinquefoiled lights with embattled transoms and quatrefoils in the heads. At the angles of the octagon are tall panelled pinnacles, and the wall is crowned with an embattled parapet, from within which springs a lofty crocketed stone spire, with two rows of spire lights. At the angles of the parapet, and at the base of the octagon, below the springing of the pinnacles, are well-designed gurgoyles.

The woodwork of the chancel roof is mostly modern, but the braces beneath the tiebeams, with pierced tracery spandrels, are old. The nave roof is of the date of the clearstory, with moulded and embattled wall plates, ridge, purlins, and principals; the pitch is very low and the roof of a weak form, and plain tiebeams have been inserted to prevent spreading. Both aisles have simple 15th-century roofs with moulded timbers. A few pieces of a 15th-century screen are placed against the wall at the west end of the north aisle. Remains of wall paintings are to be seen in several places. Over the chancel arch are traces of what was no doubt a doom, with a central figure, now almost destroyed,² and rows of standing figures on either side. In the middle spandrel of the north arcade of the nave is a painting of St. George and the Dragon, and in the north aisle a series of standing figures, much damaged, on the splays of the windows. Between the second and third windows from the east are two scenes, St. Katherine above, and below her two figures facing each other, St. Michael to the left, holding a balance, the beam of which is being pushed down by our Lady. There was doubtless a soul in the balance, but this part of the painting has perished. Below is a small human figure kneeling in prayer, to implore a like good office.³

In the tracery of the windows of the south aisle a little original glass remains, with foliage patterns. The upper rood-loft door is to be seen in the north-east angle of the nave, above the springing of the arches, and on the outer face of the east gable of the nave, on the south side, is a small trefoiled recess in which a sanctus bell formerly hung, the brackets to take the gudgeons being still in place.

The font is of 14th-century date, with an octagonal bowl on which are two tiers of pointed arches in low relief, the upper tier being trefoiled. On the shaft is a roughly-cut leaf pattern, and the base has large projecting ball-flowers on the four alternate faces.

Several 13th-century grave slabs are preserved in the church, but the most interesting object is part of a cross shaft of pre-Conquest date which is noted in the article on Early Christian Art.

The plate consists only of a silver plate of 1841, and plated cup, paten, and flagon of modern date. In 1885 a pewter chalice and paten of early shape, perhaps c. 1250, were found in a grave near the third pillar of the north arcade. With them were three scallop shells, each pierced with two holes.

There are five bells, the treble by John Warner, 1874, the second by Toby Norris, 1686, the third, undated, by J. Eayre, the fourth by Thomas Norris, 1642, and the tenor by Thomas Osborne of Downham, Norfolk, 1801.

The registers begin in 1560. The first book contains baptisms from 1560 to 1616, from 1622 to

¹ The south chamber was used within living memory as a dwelling, and the north chamber was formerly used as a dove-cot. Information from the Rev. Canon Barrett.

² The arrangement has been as follows:—In the centre, Christ seated, with our Lady on His right and six Apostles on either side; at the extreme right and left angels with trumpets, only that on the

left being preserved. The draperies appear to be unfinished (Information from the Rev. C. J. Percival.)

³ Information from the Rev. C. J. Percival.



NASSINGTON CHURCH FROM THE SOUTH-EAST



Photo.

J. J. G. 1893

SOUTHWICK HALL : THE SOUTH FRONT

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1637, and from 1648 to 1653; marriages from 1580 to 1597, from 1601 to 1607, from 1614 to 1616, and from 1622 to 1652; burials from 1560 to 1616, and from 1622 to 1651. There are gaps in all from 1599 to 1601, and from 1616 to 1622. At the end of this book is this entry: 'Richd. Forster's child christened at Fotheringhay by Mr. Welby, and not signed with the sign of the cross, 2 June, 1642.' The second book contains marriages from 1654 to 1703, baptisms from 1653 to 1703, and burials from 1654 to 1704. The third book has been destroyed; in the fourth there is a note of various entries 'brought in from the old register, which was torn in 1768.' These comprise marriages from 1749 to 1751, and baptisms and burials from 1750 to 1768. The fourth book also contains baptisms from 1768 to 1812, and burials from 1772 to 1812. Marriages from 1754 to 1812 are registered in a fifth book.

There are two books of churchwardens' accounts, the first from 1675 to 1776, the second from 1776 to 1861.

Nassington shares in the charity of *CHARITIES* Lady Grace Mildmay, the rent-charge of £9 and the dividends on £117 15s. 10d. consols held by the official trustees being yearly expended on apprenticing children in this village.

No records exist concerning the church and poor land which produces about £12 a year and is divided between education, church repairs, and poor relief.

There was also a donation of £10 from some unknown benefactor, which appears to have lapsed.

Sarah Males by will in 1850 left £5 a year for the Sunday School. The legacy is represented by £172 os. 10d. consols held by the official trustees.

SOUTHWICK

The parish of Southwick, which has had an exceptionally uneventful history and has passed through fewer hands than almost any other in the county, presents several local peculiarities. With the exception of Benefield it is the largest in the neighbourhood, covering about 4,600 acres, and its population is one of the smallest (228 in 1901). This is due to a large portion of its area consisting of additions, made in the 19th century, of extra-parochial forest land, which also accounts for the fact that the civil parish of Southwick is over four times as large as the ecclesiastical.

Considerably over half the whole extent is meadow and pasture, chiefly because the strong clay soil is not adapted to most branches of agriculture, and the conversion of arable to pasture has gone on largely in recent years. There are now 574½ acres of arable land, 1,688½ of pasture, and 153½ of woodland. The subsoil for the most part is great oolite; the village lies on a tongue of inferior oolite, and there is a belt of cornbrash to the north. The surface slopes up gradually from the Nene, which bounds the parish on the east, to a height of 300 ft. above the ordnance datum on the boundaries of Deenethorpe and Blatherwycke parishes on the west. Three main roads converge at the village of Southwick, running thence west to Bulwick, south to Glapthorn, and north-east to Woodnewton.

On the bend of the Nene in the east of the parish stands Perio mill, and about half a mile distant Perio barn, the sole remains of a former village in which there was a small hospital.¹ The site and lands of this hospital were given by Queen Elizabeth to William Tipper and Robert Dawe.²

The village of Southwick lies about a mile west of the Nene. Southwick Hall, the residence of the Rev. G. H. Capron, the manor-house, with the church of St. Mary and the church school, built in 1872, are situated near one another at the eastern end. There is an exceptional number of outlying

houses in this parish; they are principally old forest lodges and formerly extra-parochial. Among them are Tottenhoe Lodge, Crosswayhand Lodge, Morehay Lawn House, and Bulwick Lodges. Near the last a Baptist chapel has been built.

The population is entirely engaged in agriculture. Among the place-names found are Babholm, Langewelsike, Square Foxholes, Rusdales, Fetherby, Censer's Coppice, Frere's Close, Crayley Wood, and Assart Close.

SOUTHWICK is not mentioned in *MANOR* Domesday, but may have been included in the 6 hides of ancient demesne returned under Tansor.³ In 1130 Salamon, clerk of Southwick, paid to the crown twenty marks of silver for his land in Southwick.⁴ In the 12th-century survey of Northamptonshire a hide of land in Southwick and Yarwell was held by William de Lisurs, lord of the manor of Benefield, and this land follows exactly the descent of that manor. Under the heading of Tansor in the same survey Salamon is said to hold two-thirds of a hide of the earl of Warwick; this is probably the land which was afterwards the manor of Southwick, which was of the fee of the earl of Warwick, while he held as far as is known no land in Tansor itself.⁵ Between 1194 and 1199 John Knyvet of Southwick granted to Andrew, abbot of Peterborough, a meadow in Southwick for rent. This grant was confirmed by Richard son of John.⁶ In 1242 Thomas Knyvet was holding one fee in Southwick of the earl of Warwick with Peter de Montfort as intermediary.⁷ Until the 15th century the de Montforts are frequently mentioned as lords of Southwick between the earls of Warwick and the real tenants; their connexion then seems to have lapsed, and that of the earls of Warwick soon after, though it was clearly understood in the 17th century that the manor was not held in chief but of the 'Warwick lands.'⁸

The Knyvets⁹ made their home in Southwick for many years. Thomas was succeeded by John, who

¹ See 'Religious Houses' in this volume.

² Pat. 34 Eliz. pt. iv, m. 28.

³ V. C. H. Northants, i, 307a. See below.

⁴ Pipe R. 31 Hen. I (Rec. Com.), p. 85.

⁵ V. C. H. Northants, i, 387b, 388a. For descent of earldom of Warwick see G. E. C. Peerage, viii, 52.

⁶ Swapham, fol. 208. Sparke, *Scriptores*, p. 103.

⁷ Chan. Inq. p.m. 26 Hen. III, 22.

For pedigree of de Montforts see Dugdale, *Warwickshire*, ii, 799.

⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. (ser. 2), cccix, 13.

⁹ A pedigree has been produced for the Knyvets (Berry, *Berks Geneal.* 52) reaching back to the Conquest, but it appears to rest on no real evidence.

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was probably followed by a son of the same name, for one John Knyvet of Southwick, about 1258, gave up all right in the advowson of the church there to the prior of Huntingdon,¹ and another in 1306 released to Godfrey, abbot of Peterborough, 20s. rent from that meadow in Perio which the abbey had held from the lords of Southwick.² John was living as late as 1316, when he was returned, with Humphrey de Bassingburne, heir of the Lisurs' fee, as lord of Southwick.³ He was succeeded by Richard, who married Joan, daughter and heir of John Worth, and who, about 1324, was granted by the king the custody of the forest of Clive for life.⁴ John the eldest son and heir of Richard laid the foundations of the future greatness of his family. He was bred up to the law and was spoken of by Sir Edward Coke in the 17th century as a man 'famous in his profession.' He was made Justice of Common Pleas in 1361, in 1365 Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and in 1372 the second lay Chancellor of England.⁵ John married Eleanor, one of the co-heirs of Ralph Basset of Weldon, which brought a great accession of wealth to his family.⁶ He died in 1381 holding the messuage and land in Southwick called Knevetts' place of the earl of Warwick, some land in the same place of the earl of Cambridge, lord of Fotheringhay, to which manor some land in Southwick had always been attached, two assarts in Southwick in chief which had been granted to John Knyvet by Edward II, and various other estates in Northamptonshire and elsewhere.⁷ His heir John, like his father, made a fortunate match, marrying Joan the daughter and heir of Sir John Botetourt of Mendlesham. His son John married Elizabeth, sister and at length heiress of Sir John Clifton of Buckenham in Norfolk, which henceforth became the home of the Knyvets.⁸ John Knyvet, son of the Chancellor sold the manor of Southwick about 1442 to John Lynne, who had married his daughter Joan.⁹

Southwick was the home and principal estate of the Lynne family until late in the 18th century. Southwick Hall, built by them, is the present residence of the lord of the manor. They lived during the three centuries of their tenure of Southwick as country squires in no way remarkable, except perhaps for the largeness of their families; one George Lynne had twenty-two children.¹⁰ John Lynne at the time of the Great Rebellion fought for the king, and had to compound



KNYVET. *Argent a bend sable and a border sable engrailed.*



LYNNE. *Gyronny or and gules a demi-lion ermine with a martlet gules on his shoulder in an orle of rings counter-coloured.*

for his estates by a fine of £241 and settling £40 a year on the minister at Southwick.¹¹ The last Lynne of Southwick was Martha, wife of Francis Broade, sister and heiress of George Lynne. She died childless in 1796, leaving her estates to her kinsman George Francis Johnson, who took the surname and arms of the Lynne family. He was succeeded by his nephew Walter Johnson, who also took the name of Lynne, from whom the manor of Southwick was purchased in 1840 by George Capron, father of the present owner, the Rev. G. H. Capron.¹²

The court-leet and view of frankpledge of Southwick belonged, like several of the neighbouring villages, to the honour of Gloucester. After that honour came into the hands of Henry VIII it passed with that of Cotterstock and Glapthorn to the Brudenell family.¹³

Two mills at Perio, held like Southwick manor of the earl of Warwick, were granted by John Giffard to his college of Cotterstock.¹⁴ After the dissolution of the college they came into the hands of Mountjoy earl of Newport, lord of the manor of Fotheringhay, who in 1658 leased 'two corne mills, one wheat and one fulling mill as the same now are under one roof,' with cottages and land in Southwick, to Richard and Thomas Whitehead.¹⁵ The sole representative of these at present is the corn mill at Perio, but there was until 1721 also a paper mill, which was burnt down in that year.¹⁶

Southwick Hall is an interesting building possessing architectural work of every century from the 14th to the 19th. The oldest part of the house is the square block containing what is now called the 'Gothic Room,' beneath which is a vaulted cellar or store room. This block dates from about the middle of the 14th century or a little earlier. The vaulting ribs are widely chamfered, and spring from corbels consisting of grotesque heads carved with much spirit, but endowed with a somewhat melancholy expression. The windows of the lower room are as usual small. The room over this groined apartment has a flat ceiling supported by moulded beams. It has a small east window of two lights projecting beyond the face of the wall and carried on solid masonry from the ground upwards. In each side of the square bay thus formed is a recess, that on the south side being furnished with a piscina indicating that the room served the purpose of a chapel. In the wall opposite to the window is a fireplace of about the same date, with moulded jambs and grotesque heads corresponding with those in the room below. There are two other two-light windows in which are preserved some pieces of ancient heraldic glass. Attached to this building is a smaller one of somewhat later date, perhaps fifty years later; the lower floor of this is also groined, but the work is not so good as that in the larger room. At the junction of the two buildings there is a circular staircase within a half hexagonal projection, the date of which is contemporary with the smaller rooms. It has an outside door at the foot, and a door communicating with the

¹ Feet of F. Northants, 42 Hen. III, No. 711.

² Cott. Cleo. C. ii, 28.

³ Parl. Writs. ii, Div. iii, 391.

⁴ Chan. Inq. p.m. 5 Edw. II, No. 25; Orig. R. (Rec. Com.), i, 280.

⁵ Foss, Judges of England, iii, 451; Dict. Nat. Biog.

⁶ G. E. C. Peerage, i, 261.

⁷ Chan. Inq. p.m. 4 Ric. II, No. 32; Orig. R. (Rec. Com.), i, 218.

⁸ Blomefield, Norfolk, i, 378.

⁹ Feet of F. Northants, 20 Hen. VI, No. 107; Genealogist, i, 345, where there is a good pedigree of Lynnes. Also Bridges, ii, 470.

¹⁰ Genealogist, i, 345.

¹¹ Com. for Compounding, ii, 1352.

¹² Document in possession of the Rev. G. H. Capron.

¹³ See Cotterstock.

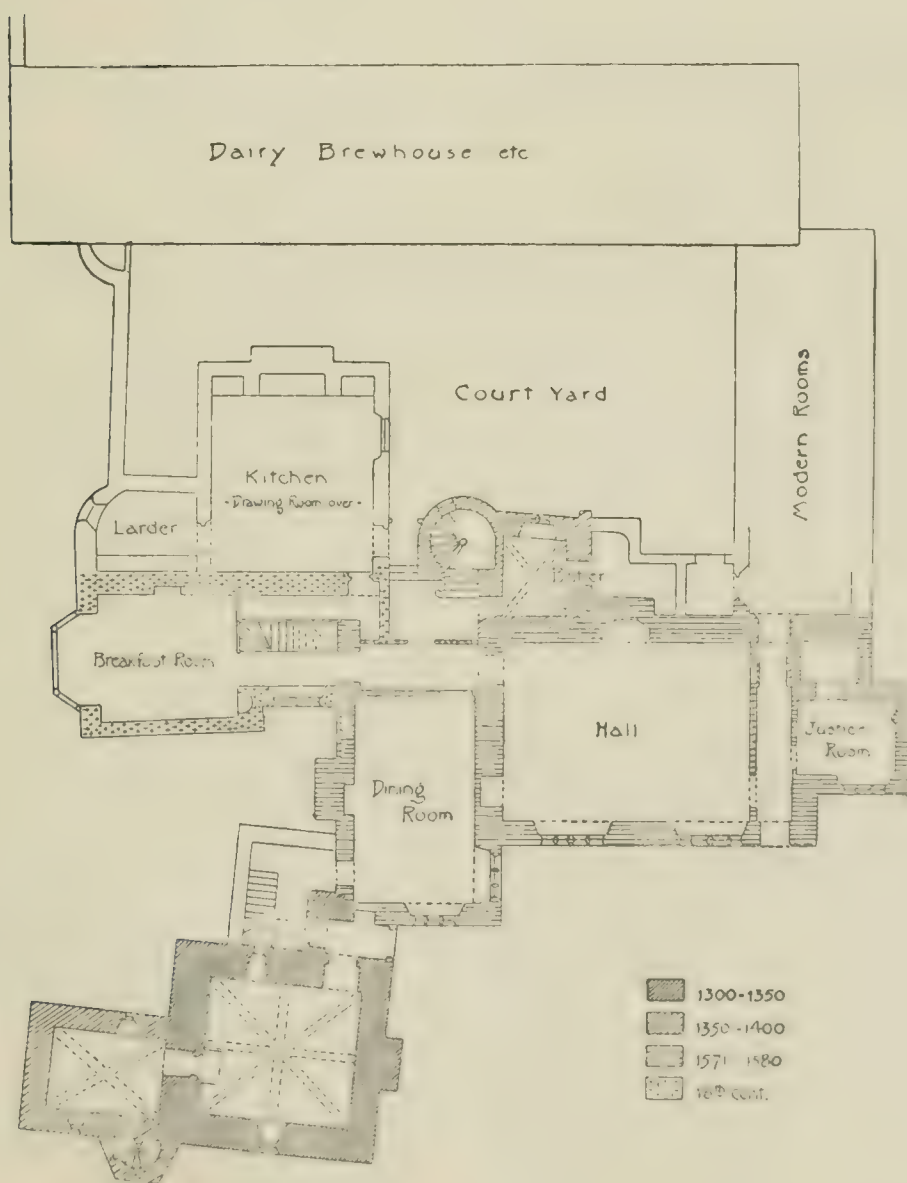
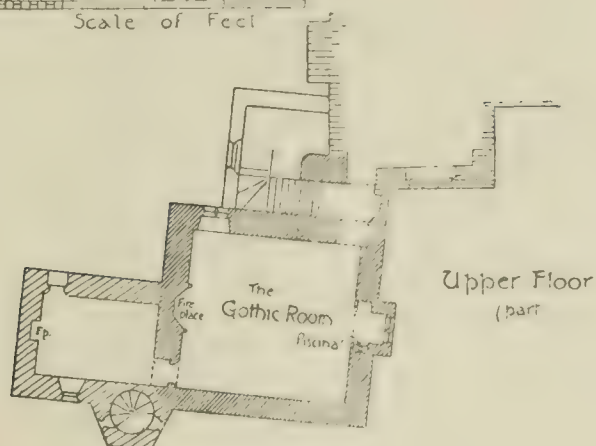
¹⁴ Harl. 45, I, 9.

¹⁵ Harl. 111, H. 18.

¹⁶ Bridges, ii, 474.

SOUTHWICK HALL

Scale of Feet



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room on the ground floor, but there is no opening into the room on the first floor. The stairs are continued up beyond this room to another on the second floor, and yet further up to the roof. There was a narrow range of buildings, now removed, running northwards from this smaller block; and remains still exist of a doorway leading into it from the room on the first floor. These mediaeval buildings are attached by a small lobby to the main body of the house, which is of Elizabethan date, as indicated by two date stones of 1571 and 1580 respectively, but some of the detail of this part of the house strongly resembles that at the neighbouring house at Ape-thorpe, which was executed in 1623-4.

At the back of the house is a circular staircase in a circular projection, and adjoining is a small vaulted room, now used as a butler's pantry. The character of this work points to its being of the same date as the smaller of the two mediaeval rooms already described, namely about the end of the 14th century; and it may be presumed that the mediaeval house occupied much the same area as the present structure.

Most likely the great hall occupies its original site, and the present entrance passage is the modern successor of the ancient 'screens.' Indeed the back doorway of this passage is a widely splayed gothic arch, which may well be the doorway of the original house. At present the house hardly extends eastwards beyond the entrance passage, save for the small 'Justice Room'; but it is on this side that the kitchen and servants' offices must have stood, although all traces of them have now disappeared. The present kitchen is of comparatively modern date. In the 18th century the house was panelled throughout and a certain number of structural alterations were made, all with a view to keeping abreast of the times. The work was evidently done by a painstaking man who put a little more than the usual detail into his cornices. Among other alterations of this period the circular staircase behind the hall was raised and newly roofed; the additional part was not built of stone, but of timber covered with vertical Collyweston slating, a very unusual method of construction. Since that period other alterations have been made from time to time, and the details of the architectural changes have been much obscured, but the house as it stands is a very interesting example of the development of domestic architecture.

The advowson of the church of *ADVOWSON* Southwick was granted by Henry I to the prebend of Nassington, and he also freed it from all secular exactions as a possession of the priory of St. Mary at Huntingdon.¹ There is no record of any arrangement being made between the prebend and priory, but the latter retained the advowson, which was confirmed to them by Pope Eugenius in 1147,² until the dissolution of the monastery by Henry VIII. After the dissolution of the priory the rectory, church, and the advowson of the vicarage of Southwick were granted by Edward VI to Thomas Reeve and George Cotton.³ They sold the advowson to Sir Edward Montague,⁴ in the following year. In the early part of the reign of James I it was in the hands of the Lynne family, and has since followed the descent of the manor.

The church of our Lady⁵ consists of *CHURCH* chancel, nave, and west tower with stone spire. It stands at the east end of the village, with the hall at no great distance to the east. The tower is faced with wrought stone, the rest of the church with dressed rubble. The chancel was rebuilt, and the nave almost entirely so, about 1760, the chancel arch and tower alone retaining their ancient form. The former has a pointed arch of three chamfered orders, with octagonal responds and moulded caps and bases, c. 1230, and is the oldest existing part of the building. The east and south windows of the chancel are of 14th-century style, and were inserted in 1840, replacing wide round-headed windows of 1760. There are square-headed doorways at the north-west and south-west of the chancel, and in the north wall a large round-arched recess containing the monument of George Lynn, 1758, a white marble figure holding an oval medallion with a portrait in low relief. In the south wall opposite this recess is a blocked round-headed arch corresponding to it, though not exactly; its original purpose is not now evident.

The nave has two windows and a door on the south, and three windows on the north, all in 14th-century style, and dating from 1840. They replace a doorway and windows of 1760.

The west tower is of the 14th century, and has an east arch of three orders with the wave moulding, octagonal capitals and fillets on the responds. The tower was designed to have a stone ribbed vault at this stage, but only the wall ribs and corbels now remain. The west window is of 1840, like the rest. In the second stage of the tower are single trefoiled lights on the north, south, and west, and on the east a doorway, formerly opening to the roof space of the old nave.

In the belfry stage are four windows, each of two trefoiled lights with transoms and a quatrefoil in the head.

The spire is crocketed, with two tiers of spire-lights in the cardinal faces, the lower having cinquefoiled lights with a quatrefoil over, and the upper trefoiled lights.

In several places on the tower are carved two shields, bearing a bend in an engrailed border (Knyvet), and barry of six in a border with bezants, which may be a variant of the Basset coat. This suggests that the tower was built by John Knyvet, chancellor of England, who died in 1381, and on architectural grounds a date of 1340-50 is likely.

There is a vice in the south-west angle of the tower, and the north-west angle seems to have failed, and is supported by a pair of heavy buttresses.

The roofs are plain, and probably date from 1760. That of the nave is of low pitch, leaded, and the chancel roof is covered with Collyweston slates. The pulpit is part of a 'three-decker' of the 18th century, and the altar rails are of about the same date; the east end of the chancel is covered with 17th-century panelling from the hall.

There is a small modern octagonal font with carved bowl.

Indents of two brasses remain in the floor, one having a 14th-century floriated cross, the other two

left his body to be buried in the churchyard of our Lady of Southwick. (Northampton Probate registry, Bk. B, fol. 115).

¹ *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1274; *Cart. Antiq.* H, No. 8.

² *Cott. Aug.* ii, 112.

³ *Pat. 6 Edw. VI*, pt. v.

⁴ *Com. Pleas. D. Enr. East.* 7 Edw. VI, m. 14.

⁵ Richard Smyth by will dated 1524

figures of 15th or early 16th century date. Parts of two small headstone crosses from graves in the churchyard have lately been found; one has the unusual feature of an Agnus carved on the shaft, and both are of the 14th century.

The plate consists of a silver communion cup, c. 1570, made by a smith whose mark is a fish on an oval, and who was probably a local craftsman, a cover paten undated, but of the 17th century, and a flagon with indistinct date-letter, perhaps 1667.

There are two bells, the smaller being blank. The other bears the mark of Thomas Newcombe the elder, of Leicester, and is inscribed +S+S+S+, i.e. Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus.

The registers begin at a late date; the first book contains baptisms and burials from 1732 to 1812, and marriages from 1732 to 1761, and the second, marriages from 1762 to 1812.

The rents of the poor's land, about **CHARITIES** ten acres in extent, in Lincolnshire amounting to £32, and dividends on £374 6s. 7d., consols (held by the official trustees) arising from the gifts of George Lynne and others, are distributed in gifts of fuel and clothing, except £2, which is used for educational purposes.

The official trustees also hold for the benefit of the poor a sum of £30 consols, arising from the redemption of a charge of 15s. upon a certain copyhold property in Spalding, Lincolnshire, containing 30 a. 1 r. 11 p., settled in 1691 by John Lynne, for the benefit of the vicar of Southwick.

Mrs. Mary Lynne, by will proved in London 23 November, 1840, bequeathed £500, now represented by £528 8s., consols (held by the official trustees), the dividends of which are applicable for the relief of persons in the ecclesiastical parish.

TANSOR

Tansoure (xi and xii cents.).

The parish of Tansor covers about 1,490 acres, of which 634 are arable, 735 pasture, and 10 woodland. It is very long and narrow, the northern portion being little more than a strip of land along the bank of the Nene, which forms the western boundary of the parish for some distance. It lies very low, only rising to 200 ft. above the ordnance datum in the extreme south-east. The subsoil is mixed, near the river it is alluvium; it then passes through great oolite and cornbrash in a south-easterly direction until it reaches Oxford clay. The productiveness of the soil varies considerably, that near the river being the richest. The population, numbering 203 in 1901, is entirely engaged in agriculture; gravel was worked to a small extent in the past.

The main road is that running from Oundle to Fotheringhay, a branch from it diverging south-east towards Lutton, and forming the main street of the village. The Northampton and Peterborough branch of the London and North Western Railway runs through the parish, the nearest station being at Oundle.

The village is situated on the right bank of the Nene, a little farther north than Cotterstock on the opposite bank, the church being close by the river bank. At the extreme south-east of the village is the church school, built in 1877. There is a disused windmill a short distance to the north. The manor house is occupied by Mr. Ronald Muntz, and the old rectory, now named Tansor Court, by Mr. J. Layton Mills. South of the village, on the outskirts of the parish, stands Tansor Lodge, the residence of Mrs. Richardson and Miss Cunningham.

The parish was enclosed in 1778. Among the place names found are Ringstock Close, Osier Holt, Dovecote Close, and Fleet Meadow.

In 1086 Tansor, held by the king, was **MANOR** assessed at six hides; this return probably included Southwick.¹ No further reference to the lordship has been found until the

12th-century survey of Northamptonshire, when five and a third hides in Tansor were held by Hascuil de St. James, probably identical with Hasculf de St. Hilary, whose grand-daughter and heiress, Maud, married Roger de Clare, third earl of Hertford.² Gilbert grandson of Roger became in right of his mother earl of Gloucester, and thus Tansor became part of the honour of Clare, held by the earls of Gloucester, the descent of which is given in the history of Glapthorn, part of the same fee.³ From the time of the overlordship of Roger earl of Hertford the division of the manor begins. He, according to a plea concerning the advowson of the church in 1211, granted to Robert son of Humphrey, grandfather to Ralph Camoys, half the vill of Tansor. The rest was apparently held by Roald son of Alan,⁴ constable of Richmond, who declared his ancestors had presented three parsons to the church before that date,⁵ and in the reign of Henry III, Roald son of Alan and Ralph Camoys were holding one fee in Tansor of the honour of Clare.⁶ The history of these two portions is separate; that held by the Camoys, which was no further divided, being the most important.

The Ralph Camoys to whom reference has been made was probably he who married Ascelina, heiress of the Torpel family, and died in 1259. He was succeeded by a son Ralph, who on his death about 1276 held half a fee in Tansor of the earl of Gloucester, from which he was bound to pay 20s. each to John Gifford and the prior of Perio.⁷ He was followed by a son John, and grandson Ralph, who in 1318 obtained from Edward II a grant of free warren in his demesne lands at Tansor.⁸ Thomas son of this Ralph died without surviving children, and his possessions passed to Thomas son of John Camoys, very probably his nephew.⁹ John was succeeded in 1420 by his grandson Hugh, who died, still a boy, in 1427, and his lands were divided between his two sisters and co-heirs, Margaret wife of Ralph Radmilde, and Eleanor wife of Roger Lewkenor.¹⁰ The latter received in 1433 from Roger

¹ *V.C.H. Northants*, i, 307a. See history of Southwick.

² *Ibid.* p. 362, 387b.

³ *G. E. C. Peerage*, iv, 222.

⁴ Alan son of Roald held a fee of the

Countess Maud de St. Hilary in 1166 (*Red Bk. of Exch.* p. 406).

⁵ *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), p. 82.

⁶ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), pp. 24, 34b, 35b.

⁷ *Ibid.* 5 Edw. I, No. 1.

⁸ *Chart. R.* 12 Edw. II, m. 14, No. 44.

⁹ *Orig. R.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 322; *Pat.*

1 Hen. IV, pt. ii, m. 37.

¹⁰ *Chan. Inq.* p. m. 9 Hen. V, No. 29; *ibid.* 5 Hen. VI, No. 26.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Camoy's son of Thomas Camoy's, no doubt her cousin, a release of all right he might have in the manor of Tansor.¹

For the next sixty years no reference has been found to this manor. About 1490 it was in possession of Sir Guy Wolston and Margaret his wife,² and from that time this portion of Tansor follows the descent of the manor of Apethorpe. Mr. Leonard Brassey of Apethorpe, who bought the manor from the Earl of Westmorland in 1904, is the present lord.

The history of the moiety of Tansor held in the reign of Henry III by Roald son of Alan is more complicated. It appears to have been divided at the end of that reign between the Tyndale and Giffard families. The Giffards' portion was the most important; it was known in the 15th century as the manor called Giffard's Thing in Tansor. The Giffards had some connexion with the Camoy's. The first mention of the family in connexion with Tansor is in 1247 when Osbert Giffard and Alice Murdac, in addition to extensive estates in other counties, held one carucate of land in Tansor of Ralph Camoy's.³ Osbert was succeeded by a son Osbert, who was followed by a John, described as of Twyford,⁴ in about 1276.⁵ This is probably the John Giffard to whom Ralph Camoy's was obliged to pay 20s. from his fee. John Giffard was one of the lords of Tansor in 1314 and 1315,⁶ and the service due to Ralph Camoy's from the Tansor fee of John Giffard le Boef of Twyford is referred to in a settlement of the Camoy's' portion of the manor about 1338.⁷ In 1383 Sir Thomas Giffard, son of John Giffard of Hellidon and Twyford, sold to John Holt the manor of Tansor, which William de Themelby and Alice his wife held for the life of Alice, formerly the wife of John Giffard.⁸ John Holt, who owned considerable property in Northamptonshire, became a justice of Common Pleas in 1383 and was knighted the following year. In 1387 he united with the rest of his colleagues in declaring the proceedings of the last Parliament illegal; for this he was arrested and only escaped the death penalty through the intercession of the prelates.⁹ Some of his lands, among them Tansor, were restored to his son John in 1390,¹⁰ and the sentence against him reversed in 1398. His son John appears to have died without heirs, for Sir John was succeeded by another son, Hugh, on his death in 1418.¹¹

From this date until the end of the 16th century the manor of Giffard's Thing in Tansor follows the same descent as Holt's manor in Cotterstock. Charles Norwich in the reign of Elizabeth sold that manor, but the Norwich family retained the land in Tansor until at least the middle of the 17th century.¹²

Another part of the half fee in Tansor held by Roald son of Alan passed with his interest in the advowson of the church to the Tyndale family. It was

apparently held by them at first for rent to Roald,¹³ but in 1315 Elias Tyndale appears as lord of Tansor with Ralph Camoy's and John Giffard.¹⁴ This small portion of land was further subdivided in the 14th century between two grand-daughters of Elias;¹⁵ in a settlement about 1409 one of these portions is described as 'half the manor of Tansor called Hallestede.'¹⁶ This land was probably that afterwards held by the Agards and Aprices. The Agards' land passed to the Nortons of Cotterstock;¹⁷ the Aprices are found in Tansor from the 16th to the end of the 17th century, and their land is occasionally called a manor.¹⁸

View of frankpledge in Tansor followed the same descent as that of Cotterstock until about 1575, when it was sold by Sir Thomas Brudenell to Sir Walter Mildmay, and it passed with the rest of the Mildmay possessions to the earls of Westmorland.¹⁹

The advowson of the church has a *ADVOWSON* rather complicated history. It was granted or confirmed by Henry I as part of the endowment of the prebend of Nassington in the church of Lincoln, to be held as fully and honourably as formerly by Levingus, the scribe of the king.²⁰ There is also a record among the documents at Lincoln of a grant by Simon earl of Northampton and Huntingdon of the church of Tansor as a perpetual benefaction to the prebend of Nassington.²¹ This possibly points to a grant of Tansor by the king to Simon de St. Liz earlier than that to Hasculf de St. Hilary; the gift may have been resumed by the crown on the death of Simon about 1109.²² The royal grant or confirmation to the prebend did not go unchallenged, for about 1212 a suit was heard between William of Lincoln, Roald, constable of Richmond, and Ralph Camoy's. William said he claimed nothing in the advowson, but he was parson there, as prebendary of Nassington by the gift of King Henry. Roald maintained that his ancestors had presented three parsons after that grant and that his father had presented the last parson. Ralph declared that Roger earl of Clare had given to his grandfather half the vill of Tansor and the lordship of the church and that Roger had presented the last parson. Judgement was given in favour of Roald.²³ After this date the claim of the Nassington prebendary to present lapses; probably some composition was made, for 2½ marks were paid to the prebendary on a presentation to half the church in 1216 and 5 marks were still paid to the prebend of Nassington from Tansor in 1535.²⁴ Roald son of Alan and his successors, the Tyndales, continued to present to half the church of Tansor until about 1324, when this half came into the possession of the dean and chapter of Lincoln.²⁵ The latter had presented in 1299 to half the church, perhaps the half to which Ralph Camoy's presented in 1268.²⁶ Soon after both parts of the church came into the hands of the dean

¹ Add. Chart. 2005.

² Feet of F. Northants, 7 Hen. VII.

³ Chan. Inq. p.m. 31 Hen. III, file 6, No. 11.

⁴ In Bucks. The same family owned land in Hellidon, Northants.

⁵ Feet of F. Div. Co. 4 Edw. I, No. 40.

⁶ Close, 8 Edw. III, m. 24; *Parl. Writs* (Rec. Com.), ii, Div. iii, 391.

⁷ Feet of F. Northants, 11 Edw. III, No. 161.

⁸ Ibid. 7 Ric. II, No. 55; De Banc. R. No. 491, m. 522.

⁹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

¹⁰ Pat. 14 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 35.

¹¹ Chan. Inq. p.m. 6 Hen. V, No. 43.

¹² Com. Pleas Rec. R. 1658, rot. 219.

¹³ Coram Rege R. 50 Hen. III, No. 176, m. 14 d.

¹⁴ *Parl. Writs* (Rec. Com.), vol. ii, Div. iii, 391.

¹⁵ De Banc. R. No. 533, m. 386.

¹⁶ Feet of F. Northants, 10 Hen. IV, No. 70.

¹⁷ Com. Pleas, D. Enr. Trin. 17 Edw. VI, m. 4 d.; Chan. Inq. p.m. (ser. 2), dxxx, 162.

¹⁸ Lay Subs. R. 1586; Feet of F. North-

ants, Mich. 19 Chas. II; *ibid.* Hil. 33-4 Chas. II.

¹⁹ Feet of F. Northants, Mich. 16 and 17 Eliz. See Apethorpe and Cotterstock.

²⁰ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1274.

²¹ Gordon, *Nassington-cum-Yarwell*, p. 16.

²² G. E. C. *Peerage*, vi, 67.

²³ *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), p. 82, 91.

²⁴ Harl. 6950, p. 25 d.; *Valor. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iv, 290.

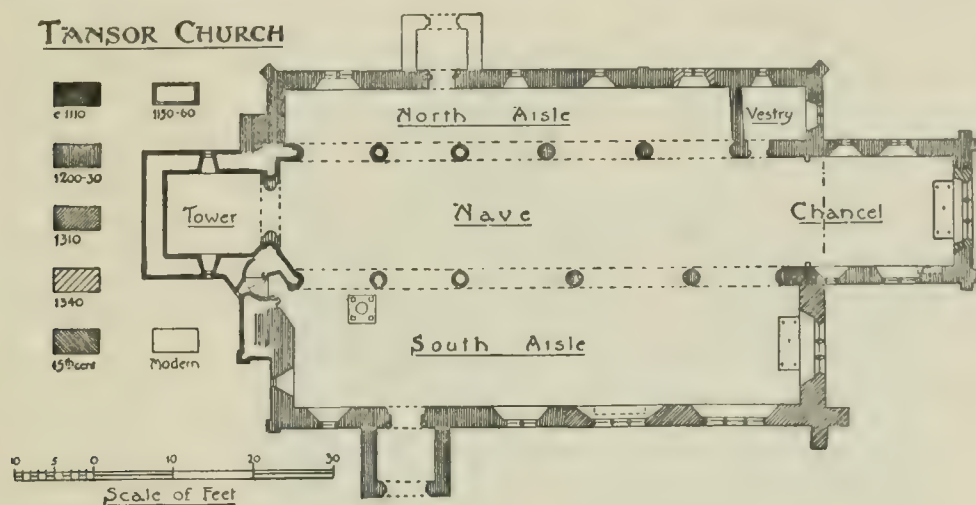
²⁵ Bridges, ii, 476; Harl. 6951, p. 13; Inq. a. q. d. file 170, No. 6.

²⁶ Harl. 6951, p. 34; Harl. 6950, p. 100 d.

and chapter they were united by Bishop Buckingham of Lincoln, because from 'pestilence and other causes the revenues were so shrunk as to be barely able to maintain one chaplain.'¹ The dean and chapter of Lincoln are now the patrons of the rectory.

The church of our Lady² stands at the **CHURCH** west end of the village, on the bank of a branch of the River Nene, which at this point is divided into two streams. The area of the churchyard is small, as the ground falls quickly to the water on the west and south. The road from Fotheringhay to Oundle forms the north boundary. The building, which has a chancel, nave with north and south aisles and porches, and west tower, shows traces of a series of developments, which would seem to be as follows: At the beginning of the 12th century the church consisted of an aisleless nave about 34 ft. long by 13 ft 6 in. wide internal measurement, and a chancel perhaps 11 ft. by 10 ft. This was probably a pre-Conquest building. About 1110-20 it was enlarged by the addition of a chancel some 29 ft. long, and of the full width of the nave, involving the removal of the older chancel. The proportions thus obtained are unusual, and, as it is clear that the area of

building is influenced by the steps taken to remedy this. The third enlargement began early in the 13th century, and involved the rebuilding of both aisles of the nave, the building of a new chancel at the east, and the addition of the area of the former chancel to that of the nave. The north aisle was rebuilt on the lines of the former north aisle, but lengthened eastward as far as the east end of the old chancel. A length of 8 ft. was cut off at the east to serve as a vestry, and the intervening space between the east respond of the existing north arcade of the nave and the west wall of the new vestry filled by two arches of equal span, continuing the old arcade eastward, the site of its east respond being occupied by a column, so that the eastern arch of the old arcade was not altered, but rested on a 13th-century pillar instead of its original respond. The half capital of this respond was re-used in the respond at the west of the new vestry, two bays to the east of its former position. In the south arcade the conditions were somewhat different, as there was no vestry on this side, and the distance to be spanned by the new arcade was consequently longer. An arch equal to those on the north was first set out at the east, but the space



the nave was not at this time prolonged eastwards, it is probable that the western part of the new chancel was treated as a crossing, with arches on the north and south to transepts. The church thus became a cruciform aisleless building, but without a tower over the crossing. Of the depth of the north transept no evidence remains, but if the south transept was of about the same depth as the chancel, a very likely proportion, its influence on the later development of the church can be clearly shown. The next step was the rebuilding of the nave, with north and south aisles and a west tower,³ about 1150-70. Of this work the north arcade of three bays remains intact, except for its east respond, and of the south arcade two bays remain. The tower survives with little alteration, but the aisles have been rebuilt, except perhaps the west end of the south aisle. The tower has a vice at the south-east, and probably for this reason the tower arch showed signs of failure from insufficient abutment soon after it was built, and the next state of the

between its west springing and the east respond of the old south arcade being too small for two more bays, and yet inconveniently large for one, the east arch of the old arcade was taken down, and the distance thus obtained spanned by two arches, wider indeed than those on the north, but not so much so as to throw the arcade out of scale.

At the west end of the nave the tower arch was supported by the insertion of a second arch within it, and further abutment was given by a large buttress on the north and the building-up of the end of the 12th-century aisle on the south with solid masonry, the vice being retained unaltered. The south aisle was widened, its south wall being probably built in a line with the south wall of the 12th-century transept, the west wall of which must have been removed at the time, and the area of the transept thrown into the aisle. The aisle was continued as far east as the north aisle, but whether the part east of the transept was as wide as the transept, or corresponded in width

¹ Epis. Reg. Linc. Buckingham Mem. pt. ii, 450.

² See will of William Dickson (dated 1527) in Northampton Probate Office, Bk. D, fol. 77.

³ It is possible that a west tower may have been added 1110-20, but no definite evidence can now be seen.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

to the north aisle, is doubtful. The east wall of the transept was in consequence either wholly or partly taken down at the time. The latter theory seems the more likely, as the final development of the plan by the rebuilding, in the beginning of the 14th century, of the eastern half of the south aisle, of equal width with the western half, follows naturally. The last remains of the south transept, the south and part of the east wall, would be destroyed by this process.

The arrangement of the windows in the south wall of the chancel shows that there could never have been a chancel arch at the west of the 13th-century chancel, and the plan of the church has remained unaltered to the present day. The levels follow the rise of the ground from west to east, and the upward slope of the floor at the east is very noticeable.

The structural chancel measures 18 ft. in length by 13 ft. 6 in., and has an inserted 15th-century east window of three wide cinquefoiled lights with tracery under a four-centred head. On either side of it are the jambs of 13th-century windows, the remains of an original triplet of lancets.

In the north wall are two 13th-century windows, that to the west being a lancet, and the other of two uncusped lights with a lozenge in the head. In the south wall are a similar pair of windows, but the two-light window is wider and has a circle in the head, and the lancet is further to the west.

The nave is 66 ft. long by 13 ft. 6 in. wide, but the ritual chancel extends 20 ft. into the nave, taking up the two eastern bays of the north arcade. This arcade is of six bays, of which the three to the east are of the 13th century, and the other three of the 12th. The arches in the three eastern bays are pointed and of two chamfered orders, the second and third from the east having circular shafts 1 ft. 6 in. in diameter with moulded capitals and bases, while the eastern bay, which is narrower than the others, has plain responds with a necking at the springing line, and is blocked below that line by a contemporary wall enclosing the vestry. In the spandrel between the first and second arches are to be seen parts of two labels belonging to windows or wall arcades of the early 12th-century chancel, and the capital of the east respond of the second bay is that of the east respond of the mid-12th-century north arcade of the nave, re-used as explained above.

The three western bays of the arcade are of the middle of the 12th century, with round arches of two square orders, square scalloped capitals and round shafts 1 ft. 8 in. in diameter.

The south arcade of the nave is of five bays, the first three from the east being of 13th-century date. The east respond, as on the north, has a re-used scalloped capital, and the two eastern bays are of the same detail as those on the north. The difference in spacing of the bays has been already explained, but it is to be noted that the remains of the eastern arch of the mid-12th-century arcade are used up in the third bay, which takes its place, and the capital between the second and third bays is a re-used scalloped capital in two stones with the joint running east and west; and may be made up of the two half-capitals of the responds of the former chancel arch. The tooling, however, is vertical on the southern half, so that the former may be a 13th-century copy made to match the latter, to complete the capital.

The two western bays of this arcade are of the

same date as those of the north arcade, and of similar detail.

Part of the south wall of the early 12th-century chancel remains at the east end of this arcade, with two strings with scallop and billet ornament, originally external, still in position. The nave clearstory is of the 14th century, having on each side three square-headed windows, each of two trefoiled ogee-headed lights.

The north aisle of the nave, 6 ft. 9 in. wide, belonging to the 13th century, has at its east end a vestry 8 ft. long, enclosed by dwarf walls of masonry on the west and south and lighted on the east by a two-light window, and on the north by a single light, both having re-used 12th-century labels. It is entered from the south by a doorway with a pointed arch having a line of dogtooth, and small angle-shafts on the jambs with nailhead on their capitals, much 'restored.'

West of the vestry is a two-light 14th-century window, probably inserted to light an altar which stood against the west wall of the vestry, and of which traces were found during some recent repairs. The remaining windows in the aisle are, on the north, two lancets east of the north doorway, and a two-light window with a modern quatrefoil in the head to the west of the doorway, and in the upper part of the west wall a small quatrefoiled opening with roll cusps, not in situ, as all this end of the aisle has been rebuilt. An external roll string runs round the aisle under the windows, breaking up under the two-light 14th-century window, and stopping on either side of a small pilaster buttress which is opposite the first pillar of the north arcade, while inside the church a similar string runs from the west as far as the west jamb of the eastern lancet window, where it meets a double-chamfered 12th-century string, re-used in the 13th century, which continues round the eastern half of the aisle.

A similar string is re-used in the eastern half of the south aisle, which belongs to the 14th-century, and as the building of both of these parts involved the removal of parts of the early 12th-century chancel and transepts, it is probable that the string belongs to that date, and was internal, as the character of the external strings, known from the remains existing at the south-east angle of the nave, does not correspond with the re-used work.

The north doorway, under a modern north porch, has a pointed arch of two orders, with zigzag on both orders and the label, and ringed nook-shafts in the jambs with foliage capitals.

The south aisle is 15 ft. wide, and its eastern half dates from the beginning of the 14th century, with a large three-light window at the east and two on the south, very widely splayed inside. The western half is of the 13th century, and has a two-light window east of the doorway, and a single light to the west, and in the west wall a small lancet low in the wall. The north half of this wall projects 3 ft. 10 in. westward beyond the rest, and appears to be the west end of the mid-12th-century aisle, left standing when the rest was destroyed, for reasons given above.

The south doorway has a pointed arch of two orders, with dogtooth on the outer order and label, and nook-shafts with moulded capitals. The south porch has been much renewed, but seems to be in part of the 13th century, though later than the doorway, as the external string on the aisle walls below



TANSOR CHURCH : THE CHANCEL AND EAST END OF NAVE

the window sills runs through to the label of the doorway.

The west tower is so covered with ivy that nothing can be said of its external features, but it has on the ground stage a small round-headed light on the north and south, and in the upper stage a two-light opening on each face with central and jamb-shafts, the main and subordinate arches being in some cases round, and in others pointed, and the heads pierced with vesica-shaped openings. The tower arch, of the same character as the western arches of the nave arcades, is underbuilt with a pointed 13th-century arch with moulded capitals. Over it was a round-headed opening to the church from the second stage of the tower, now built up and half destroyed, no doubt by the failure of the foundations which brought about the 13th-century alterations. At the south-east angle is a stone vice of the same date as the tower, stopping at the first floor.

The wooden roofs and fittings of the church are modern, except for some 15th-century open benches with fleur-de-lis poppy-heads at the west end of the south aisle. Under the tower are the remains of a 15th-century screen, and the pulpit is of the beginning of the 17th century. An interesting fragment of a moulded 13th-century beam, with a line of dog-tooth, is also preserved in the church, and on either side of the chancel are three 15th-century oak stalls with carved misericorde seats, formerly in Fotheringhay church.¹ Two on the south side have the falcon and fetterlock. Another similar stall is on the north side of the altar, having the three feathers on its seat.

The altar rails are of the late 17th century, and the communion table is of the same date. It stands on a mediaeval altar slab, and at the east end of the south aisle is a second altar slab.

In the north wall of the chancel is a square locker, and in the south a double piscina with a central shaft and two pointed arches under a pointed head. In the head is an arched recess 10 in. high by 7½ wide.

In the east wall of the south aisle are two plain brackets, and in the south wall, half way down the aisle, a plain round-headed piscina, which seems to be a 12th-century example re-used. It points to a division of this wide aisle into chapels.

The font has a bowl square below and octagonal above, carried on four octagonal angle-shafts, and one in the centre. Three of the shafts have foliage capitals, and originally the whole was of the 12th century, but the bowl has been altered, if not renewed, in the 14th century, and one of the shafts has been replaced by a piece of a circular shaft, without a capital. On the base of the bowl are large ballflowers.

There is no ancient glass or wall-painting, but on the western arches of the nave is a modern copy of an ancient foliage pattern.

On the north wall of the chancel is a small brass to John Colt, rector, 1440, with a figure in mass vestments; and under the second window in the south wall of the south aisle is a recess for a tomb.

The plate consists of a silver cup and paten of London make, c. 1840, and two pewter plates, also modern. The old plate was stolen just before this date.

There are three bells, the treble being a late 16th-century bell from the Newcombe's foundry at Leicester, the second by Tobie Norris of Stamford, 1611, and the tenor, a mediaeval bell by a London founder who uses a shield with a form of merchant's mark. It is inscribed 'Sit Nomen Dmini Ihesu . . . enedicum' (*sic*).

The registers begin in 1629. The first book contains baptisms and burials from 1629 to 1812 and marriages from 1639 to 1768; the second marriages from 1769 to 1812.

Tansor shares in Bellamy's charity, *CHARITIES* £5 a year being expended in apprenticing children of the village.²

The Town Estate, concerning which no records exist, is described in the Award Map of the Lordship of Tansor, 1778, as 'Poor of Tansor 15a. 3r. 10p.,' and produces about £19 a year, which is distributed to the poor in fuel. The charity is regulated by a scheme of the Charity Commissioners dated 20 August, 1886.

Cave's charity, supposed to have been founded by deed in 1819, consists of certain land, the profits of which, amounting to about £7, are expended in clothing for the poor.

The rent of the poor's land, containing 3a. 3r., allotted on the enclosure in 1778, amounts to about £3, and is distributed to the poor in money.

WOODNEWTON

Niwetone (xi cent.) ; Newton (until xiii cent.).

The parish of Woodnewton covers about 1,396 acres. The Willow brook passes right through the parish, forming the boundary between Woodnewton and Apethorpe for some distance on the west. The parish lies low, but rises gradually to a height of 200 ft. above the ordnance datum in the north. It is rather bare of trees, and not particularly attractive from a scenic point of view, but interesting because of the growing industries of dairy farming and market gardening by small holders; the latter an uncommon occupation in this district. The population numbered 271 in 1901. There are 678 acres of arable land, and 454½ of pasture. The subsoil is great and inferior oolite, which cross it in diagonal bars.

There are several old gravel pits in the north. The principal roads run from Woodnewton north-east to Nassington, north-west to Apethorpe, and south-east and south-west to Fotheringhay and Southwick.

The village of Woodnewton is built all of stone along one street parallel to the Willow brook, which skirts it on the south. The church, the vicarage, the national school, and the mill are grouped at the western end; the manor-house, an unattractive 18th-century building, is a little farther down the street on the north side, and nearly opposite is a Wesleyan chapel, built in 1840.

The men of Woodnewton had common in the bailiwick of Clive in the forest of Rockingham, for in 1636 Christopher Desborough, the tenant of a

¹ There were formerly twelve here (Bonney, *Fotheringhay*, p. 67). Two were taken to Benefield, but the other three have disappeared.

² See Cotterstock.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

message and land in Woodnewton, successfully claimed pasture for his beasts there.¹ Woodnewton was probably included in the vicinage of King's Cliffe, whose right of common was confirmed by Henry III.² On the enclosure of the bailiwick of Clive in 1805 landowners in Woodnewton were compensated for the right of common, which was thereby extinguished.

The parish was enclosed in 1778. There is a copy of the award in the Apethorpe estate office. Among the field names found in this parish are Stepping End, King's Ground, Prior's Hawe, the Shutes and Lank hills.

The early history of *WOODNEWTON MANOR* is wrapped in obscurity. The entry in

Domesday that Rainald holds of Eustace three hides in Newton formerly held by Norman almost certainly refers to this village, though no hundred is given, for both the other Newtons in the county are entered elsewhere, and in the 12th-century survey, under Willybrook, Robert de Cerveya is said to hold the same amount of land of the fee of Marmion in Newton.³ Eustace was sheriff of Huntingdon, his fief or much of it appears to have returned to the crown at his death. He was followed in part of his lands at Polebrook by Roger Marmion, and possibly here also, but there is no other evidence than the quotation from the survey given above.⁴ In 1166-7 there is reference in the Pipe Roll to an allowance to Reginald son of Urse⁵ in connexion with Newton. This probably refers to Woodnewton, for it was certainly held later by the FitzUrse family and this may possibly have been the date when they acquired it.⁶ The Engaines, one of whom married Margaret daughter of Richard son of Reginald FitzUrse, were mesne tenants of Woodnewton at the end of the 12th century.⁷ Margaret in 1195-6 gave up her right to dower in Woodnewton to her son Richard Engaine for a yearly pension.⁸ Vitalis, second son and heir of Richard, died in 1248 seised of land in Woodnewton, and Bulwick held of Reginald FitzUrse for the service of half a knight's fee.⁹ Henry the eldest son and heir of Vitalis bestowed the manor of Woodnewton on the priory of Fineshade, founded by Richard Engaine in the time of John. The priory in return was to maintain thirteen poor persons and two priests to celebrate for ever for the souls of Henry and his relations.¹⁰ This grant was confirmed by John son of John Engaine, nephew of Henry.¹¹ In the reign of Edward IV the priory leased their 'manor' at Woodnewton to Sir Guy Wolston. Probably 'manor' here means the house, as the prior apparently retained the court.¹² Sir Guy also held some land in Woodnewton in chief which was once of the fee of Richard Basset and afterwards appurtenant to the manor of Apethorpe, and another small part of the prebend of Nassington.¹³ These all followed the descent of the manor of Apethorpe and were granted as the manor of Woodnewton to Sir Walter Mildmay in 1551.¹⁴ The real manor of

Woodnewton was granted after the dissolution of the priory of Fineshade to Edward Lord Clinton the same year.¹⁵ He immediately sold all his rights there to Mildmay, who thus became possessed of the whole lordship.¹⁶ From this date the descent of the manor follows that of Apethorpe. View of frankpledge in Woodnewton belonged to the crown until the 16th century, when it was included in the grant to both Lord Clinton and Sir Walter Mildmay.

A mill in Woodnewton rendering 64*d.* is mentioned in Domesday.¹⁷ Half a mill there was part of the grant of Henry Engaine to Fineshade,¹⁸ the other half was also bestowed on the priory by Richard Knyvet, lord of Southwick, in 1344.¹⁹

Woodnewton church in the time *ADVOWSON* of Henry I was made part of the endowment of the prebend of Nassington.²⁰ From that time until the dissolution of the prebend in 1845 under the Ecclesiastical Commissioners' Act of 1836, Woodnewton was accounted a member of Nassington.²¹ It is now annexed to Apethorpe, and served by the same incumbent, under the patronage of the bishop of Peterborough.

The church of our Lady stands on *CHURCH* high ground at the west end of the village street, the churchyard being bounded by the street on the south and a narrow road leading northwards to Apethorpe on the west. The plan is cruciform, with chancel 25 ft. by 16 ft. crossing 18 ft. by 16 ft., south transept 16 ft. 6 in. square, nave 36 ft. long with south aisle 14 ft. wide, south porch and west tower. The crossing and chancel are the oldest parts, and belong to the end of the 12th century. The width of the crossing, about 16 ft., probably represents that of an early nave, the east wall of which was on the line of the west wall of the present south transept, and its chancel, narrower of course than the nave, within the lines of the crossing. The side walls of the nave were prolonged eastward about 1180 to 1190, the old chancel pulled down, and its area thrown into the nave, a new chancel, of the full width of the nave, being built to the east of it, and transepts added on either side of the new east end of the nave. The extra thickness of the walls at this point suggests that a central tower was part of the new design; but there are no traces of eastern and western tower arches at present, and if the tower was ever built it must have been destroyed at or before the building of the present chancel arch and clearstory. About 1220 a south aisle was added to the nave, its south wall being built on the line of that of the south transept, and a south arcade set up just outside the line of the old south wall of the nave. The north side of the nave seems to have been treated in the same way, as regards the arcade, in the first half of the 14th century, but the evidence is not complete, as the north transept, arcade, and aisle have been destroyed. A

¹ Chan. Forest Proc. (anc.), bdle. 59, No. 61.

² Close, 14 Hen. III, m. 21*d.*

³ *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 349*b*, 388*a*.

⁴ *Ibid.* Intro. to Dom.

⁵ He returned his fief under Northants in 1166, as having been held by his father Richard *temp.* Hen. I (*Red Bk. of Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), p. 334).

⁶ Pipe R. 13 Hen. II, rot. 8, m. 2.

⁷ *Genealogist* (new ser.), vi, 1.

⁸ Feet of F. Northants, 7 Ric. 1, No. 6.

⁹ Chan. Inq. p.m. Hen. III, file 9, No. 3.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 3 Edw. I, No. 34. See History of Fineshade in Article on Religious Houses.

¹¹ Add. Chart. 22081.

¹² Rentals and Surv. R. 529; Ct. R. (gen. ser. P. R. O.), bdle. 195, No. 104.

¹³ Esch. Accts. (ser. 2), file 682; Partic. for grants, Aug. Off. No. 792.

¹⁴ Pat. 5 Edw. VI, pt. iii, m. 26.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* pt. vii.

¹⁶ Close, 5 Edw. VI, pt. v, No. 13.

¹⁷ *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 349*b*.

¹⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. 3 Edw. I, No. 34.

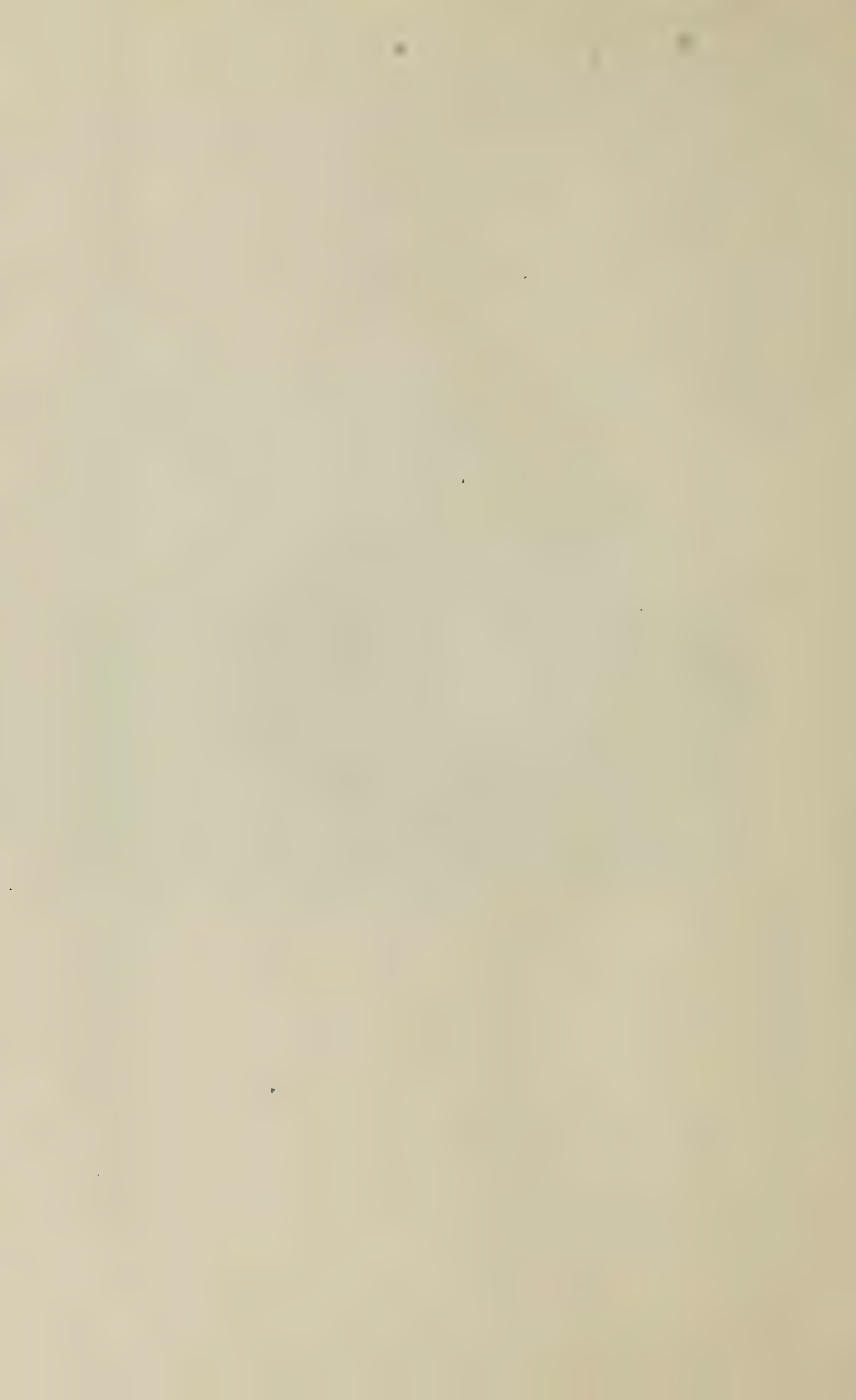
¹⁹ Pat. 18 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 13; Inq. a.q.d. file 274, No. 1.

²⁰ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1274.

²¹ *Lond. Gaz.* Jan. 10, 1865, p. 123.



WOODNEWTON CHURCH FROM THE SOUTH



chancel arch was inserted at the west end of the chancel in the 15th century, and a clearstory added to the nave. The present west tower is not earlier than the end of the 16th century, and though there must have been an earlier tower, nothing of it is now to be seen.

In the 17th century, after the destruction of the north transept, arcade, and aisle, a north wall to the nave was built on the line of the north arch of the crossing, the arch itself being walled up.

The chancel has a late 15th-century east window of three cinquefoiled lights. In the north and south walls are widely splayed lancets, two in each wall, and at the level of their sills a keeled string runs round the chancel inside. The lancets have external labels, plain on the north side, but ornamented with dogtooth on the south, being the side which is seen from the road. There is a round-headed south doorway towards the west of the chancel, with zigzag on the angles of the head and jambs, and west of it a blocked low side window 10½ in. wide and 3 ft. 8 in. high, with a semicircular head, apparently contemporary with the doorway, and therefore a very early example. At the south-west of the chancel is a double piscina with two drains and trefoiled arches, with a sunk quatrefoil over. In the north wall is a square locker.

The chancel arch is of late 15th-century date, in a wall only 17 in. thick, inserted between the side walls of the chancel. It is possible that it took the place of an eastern tower arch, if such ever existed, and the addition of a clearstory about the same time points in the same direction, but no decisive evidence remains.

The blocked arch of the destroyed north transept is semicircular, of two chamfered orders, with octagonal capitals and square abaci. On the outside of the church at this point are the 14th-century corbels and responds of the east arch of the north arcade, and the arch from the north aisle to the transept. The north wall of the nave has two square-headed mullioned windows of four lights, of the 17th century.

The arch to the south transept is semicircular, of two square orders with plain square capitals and hollow-chamfered abaci. In its east respond is a large moulded bracket, and above it a recess made by the bonding to the wall of an image which stood on the bracket. The east and south windows of the transept are of three lights with mullions intersecting in the head, the detail is coarse and badly worked, and they probably date from an 18th-century rebuilding of the transept. In the south wall of the transept is a trefoiled piscina recess, without a drain, probably reset at the rebuilding. In the west wall of the transept is a pointed arch of two chamfered orders, with a half-round shaft on the south respond, and a cone corbel on the north. The capitals have a line of nailhead, and the arch dates from the building of the south arcade and aisle, about 1220.

The south arcade is of three bays and has half-round responds, one of the columns of the arcade being round and the other of four engaged shafts. The capitals have a line of nailhead and on the bell of the capital of the eastern respond are projecting human heads. At the north angle of this respond are traces of what may be the bowl of a piscina. There are three clearstory windows over the arcade,

and two over each of the transept arches, all of late 15th-century date, but there are none in the rebuilt north wall of the nave.

In the south wall of the south aisle are two late 13th-century windows of excellent design and detail; the one east of the south doorway being of three lights with three circles above, under a straight-sided equilateral head. The central main light is uncusped, the side lights having soffit cusps, and the circles have been six-foiled, but the cusping is now for the most part destroyed. The second window, west of the doorway, is of two lights with a single circle in the head, and the arch is of ordinary form. In the west wall is a blocked lancet.

The south doorway has a round arch of two orders, with dogtooth on the label and angles, and jambs with nailhead capitals. The porch over it is of about the same date, with a fine outer arch with dogtooth on the labels and arch; but the responds have lost their shafts.

Over the inner doorway is a trefoiled niche, and the door itself is ancient, but covered with modern woodwork on the outside. Part of an ancient dial exists on the porch.

The tower opens to the nave with a low semicircular arch, 5 ft. wide, of three orders. The moulded capitals of the south respond have details which might belong to the latter part of the 13th century, but those of the north respond are very rough, and probably the whole arch is built up out of old materials.¹ It is set much to the south of the centre-line of the tower, which is massive and plain, with embattled parapet and re-used 15th-century angle pinnacles, the belfry windows having two round-headed lights under a flat head. There are small windows in the west wall on the ground and second stages.

The roofs are of little interest, that of the south aisle having some moulded timbers of the late 15th century, but no other woodwork is older than the 17th century, unless it be the rail of the chancel screen. There are some 17th-century pews on the south side of the nave, and the communion table and a two-desk revolving lectern are also old.

The font stands at the west of the first pier of the south arcade; it has a large octagonal bowl on a moulded base, and no stem, and shows traces of alteration.

In the south window of the south transept are a few pieces of ancient glass, and over the tower arch is a painting of a shield with a city wall and four towers.

The church plate consists of a silver cup of 1714, two plated patens, two pewter plates, and a brass basin.

The registers begin in 1588, the first book containing baptisms, marriages, and burials from that date to 1656, 1648, and 1658 respectively. The second records baptisms from 1657 to 1691 and burials from 1663 to 1690. There are no marriages in this volume. The third, baptisms and burials from 1691 to 1751 and marriages from 1700 to 1746. The fourth, baptisms and burials from 1738 to 1812 and marriages from 1738 to 1754. The fifth, marriages from 1754 to 1812.

¹ It may be made from the materials of a west doorway, dating from a time when no west tower existed, and now set reversed in the wall.

A HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Woodnewton shares in the charity *CHARITIES* of Lady Grace Mildmay, the annual rent charge of £9, and the dividends on a sum of £107 15s. 10d. consols held by the official trustees of charitable funds, being allotted to

this village from the fund to be used in apprenticing poor children.¹

The Church Estate, of unknown origin, which consists of 16 acres and two cottages, produces about £22 a year, which is used for church purposes.

YARWELL

Yarewell (frequently from xi to xiii cent.).

The parish of Yarwell, covering about 1,210 acres, lies very low, never rising to more than 100 ft. above the ordnance datum, and in the eastern part near the River Nene, which here often overflows its banks, it is in some places less than 50 ft. above that standard. The village and the north of the parish are on a subsoil of inferior oolite, the western portion and that near the river is on great oolite. The topsoil is principally clay and produces wheat, barley, beans, and roots. There are 533½ acres of arable land, and 300½ of pasture.

The main road through the parish runs from Nassington towards Wansford. Near the village a branch

west. On the same side, not far from the church, is a house which must once have been of some architectural interest, but only the lower part now stands. Between the village and the Nene remains of Roman buildings have been found.²

Yarwell mill, on the Nene just on the border of the parish of Nassington, is almost the only detached building in the parish.³

YARWELL is not mentioned in *Domesday*; it was probably included in the assessment for Nassington. The manor exactly follows the descent of that of Nassington except that in the 15th and 16th centuries Sir Guy Wolston and his heirs held the whole manor or almost all of it to farm of the queens of England, while they only held a portion of Nassington. This accounts for the two grants to Sir Walter Mildmay, one in 1551 of the manor of Yarwell, late the possession of Charles Lord Mountjoy, and one two years later of the manor of Yarwell, late the possession of Lady Katherine, queen of England.⁴

A court-leet for this manor is held by a steward of Mr. Leonard Brassey, the present lord, every year in November at the 'Angel' in Yarwell.

Some land in Yarwell formed part of the endowment of the prebend of Nassington; it now belongs to Lord Carysfort.⁵

A messuage and land were held in Yarwell by the serjeanty of being forester of the bailiwick of Sulehay in the

forest of Clive. In the reign of Henry III Henry and Gilbert of Yarwell each held a virgate of land in Yarwell for the service of being foresters of fee in the bailiwick of Clive.⁶ In 1252 Robert and Henry of Yarwell, foresters in fee of the bailiwick of Clive, were declared to be quit of appearing at the sheriff's tourn.⁷ Robert died in 1269, leaving his share of the forestership and one virgate of land in Yarwell to his son William.⁸ The forestership continued to be held by two members of the Yarwell family, each holding in return a messuage and one virgate of land in Yarwell until the 14th century, when both foresters, at that date Thomas of Yarwell and John of Yarwell, sold the forestership and land to John Tyndale, who became lord of the manor of Helpston.⁹ The forestership continued in this family until some time in the 15th century, when it was



VILLAGE STREET, YARWELL.

from this road towards the west connects with roads to Woodnewton and King's Cliffe. There are several quarries in the south of the parish, and until lately a large number of stone-masons lived in Yarwell. The population, 250 in 1901, is now almost entirely engaged in agriculture.

The enclosure award for Yarwell dated 1778 is in the custody of the vicar of Nassington. Among the place-names found in this parish are Sammocks Hill, Branston's Waldon, the Slip, Gosemore Gappe, and Wedurhawe.

The small stone-built village has but one street, branching to the east off the main road from Nassington to Wansford. The church is to the south-east and near it is a mixed church school built in 1878, while a Wesleyan chapel dated 1840 stands on the north side of the street some distance to the

¹ See Apethorpe.

² *V. C. H. Northants*, i, 175.

³ For history of mill see Nassington.

⁴ Pat. 5 Edw. VI, pt. iii; Pat. 7 Edw. VI, pt. ii.

⁵ See Nassington.

⁶ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.) p. 28.

⁷ Misc. Inq. Hen. III, bdle. 7, No. 14.

⁸ Chan. Inq. p.m. Hen. III, file 36, No. 8.

⁹ Ibid. 32 Edw. III (2nd Nos.) No. 32; Pat. 15 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 31. For Tyndales see Helpston.

transferred to Sir Guy Wolston, and from him passed to William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, and so to the crown in the same way as the manor of Apethorpe. The forestership and land were granted by Edward VI to John earl of Bedford for the life of himself and his son Francis. Their reversion was granted by Philip and Mary to Sir Walter Mildmay in 1558,¹ and it remained with his descendants, lords of the manor of Apethorpe. Sulehay Woods lie in the north of the parish of Yarwell; they were formerly an extra-parochial district in Rockingham Forest. Old Sulehay Lodge and New Sulehay Lodge, the official residences of the foresters of the bailiwick, are both just within Nassington parish.

The church of St. Mary Magdalene **ADVOWSON** at Yarwell has always had the same incumbent as Nassington, but is a separate parish. It is served by a curate of Nassington-cum-Yarwell, who is appointed by the vicar of Nassington.

The church is dedicated in honour of St. **CHURCH** Mary Magdalene, and stands on the south side of the village street, on ground sloping down eastwards to the valley of the River Nene. The churchyard extends an equal distance north and south of the church, and adjoining it on the west is a narrow strip of ground on which the old vicarage house formerly stood. The church is a 13th-century building, with chancel and north and south chapels, nave, and west tower. The nave formerly had north and south aisles, but after the fall of the north aisle in 1782, the south aisle was pulled down, and the arcades built up as at present.²

The east window of the chancel is of three cinquefoiled lights under a straight-sided four-centred head of the beginning of the 16th century, but the lower parts of its internal jambs belong to a wider window of earlier date.

The chapels open to the chancel by arcades of two bays, with obtuse pointed arches of two chamfered orders, circular shafts, and moulded capitals which have a line of nailhead ornament on the north arcade, but not in the south; the details of the latter are altogether inferior to those of the former. The north chapel has a stone bench along the north and east walls, and two plain windows on the north of one and two lights with square heads, the stonework being modern. In the south chapel is a similar bench, and in the west wall a blocked arch, which formerly opened to the destroyed south aisle of the nave. It has also two windows on the south, of no great antiquity. The chancel arch has plain chamfered orders with half-round capitals, responds, and bases, the details being like those of the arcade in the north chapel. The nave is of three bays, contemporary with the chancel, the arches being walled up with 18th-century masonry, and plain 'factory' windows with iron frames inserted, the heads of the arches forming the heads of the windows. As in the chancel the details of the north arcade, though of the same general arrangement and date, are superior to those of the south arcade, and have in addition a line of nailhead ornament. The doorways in the blocking of the middle bays on the north and south sides are of the date of the windows, with plain round heads. The tower appears to have been in a great measure rebuilt in the 17th or 18th century, and has a plain parapet and belfry windows of two uncusped four-

centred lights under a square head. The west window of the lower stage is of two lights with a circle in the head; part of the tracery seems to be old work re-used. The tower arch is semicircular, of no great age, and partly blocked; the lower parts of the jambs of a former tower arch remain.

The church contains no old woodwork or fittings. The chancel and chapel roofs are new, and the nave roof has plain king-post trusses dating from the alterations of the end of the 18th century. The roofs are covered with Collyweston slates, and on the gable of the chancel is an old gable cross, which may be of the 14th century.

There is no old glass, but on the west side of the chancel arch are remains of a chequer-pattern in red and buff, and other traces of colouring, stopping against the line of a screen or partition on the soffit of the inner order. There are also traces of colour on the arcade of the south chapel, and of false jointing in red on that of the north. The font is modern, with a small octagonal bowl on an octagonal shaft.

In the north chapel is an altar tomb with a black marble slab, to Humphrey Bellamy, 1715, known as the 'Beggar Boy's' tomb.

The plate consists of a silver cup of 1786, and a paten given by Mrs. Margaret Arney in 1701. The date letter on the cup is indistinct, but may be 1702.

There are three bells, the treble being mediaeval, by an unknown founder. It bears the letters 'H' in black letter smalls. The second is dated 1714, and the tenor is by Joseph Eayre of St. Neots, 1754.

The earliest registers are entered in 1572, the first book containing baptisms from 1579 to 1643, from 1649 to 1714, and from 1722 to 1748; marriages from 1572 to 1637, from 1639 to 1646, from 1654 to 1673, and from 1699 to 1709; burials from 1579 to 1645, from 1654 to 1709, and from 1721 to 1748. This book is very carelessly kept, and there are numerous gaps. In the middle are minutes of various vestry meetings from 1621 to 1640. The second book comprises baptisms and burials from 1751 to 1799, and marriages from 1752 to 1753; the third book contains marriages from 1754 to 1812.

There are two books of churchwardens' accounts; the first from 1684 to 1807, and the second from 1807 to 1833.

CHARITIES Yarwell receives the annual rent charge of £9, and the dividends on £107 15s. 10d. consols (held by the official trustees), in respect of Lady Grace Mildmay's benefaction for apprenticing poor children of the village.³

The Church and Poor's Estate produces £31 10s., of which £16 15s. is used for church repairs, and the rest distributed to the poor in money.

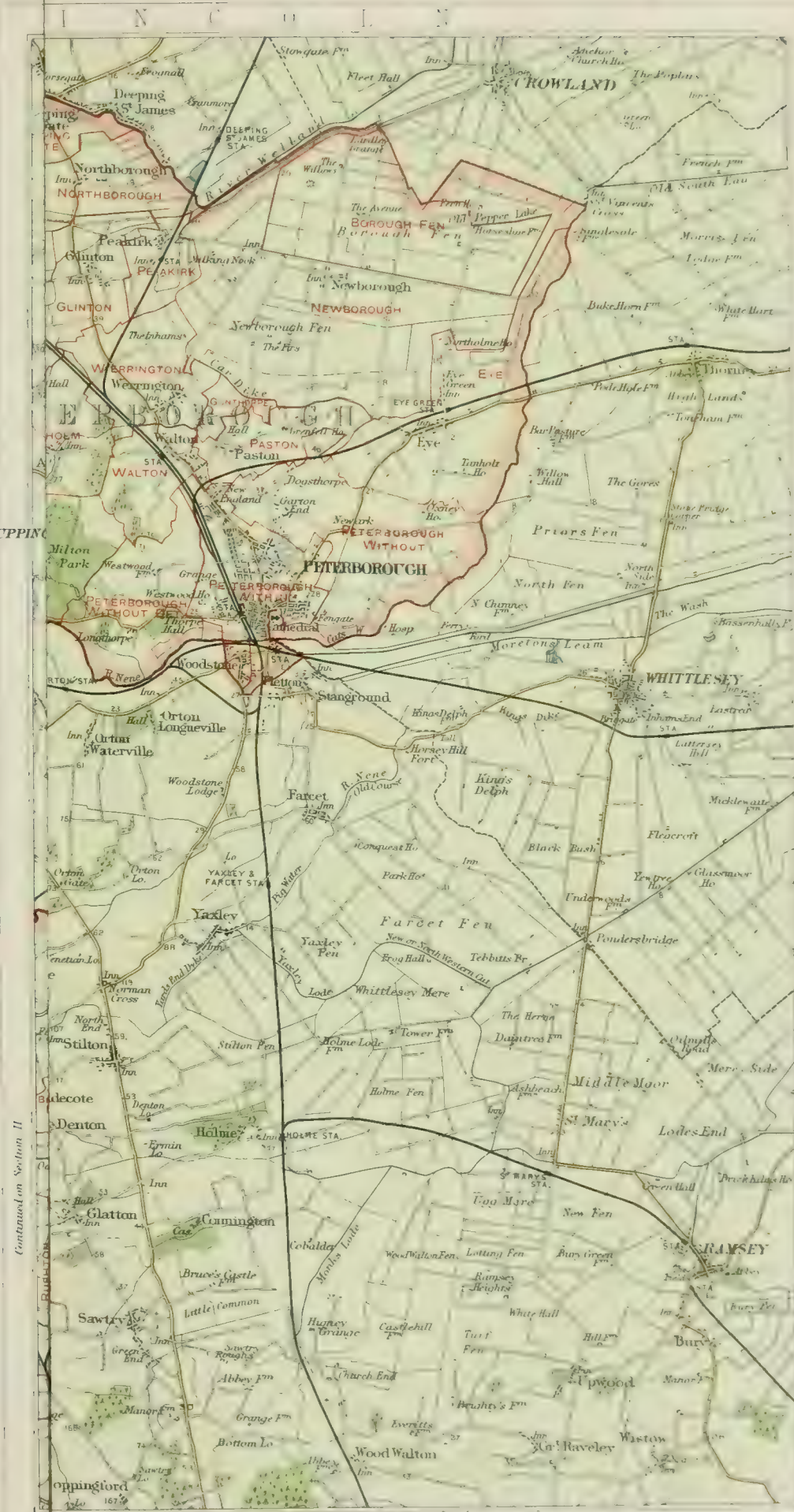
Benefactions amounting to £40, given by persons named Cannon and Arney, produce £1 3s. 4d. a year, which is distributed to the poor.

There is also a fund known as the 'Beggar Boy's Bread Money,' to which a local legend is attached. It is said that a poor beggar boy named Humphrey Bellamy coming through Yarwell was so kindly treated that he vowed if he ever became rich he would be buried at Yarwell and leave money to the poor. In 1715, when a London merchant, he gave £10 to the poor, the interest of which is known as 'Beggar Boy's Money.' He was buried at Yarwell, in the tomb still existing in the church.

¹ Pat. 3 and 4 Phil. and Mary, pt. iii, m. 33.

² From notes by the late R. P. Brereton.

³ See Apethorpe.

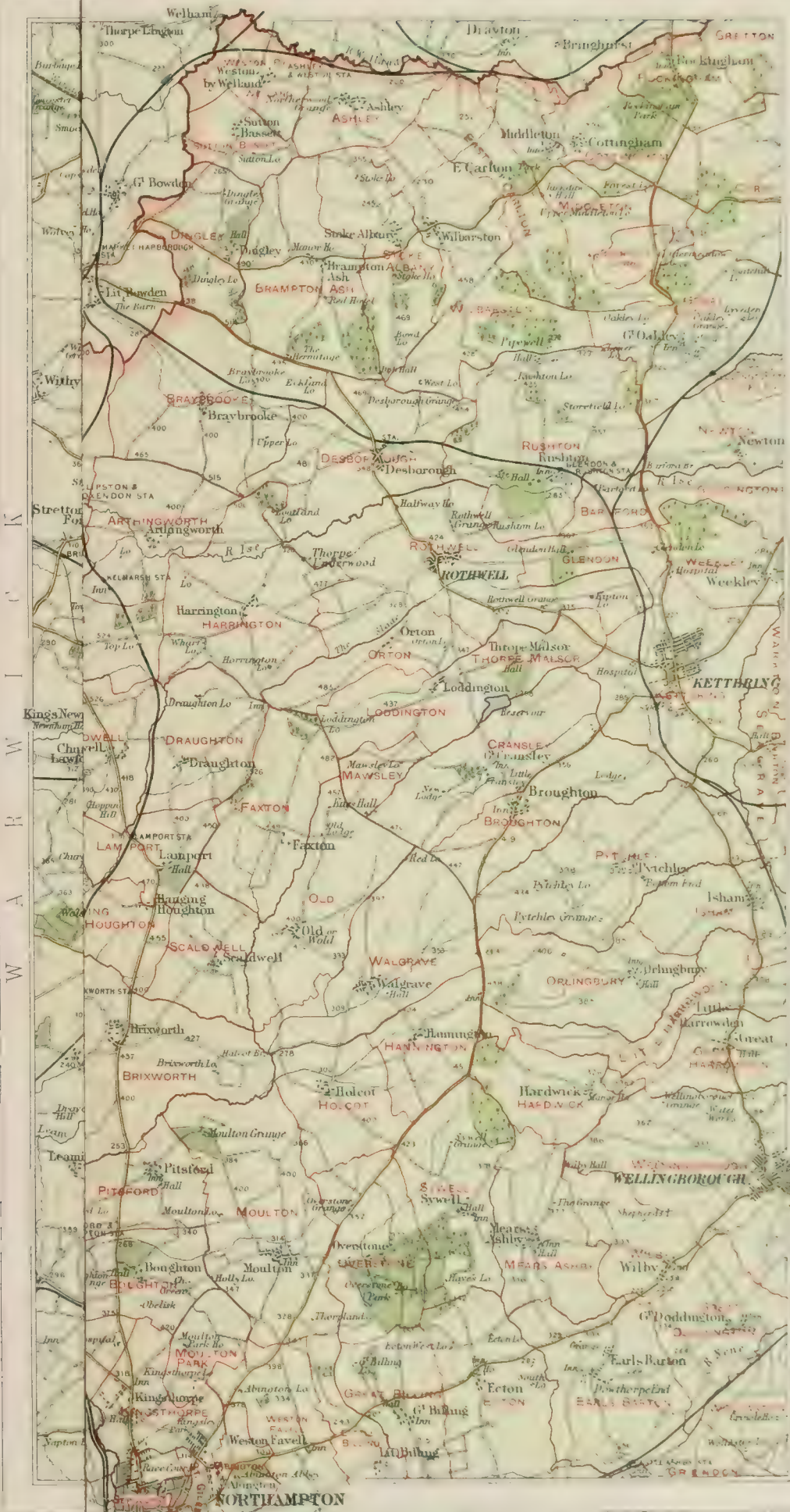


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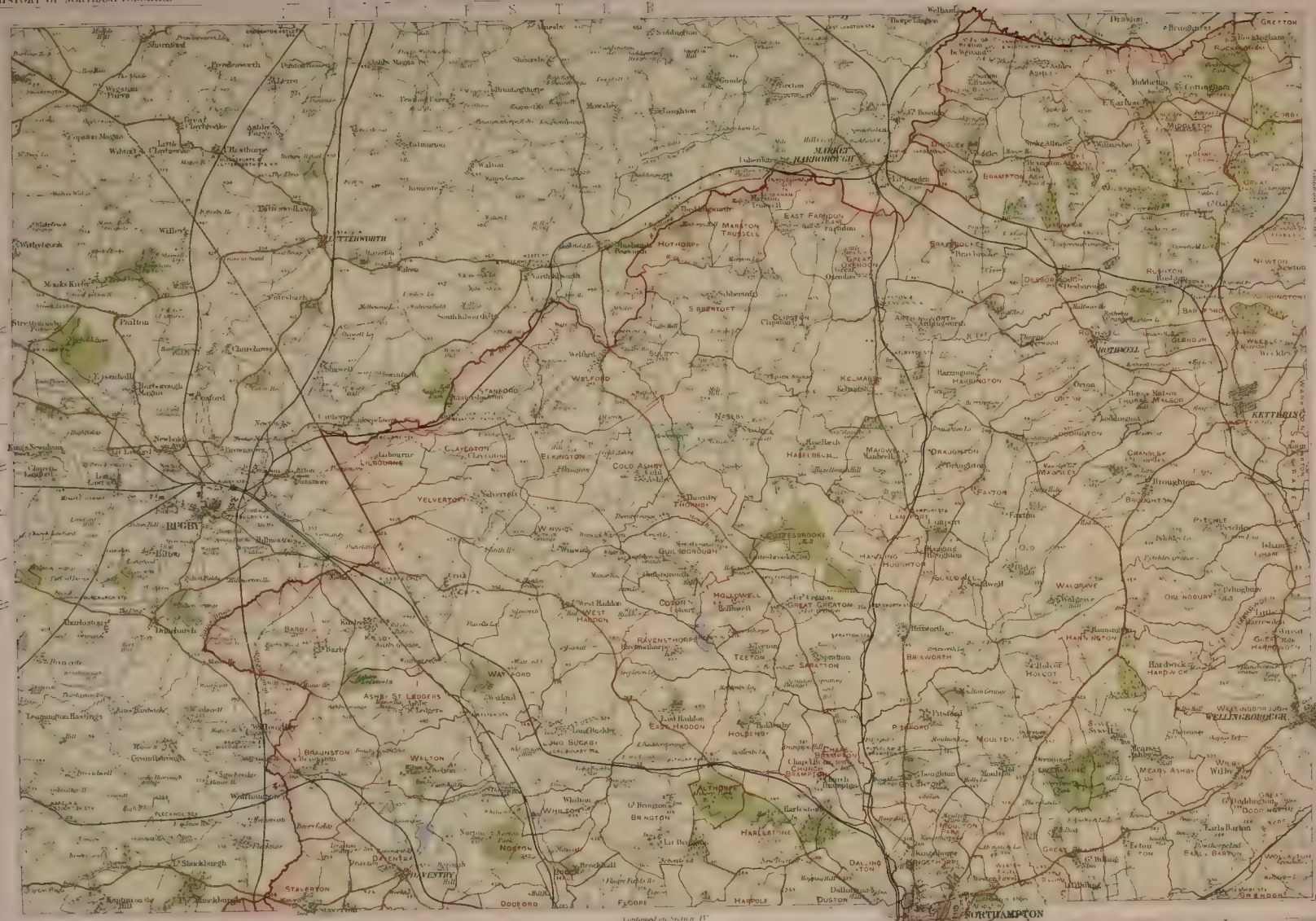
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Main Features, in black



The following is a list of the names and boundaries of the parishes and towns of Northamptonshire, as shown on the map.

Names and boundaries of parishes and towns of Northamptonshire





Contd)

See East Angles, West Angles, East Angles

Names and Boundaries of Parishes are printed in red





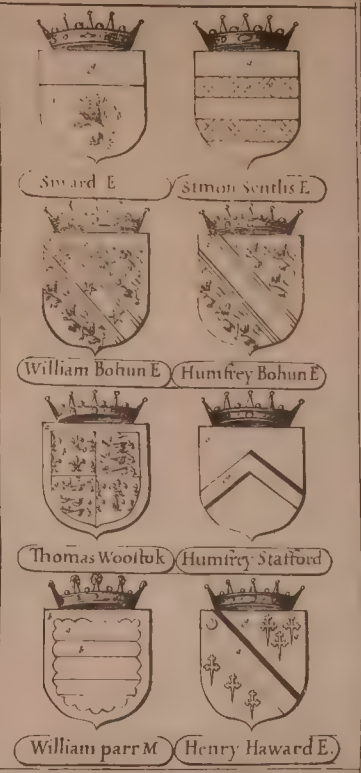
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 4



The arms of all those honorable families that have bene created Earles of Northampton, since the Normans conquest.



It Edore in this county upon Duns more a bloody battell was fought, by the Lords of the north, their Captaynes being Sir John de m... and Robbin of Reddall, against King E... and William Herbert Earle of Pembroke, there his Generall, whee together with his brother Richard and Richard Wadswill Lord Rovers brother to the Queens, with his sonne were there taken and all foure beheaded and 5000 of their men slayne the greatest part where of were wolsheymen. This battall was fought July 20 Anno 1400.

This countie of Northampton hath thre fildes the ruins of vall defences. The wals by R... and Henry brethren and fowes to the conqueror, who spoyled it, and the Countie ad... by King H. 3. who surprisid it, and brake downe the walle thereof. Anno 1203.



Performed by John Speed and are to by sold by George Humbell in Popes head ally. Cum Privilegio.

A Harrowe Bery
A highwaies stile
C. Smales Dole
D. Buzgare
F. Buzgare boole
F. Seem Barne
G. St. Johns
H. De. Market
I. The. Priory
K. St. Peters church
L. Priory lane
M. High stile





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